

EDINBURGH CASTLE RESEARCH



HISTORIC
ENVIRONMENT
SCOTLAND

ÀRAINNEACHD
EACHDRAIDHEIL
ALBA

THE DOLLS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS



EDINBURGH CASTLE: THE DOLLS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Michael Pearce

DOLLS OR PUPPETS CALLED 'PIPPENS' BELONGING TO MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, IN 1578

OVERVIEW

- An inventory of objects belonging to Mary Queen of Scots in Edinburgh Castle includes a group of dolls and their clothing.¹
- The inventory was taken on 26 March 1578 at the request of the Earl of Morton, who had resigned the regency.
- A miniature bed and a litter in the same group of objects suggest that some of the dolls had been toys.
- Play may have been limited to the creation of tableaux rather than the recreation of domestic activities in doll's houses.
- In September 1563 Jacques the tailor made grey and silver clothes for the dolls, called *poupines* (Fr.).
- It is likely that some were fashion dolls: mannequins were exchanged between Renaissance courts to share female fashions.
- The dolls were kept with a variety of exotic goods: Catherine de' Medici, Mary's mother-in-law, also kept a group of dolls with luxury objects, as did the family of Charles de Cossé Brissac, Marshall of France.
- Both playthings and fashion dolls may have had origins in Mary's French childhood.
- Mary's biographers refer to her puppet show, or masques, written by George Buchanan, performed with puppets. These remarks are conjectural and based only on the reference to pippens and *poupines* in the inventories.

- The dolls were supplied with masks and so they may have been used in play or planning in connection with masque entertainment.

CONTENTS

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Fashion Dolls
- 3 Puppetry and Performance
- 4 Costume and the Dolls in Scotland
- 5 The Miniature Bed
- 6 The Litter

Appendix 1 The Contents of Mary Queen of Scots' Cabinet Stored at
Edinburgh Castle

Appendix 2 French Dolls, the Petit Cabinet de Mlle de Brissac, Chateau
d'Etelan 1557 and 1552

Further Illustrations

Bibliography

Notes



Arbella Stewart, 1577. The doll wears a fashion of preceding decades: some of Mary Queen of Scots' pippens would have looked like this. Hardwick Hall © National Trust

I INTRODUCTION

In 1578, the remaining possessions of Mary Queen of Scots were stored in Edinburgh Castle. An inventory was made which included 15 or more ‘pippens’ or dolls and a miniature bed and horse-litter. Dolls called *poupines* (old Fr.) were mentioned in an earlier record of 1563 when the leading court tailor made clothes for them.² The dolls are grouped with items that may have formed the contents of Mary’s cabinet room, including some exotic items like the beaks and feathers of rare birds, and also her embroideries. A similar mix of objects can be found in the inventories of other women’s cabinets, and these collections are the beginnings of cabinets of curiosity, *wunderkammer*.

This research report puts these dolls in context in the Scottish court as (luxurious) playthings and as ‘fashion dolls’, which were sent as gifts to foreign courts. Both uses seem to be immediately connected with the upbringing of Mary, Queen of Scots in France, and with her younger childhood companion Elizabeth de Valois (1548–68) who married Philip II of Spain in 1559, taking a cabinet of dolls with her.

Dolls are considered as children’s playthings, as puppets or as performing objects.³ Home-made rag dolls were noted in the 15th-century Scots poem *Ratis Raving*, which records children making a ‘pepane’ – ‘a cumly lady of a clout’.⁴ By the second half of the 16th century dolls for privileged children were imported into England and Scotland. These were made of wood and papier mâché.⁵ Some of the items in the Edinburgh inventory sound like playthings. One of the first recorded doll’s houses was made for the daughters of Anna Electress of Saxony in 1572, a toy with didactic purpose intended to instil practices of good housekeeping.⁶ Miniature beds and litters seem to have been available in 1550s, perhaps in Paris, since Mary Queen of Scots and at least one French aristocrat had such things.

Fashions dolls were intended as international courtly gifts, from which garments were made up and worn, often as a compliment to a foreign court. Usable fashion dolls were presumably finely crafted and very

expensive, and were carefully kept as luxurious and finely crafted objects and also because they had been diplomatic gifts. Every period reference is to female dolls, never to male and male costume. Though male fashions were equally complex and constantly evolving courts did not exchange male dolls. If male costumes were not created with the use of dolls, it is possible that the custom of exchanging female dolls was not entirely based on practical considerations, but gendered, attached to notion of exchanging and dressing brides. Dolls could present a three-dimensional experience of fashionable garments superior to drawings, paintings and prints, but primarily they were tokens of international affection, and considerations of their utility may have been secondary.

A third type of surviving doll is the artist's mannequin, articulated and made from wood; both male and female examples survive from the 16th century. Fashion dolls need not have been quite as sophisticated as these, but if they had realistic layers of clothes then perhaps some articulation was necessary.



Artist's lay figure? © Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Fotograf/in: Jörg P. Anders.

A fourth type of model was the automaton - interesting because at least one period example survives. This is thought to have been made for Charles V at the Escorial and has its original costume. A fifth type of doll

was a small devotional object. In 1552 an inventory was made of the cabinet of the family of Charles de Cossé, Marshall of France. A number of dolls were recorded: some seem to be playthings – a woman in a bed and a royal procession – while others, including a group with nun and a depiction of sheep, seem to be religious objects.



Automaton attributed to Juanelo Turriano (1501–85) and made for Charles V of Spain, 1550s, playing a cittern, Spanish, second half of the 16th century. The automaton wears a *manteau* cloak over a gown which reveals the kirtle or forepart beneath. © Kunst Historisches Museum Wien

2 FASHION DOLLS

Medieval and Renaissance fashion dolls were sent between courts clothed in detailed miniature representations of current fashion, ostensibly for reproducing the style of another court, but perhaps exchanged in courtesy.⁷ A king might write for a doll to dress the ladies of his court, a prospective bride might request a doll dressed in the fashion of her prospective husband's court. A fashion doll with a high degree of verisimilitude was more useful than a two-dimensional representation for exhibiting a new style of dress. For this reason the clothes were supposed to be accurately reproduced in smaller scale. As well as transmitting

fashion, the role of dolls could be extended into arts of memory when they entered collections, serving to represent the manners and politics of other courts, acting as a reservoir of memory and identity.⁸

In 1515, Francis I requested a fashion doll from Isabella d'Este of Ferrara to dress the ladies of his court. She was known for her elegance and personal style, and eagerly sought information on the dress of other courts. Francis asked Federico Gonzaga to write to his mother for the doll. The doll would have shirts, sleeves, undergarments, outergarments, dresses, headdresses and hairstyles, 'de camisa, di maniche, de veste di sotto, et di sopra, et de abiliamenti, et aconciatura di testa, et deli capili'.⁹ Isabella d'Este replied that she would send a doll though her fashions were similar to those Francis would have seen in Milan, where he had commissioned an illustrated catalogue of female courtiers *Tutte le Dame del Re, All the King's Women*, showing a variety of costume and headdresses.¹⁰ Francis was set to impose Italian fashion on the ladies of his court. The list of clothing is reminiscent of the doll's clothing specified in the Edinburgh 1578 inventory. Mary's dolls may also have been intended to prescribe fashion to women at her court in Scotland.

Isabella d'Este was also asked to send a doll to ladies in the court of Charles V in Spain by her son Ferrante in 1524. The doll would be used by the ladies-in-waiting of Eleanor of Austria, sister of Charles V:

Io sono importunate d'alchune damiselle de la Signora Regina che gli fazzi venire de Italia una puva vestita in tuto del modo se acostuma li. Siche supplico Vostra Excellentia che commetta ne sia mandata una con qualch'altra gentilezza da donne, come sono accunziature da testa per dare alla Signora Donna Magdalena Manricha, una dele donzelle della prefata Signora Regina.

Some of the queen's ladies-in-waiting ask me to have sent to them from Italy a doll dressed entirely in the style you wear there. So, I beg Your Excellency to commission and send such a doll with other accessories for women, such as headdresses, to give to the Lady Donna Magdalena Manricha, one of the ladies of the said queen.¹¹

These requests to Isabella d'Este give a good idea of an intended use of fashion doll; it would demonstrate all the fashions current, even in

undergarments, hair, headpieces and other accessories. The dolls' fashions were intended to be emulated by all the women of Francis's court and the ladies of Eleanor of Austria. Ferrante represented that it was the wish of the women to dress like Isabella d'Este. This is relevant for the dolls in Scotland: they were almost certainly used and updated to set patterns for the costumes of ladies at court, not solely for Mary Queen of Scots.

There are a few (but not many) other recorded examples of fashion dolls that illustrate further contexts. On at least two occasions Catherine de' Medici sent dolls to Elizabeth of England. During the negotiations for the marriage of Elizabeth and Charles IX in 1565, a French courtier, Louise de Clermont, Madame Crussol wrote to Elizabeth I mentioning dolls that had been sent to her, wishing that she was one of the dolls herself and could talk to the queen.¹² This was part of the marriage negotiation: Elizabeth was invited to dress up *à la française* to show her commitment. (Louise de Clermont was a French Protestant. Mary Queen of Scots had attended her marriage in 1556. Vatican commentators connected Louise de Clermont with the presence of the French poet Chastelard (Châtelard) at the Scottish court and regarded him as a Huguenot assassin.¹³)

Catherine sent another doll to Elizabeth I in 1584. This was dressed in mourning to commemorate Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou, with whom Elizabeth had negotiated marriage. The mourning clothes were modelled on those worn at the funeral by Louise of Lorraine (1553–1601), wife of Henri III, when she sprinkled holy water on the body. It is interesting Louise was 20 years younger than Elizabeth: fashion, it seems, took no account of age.

The doll was wooden, described as a 'una bambola di legno' by the Florentine agent in Paris, with a 'vesta de saja' and 'manto di velo del medesimo colore e fazione' – silk chemise veil and mantle all in the same colour and fashion. Louise's dress was described as black lace (but the veils may have been white).¹⁴ Louise wore white mourning in her widowhood at Chenonceau from 1589.¹⁵ The detail that this doll was wooden is significant – none of the other sources mention the doll's construction. At least some

of Mary's dolls were made of wood as the inventory suggests, 'ane creill with sum bulyettis of tymmer and pippennis'.

Elizabeth I had the corresponding mourning costume made up and wore it at court. A detail sent back to Paris by the French ambassador, Michel de Castelnau, shows that diplomats policed this international fashion game. Elizabeth seems to have followed French court fashion (unlikely though this may seem from the distinctive character of English portraits); in 1577 she was sent a gown and a farthingale similar to those worn by Louise and Marguerite of Navarre. These items were sent to Walsingham by the ambassador Amias Paulet, who would later be the gaoler of Mary Queen of Scots.¹⁶

In 1600, Henry IV of France sent *poupines* and a French tailor to his prospective bride, Marie de' Medici, in Florence. These exhibited French style - 'que vous desirés quelque modelle de la facon que l'on s'habille en France. Je vous envoie des poupines et ... un tres bon tailleur'.¹⁷ These dolls were sent in anticipation of their marriage. The king's letter is often quoted, because it shows that dolls were requested for transmitting fashions across national borders. Marie was intended to demonstrate her commitment to Frenchness.

Would Mary Queen of Scots have been sent dolls by prospective suitors? These included the Duke of Anjou (as above), Archduke Charles of Austria, Don Carlos of Spain, Eric of Sweden. As Catherine de' Medici sent dolls to Elizabeth in respect of Anjou's suit, she might have sent them to Mary, even though Mary had been in France so recently. Elizabeth was happy to engage with diplomatic dressing-up, so may Mary have been.

Catherine de' Medici had around 14 dolls in her possession when she died in 1589, kept in her huge personal cabinet and wardrobe in her lodgings. Crocodile skins hung at the chimney. The dolls were kept in drawers in armoires with a variety of exotica: fans of Eastern leather and Venetian masks, mirrors, flower pots, boxes and little chests, Venetian glasses, Chinese lacquers, antique medals, enamels, etuis of all sorts, ivory curiosities, shell and coral.¹⁸ The dolls were found with these other

treasures in the cabinet, suggesting that they were, or had become, curiosities held in the same kind of regard. However, as at least some of the dolls wore mourning clothes it is assumed they were in origin fashion dolls, used to create mourning dresses for herself and her courtiers. The dolls in Scotland in 1578 seem to have been in a residual cache of goods of a similar variety. Michael Bath connected some of these items with the embroideries Mary made with Bastian Pagez and other professionals. Bath recognised the possibility that the beak of an exotic bird might have come to Mary in France in 1558.¹⁹

Among the dolls in the 1589 inventory of Catherine de' Medici one was described as 'small', others are distinguished by their clothing: one was dressed 'as a lady' (*en demoiselle*), six were dressed in black, one in white and two in mourning, and the remaining dolls were simply listed as 'poupines'. Catherine may have received these dolls as gifts, or she may have ordered them to acquaint herself and the women of her court with new trends. Perhaps a newly dressed doll was loaned out like a library book.

The dolls were kept in numbered drawers of a great armoire: the number given in the inventory, for example, 'Au 39e' refers a drawer in a great armoire with three sides that stood by the fireplace in the Queen's *galetas*, her wardrobe. The 44 drawers were filled with the kind of exotic items listed above. The descriptions are not in themselves informative, but show that these dolls were kept amongst treasures, and the same impression is given by the Edinburgh inventory:

- Au 30e, 348 Une petite escritoire de velours cramoisy rouge et une poupine
- Au 31e, 350 Une poupine vestue de noir
- Au 32e, 351 Une poupine vestue en deuil, etc.
- Au 37e, 362 Une poupine vestue en deuil
- Au 38e, 364 Quatre poupines
- Au 39e, 365 Une petite poupine et plusieurs pelotons de soye figure de fruitz ey trois petites bouteilles couvertes de jonc
- Au 40e, 366 Deux poupines vestues de noir
- Au 41e, 367, Une poupines vestue de noir
- Au 42e, Deux poupines l'une vestue de noir et l'autre de blanc

Au 442, 368 Une poupine vestue de noir

Of these, one was given to the Duchesse of Mayenne:

Une poupine vestue en damoiselle

With the exception of her children's weddings, the queen always wore black mourning after the death of her husband Henri II (1519–59), but nonetheless cultivated a fashionable appearance. Black mourning dress also forged a link with male authority at a time when male rulers also wore black clothes. Catherine founded her image on the classical figure of Artemisia, widow of King Mausolus.²⁰

Catherine may have presented a sombre figure, but the cut and quality of her clothes and lace also made her mourning a spectacle. Her black clothes, though made from plain wool, were excellently cut, with trimmings of fur and accessorised with gems, to create a majestic effect. Much the same could be said for the clothes of Mary, Queen of Scots. Diane de Poitiers, too, had worn mourning clothes to splendid effect since the death of Louis de Brézé, seigneur de Anet in 1531.

Catherine de' Medici's daughter, Elizabeth de Valois (1545–68), kept dolls in her cabinet in Spain after her marriage to Philip II in 1559: she spent time arranging them after breakfast; Claude de Vapergue, her lady-in-waiting, recorded that 'après disnée Sa Majesté passa le temps à acoustrer ses poupées et son cabinet' at Guadalajara. She was 14, and this news of her pastimes is usually taken as evidence that she was still a child pursuing childish pursuits. The same source mentions that she made jam and played games like knucklebones.²¹ The 'cabinet des poupines' was also regarded as a substitute or stand-in for children; the poet Giles Corrozet describes a father lamenting that his daughter Eugene plays daily with dolls but has no real children.²²

Fashion dolls were clearly expensive pieces, prepared with care and diplomacy. They are found in the inventory of Henry VIII, kept in a study at Westminster. There was a puppet on a shelf. He also had two sets of 'babies' in boxes. These babies, clad in female adult costume of silk gowns

and kirtles, were probably fashion dolls. The larger 'grete babie' wore gold clothes fasteners and gold chains, suggesting the high degree of verisimilitude required for a fashion doll.

Item one grete babie lieng in a boxe of woode having a gown of white clothe of silver and a kirtle of greane velvet the gowne tied with small aglets of golde with a small paier of beades of gold and a small Cheyne and a coller abowte the neck of golde
Item two little babies in a boxe of woode one them having a gowne of crimsem satten and th'other a gowne of white velvet.²³

The smaller dolls at Westminster were later issued to a courtier of Mary Tudor, Sir Henry Jerningham, suggesting they had an adult use for the queen or princess. These have been described as dolls for Princess Mary or Elizabeth, but are likely to have been fashion dolls sent to Henry VIII to dress his court and wives. Although Queen Elizabeth received fashion dolls, there is no record of them in her wardrobe accounts.²⁴

Clothes were important at the court of Mary Queen of Scots, and the Treasurer's Accounts show that clothes were provided for the queen's companions, those with paid court posts. It is important to note that she would have been often attended by aristocratic women who subsisted on their own expenses and paid for their own clothes. When Mary came to Scotland in September 1561 she was still in mourning for Francis II, and clothing was provided for 16 women. These companions, including the four Maries, were from minor noble or lairdly families rather than premier aristocracy.²⁵ The mourning dress for these *filles* was modified into 'second mourning' or 'second deuil' in November 1561. Mourning dress did not continue for the rest of the reign, though Mary may have affected it on occasions like her marriage to Darnley. Those of the court ladies who married were given wedding dresses and gifts of fabric. (Again, the husbands of the four Maries were not premier aristocrats.²⁶) Pages and musicians were also given clothes.²⁷

Pages, musicians and artisans at the court of James V were given livery clothes; the fashioning of Mary's women seems different. It may be that the dressing of the court women in first and second mourning created

an identity for the court which its members found comforting and strengthening. They were mostly French or had been brought up in France. Issue and gifts of clothes were also modes of power and control over the queen's companions. The doll dressed by the tailor Jacques de Seulis in September 1563, if intended as exemplar for others to copy, a fashion doll, was an expression of authority, imposing the queen's style on the court and its followers, perhaps particularly for those who subsisted there on their own incomes. The use of the fashion doll gives a glimpse of participation at Mary's court. As a fashion doll, the newly dressed *poupine* could be an exemplar to the women of higher rank who attended court as visitors and had their own tailors, and whose dress does not feature in the royal accounts. This kind of court attendance by the aristocratic ladies of the first rank is unrecorded in the financial accounts, as Rosalind Marshall notes, but the presence of other aristocratic women is noted in other kinds of sources.²⁸ The doll would serve to extend the court identity by spreading a Marian style.

A distinction is made by Jenny Wormald between the public queen attending the council house and her private life in other parts of Holyroodhouse. This distinction is found in John Knox's *History*; Mary was grave in the presence of her counsel 'under the dule wead' playing the hypocrite to perfection, and when she and her companions 'gatt the howse allone' there was skipping, dancing and 'joyousitie'.²⁹ The conscious fashioning and dressing of the court in which the doll played its role was part of this private life rather than the 'gravitie' which Knox said she associated with Scottish life. One conspicuous feature of this court, which Knox was intent to characterise as an alien thing to Scottish life, was its dress. Of course, Knox was writing to deprecate and marginalise Mary's court and emphasise its unenviable and ungodly exclusivity and isolation. Primarily, it was dance at court that Knox objected to, but costume also caught his attention. Leisure and pastime may have been the characteristic of the court behind closed doors at Holyroodhouse, and costume the feature that outsiders might recognise, but rarely mention in detail.

John Knox, however, was a kind of connoisseur of women's costume, believing that 'gorgious apparell is abominable and odious in a woman', an idea he found in the works of Tertullian, an early Christian writer.³⁰ Knox despised the costume of Mary's entourage in the queen's chamber. The 'styncken pride of women' that attended the Parliament with Mary in 1563 was visible in their costume. Preachers, said Knox, criticised the 'targatting of their tailles', apparently the passementerie of their skirts, and pressed for new sumptuary laws designed to suppress court fashion. Knox hoped that Parliament, at the behest of the ministers, would control the subversive and Catholic women of Mary's court by regulating their dress.³¹

When positions were reversed, when Mary was captive at Lochleven, the tailor of her half-brother's wife Agnes Keith made her a gown. This story is included in Nau's narrative and may be symbolic in origin, perhaps revealing that dress - regularity or conformity in dress - was a feature of Mary's court, despite antipathy.³² The dolls or some of the dolls were part of that process, building the identity of Mary's women. The costume worn by Agnes Keith in her portrait by Hans Eworth may well reflect what Mary wore.



Hans Eworth, Agnes Keith, Countess of Moray (Earl of Moray, Darnaway). Hans Eworth [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

The other pieces in the section of the Edinburgh 1578 inventory may, as with Catherine de' Medici's inventory, shed some light on the status of the dolls. The section was headed 'Schrynis,³³ cofferis, buistis, caissis,

pippennis, fantasies, fedderis, masking claitis,³⁴ pictures, cairtis, and veschellis of glass', a selection which promises and delivers exotica. The first item was a case of feathers of diverse hues, possibly suggesting America. Next were costumes for court masques with Egyptian hats and tiaras. Next a pair of enamelled flasks and two mirrors, a chest of viols, an archery quiver, two chess sets, some portraits, the dolls, more feathers and so on, to the packing and travel cases of the wardrobe.

All of this stuff (see Appendix for the full list) was a reflection of the kind of collecting that can be seen in the inventory of Catherine de' Medici. The dolls were a part of the formation of a cabinet of wonders, joining assemblies demonstrating an intellectual identity. The dolls may sit rather uneasily to modern interpreters in this context, and centuries of literature both despise dolls as feeble imitations and despise women for prizing them. Moreover, these fashion dolls were created in the context of their exchange in arranged marriages, so a more straightforward token and artefact of commodification would be hard to imagine. However, Albrecht V of Bavaria commissioned a doll's house for his cabinet in 1558 that seems to have represented the ducal court in microcosm, a good example of dolls joining a man's cabinet collection, though these were not fashion dolls.³⁵ It is obvious that Catherine de' Medici, Mary and Elisabeth of Valois thought much of the dolls in their cabinets and prized them. Exactly how they regarded these objects is not known, but probably they were visually delightful and pleasing to unpack and show to friends.

One difference between Mary and Catherine's inventories is the proximity of masque costumes, and this suggests that the dolls might have had some role in the making of clothes for Mary's court masques.

Apparently joined with the doll's description is this line:

ane uther packett of litle consaittis and trifillis of bittis of crisp and utheris,
tua dussane and ane half of masking visouris

This packet seems to be conceits and trifles and 30 masks for masques for the dolls. Perhaps, then, some of the dolls had a variety of masks and were set up in theatrical tableaux to plan or imagine masque events.

3 PUPPETRY AND PERFORMANCE

The reference to pippens and *poupines* spawned a mythology of puppet shows and even puppet masques written for the queen by George Buchanan. These stories are solely built on the evidence of the inventory, with no corroboration. The dolls may have been used as puppets, but there is no positive evidence to link them with performance and masques, except the reference to masking ‘visouris’ described above. The ideas come from comments made by the editor of the inventories.

Joseph Stevenson discussed the reference to making clothes for the ‘poupines’ and the 1578 inventory. He imagined they were puppets or marionettes of a type made popular in Italy, and especially popular amongst royals and nobles in past centuries – presumably in contrast to the Punch and Judy shows of his day, which had a broader appeal. Stevenson described the dolls as ‘a company of puppets’. Stevenson’s notions of puppetry are ahistorical. There are very few references to puppetry until the last decade of the 16th century in Britain, and no reason to connect those, which include a show at Grimsthorpe Castle in 1562, to Italian puppets of later centuries.³⁶ Sixteenth-century puppets were probably glove puppets rather than marionettes, performing behind an interpreter who explained the theme or ‘argument’ of the piece. Fashion dolls might not have made ideal glove puppets.

With the idea of puppetry in mind, Stevenson read the ‘pippens’ included in the 1578 inventory of Edinburgh castle as a set of 38 pieces, half male and half female.³⁷ However, only 14 female dolls are listed, with 19 outfits of gowns, kirtles and *vasquines*. Further ‘pippens’ were kept in a creill. Stevenson conjured the idea of male puppets from a box with 19 portraits of men on horseback, an ambiguous line possibly referring to 19

painted images or fantasies made of ivory and wood, perhaps more like chess pieces or toy soldiers than dolls:

Ane uther litle buist grene paintit on the cover with nyntene
portratouris of men on horsbak and utheris fantaseis of evir bane &
woid.

As noted above, there are no records of the exchange of male fashion dolls between courts, and given the evidence that the female dolls had elaborate costume (which was renewed) like fashion dolls, these riders seem to be a different type of object.

The idea that Mary played or watched puppet shows springs solely from this idea of Joseph Stevenson's, repeated by authors from David Hay Fleming to Antonia Fraser.³⁸ Some plays or masques written for her by George Buchanan were supposed to have been performed by puppets – this idea may be a synthesis of the supposition that the dolls were performing objects and that Buchanan wrote some court entertainments.³⁹ George Buchanan did compare kings and queens to children's puppets in *De Juri Regni Apud Scotos*, but no roles for puppets are prescribed in his masques or *Pompae*. However, it remains a possibility that some kind of doll found a role in rehearsal for court entertainment. They could have modelled for costumes to be used in pageants or masques, fulfilling their use as fashion models.

Teams of puppets may equate to teams of costumed dancers in masks.⁴⁰ The main problem with the idea that the dolls represented a set or company is that the female dolls were described as great and small. Nevertheless, some of the dolls may have been used from time to time in some kind of puppet theatre, if only in the construction of tableaux.

Puppets, moving performing objects, were associated by Reformers with Catholic Church practices, with false and falsified idols.⁴¹ While Mary's 19 female dolls do not seem likely to have been representations of saints, they may have eventually been destroyed for their Catholic associations.

4 COSTUME AND THE DOLLS IN SCOTLAND

Clothes were made for dolls in 1563, and the inventory of 1578 lists dolls in Edinburgh Castle with clothing. These are the only historical references to the dolls. The inventory includes clothing with slightly more outfits than dolls. They had 15 vardingaills (hooped petticoats), 19 gownis (robes), kirtillis (outer skirts) and vaskenis (skirt fronts), with 'ane packet of sairkis slevis [shirt sleeves], and hois for thame [stockings]', and 'thair pantonis [slippers]'.

Ane creill with sum bulyettis of tymmer and pippennis

Ane coffer quhairin is contenit certane pictouris of wemen callit
pippennis being in nomber fourtene mekle and litle;
15 vadingaill for thame,
19 gownis kirtillis and vaskenis for thame,
ane packet of sairkis slevis, and hois for thame,
thair pantonis,
ane packet with ane furnist bed,
ane uther packett of litle consaittis and trifillis of bittis of crisp and
utheris,
tua dussane and ane half of masking visouris

Ane littare lynnit with crammosie satine and steikit with the harnissing
thairto and tua litle chyres in it and a cordoun of silk and gold.

The inventories provide French translations for these costume terms. During the reign of Mary in Scotland the valet Servais de Condé was in charge of luxury fabrics in the royal wardrobe. He kept a record of the textiles issued to tailors. This stock included the old clothes of Mary of Guise – for example, in December 1563 he gave an old black velvet *vasquin de cotte* to the tailor to be remodelled for Mary Queen of Scots.⁴² A number of these transactions were later given index numbers to cross-reference with the two earlier inventories of the royal clothing.⁴³ This gives a number of Scots equivalents and even direct translations where accounts describe the same items as Servais's French. This helps build up a vocabulary, although the names had long currency and do not exactly denote form of the garments.

In September 1563 Servais gave fabric to Jacques de Seulis to make clothes for dolls. This shows that some of the dolls continued in use and were not artefacts of Mary's childhood. It seems they were used in the fashioning of Mary's court, and not sent away as diplomatic fashion gifts.

Plus, je deliure a Jacques le tailleur deux chanteaux de damas gris broche d'or pour faire une robbe a une poupine.
Plus je deliure a Jacques le tailleur trois quartz et demi de toile d'argent et de soye blanche pour faire une cotte et aultre chose a des poupines.⁴⁴

More, I delivered to Jacques the tailor two faces of grey damask figured with gold to make a *robbe* for a doll.
More, I delivered to Jacques the tailor three quarters and a half of cloth of silver and white silk to make a *cotte* and other things for the dolls.

The grey damask may have come from the stock of 'two restis' of damask that had belonged to Mary of Guise.⁴⁵ The French term *robbe* means the outer gown. This seems a fairly straightforward description of a doll dressed in a heavy silk silvery-grey gown. It is not possible to link this doll with any specific occasion.

The second item is a *cotte* worn beneath the *robbe*. The *cotte* had a bodice, a *corps de cotte*, and a skirt, *vasquin de cotte*. Terminology can be obscure due to semantic drift of terms for the undergarment into words for skirts or bodices and upper layers, but here it is clear that the upper gown *robbe* layer is not meant. It is not impossible that the first doll with the *robbe* was given a cloth-of-silver kirtle, which would show through the opening of the gown. This colour combination is not unknown, and Elizabeth of Valois had a pale grey damask gown embroidered with gold thread in her trousseau.⁴⁶

A gown and kirtle intended to represent grey damask and cloth-of-silver in a suitable style for Catherine Howard in 1541 was made for display at Gainsborough Old Hall in 2009.⁴⁷ This gives some idea of what the Edinburgh doll might have looked like.

The following section examines the names of the items of costume noted for the pippens and *poupines* and the other main items of clothing in court records.

The Treasurer's Accounts do not record the clothes made for Mary of Guise as queen regent (1554-60), but some clues of their forms are available in the records of clothes made for Regent Arran's family. A manuscript record of clothes made for Mary of Guise and her household survives from 1552-3. The account records the receipt and use of velvets and silk brocades brought to Scotland by Henri Cleutin, Sieur d'Oysel, Timothy Cagnoli an Italian banker, and a Flemish merchant. The record is very similar in character to Servais's account of clothes issued by the wardrobe during Mary's personal rule.⁴⁸

Cloaks

Nine cloaks of Mary of Guise were recorded in 1561. These were mostly black.⁴⁹

Mary Queen of Scots had a cloak called in French *le reistre*, these were named after the cloaks of German Swart Rutter soldiers. Another type, *le capluchon*, was named after the Capuchin (Reformed Franciscan) friars and came with its own matching *devantiere*, a forepart or skirt front to be attached to undergarments.⁵⁰

A cloak and a matching skirt front were made for Lady Jean Stewart shortly before her marriage to the Earl of Argyll in October 1553. The accounts call Jean, the daughter of James V, 'Mademoiselle la Batarde'. Her cloak and *devant de cotte* (skirt front) were banded with black satin.⁵¹ Examples of the *cotte* are described below, it equates with the kirtle.

Collars, hoods, coifs, ruffs and so on

The 1578 inventory lists an unexpected variety of neckwear accessories, which are hard to interpret and reconcile with portraits. In the inventories these obscure items are listed with coifs, headgear and hoods. Among these, 'turrets' are really 'toret de nez', a kind of mask or veil. A number of

these items were made in cloth-of-silver like the dolls. Mary had many more collars and 'rabbats' than ruffs, and these turn-over collars were richly embroidered.⁵²



Mary Queen of Scots. The plain turned-down collar may be the 'rabat' of collar of the inventories © National Portrait Gallery.

Cotte (Fr.): *pour faire une cotte et aultre chose a les poupinnes*

The *cotte* was worn under the *robbe* or gown. In these accounts a *cotte* comprises a section for the torso called a doublet, *corps de cotte*, or *paire des brassieres* (pair of sleeves), and a skirt below called a *vaskin*. The dolls' kirtles were the skirts of the *cotte*. See more detail under 'Kirtle' below.

The skirts of the *cotte* would be visible at the opening of the gown. Fashionable women wore *vasquines* or *devants de cotte*. Mary's inventory of 1562 describes five *vasquines* made of *toille d'argent* and 16 *devants de cottes*.⁵³ These were the visible fronts of skirts seen in the opening of the *robbe*, and loosely correspond with the doll's kirtles and *vaskins*. A portrait of Mary at Blair's Museum shows a *devant de cotte* of grey damask.

A *devant de cotte* made for Mary of Guise in 1553 came with its matching sleeves or doublet made from the same black velvet, 'plus pour fere une paire de brassieres et ung devant de cotte de velours noyr'.⁵⁴



- Black gown /robbe
- Kirtle
- Devant de cotte / vasquine de cotte*
- Damas gris / toile d'argent*

Mary Queen of Scots, possibly early 17th century. Reproduced by permission of the Blairs Museum Trust

Devant

Skirt front or forepart attached to the *cotte* or kirtle. In November 1553, Mary of Guise gave a *devant* to a townswoman of Stirling, presumably as part of a complete outfit, 'plus ung davant de velours que la royne a donne a ugne bourgeoise destrelin'.⁵⁵

Mary Queen of Scots had 16 *devants de cotte* and 34 *vasquines*.⁵⁶ The *vasquine* (see below) was the underskirt of the *cotte*, the *devant* was worn in front of the *vasquine*.

Doublet

Described in Servais's French as a pair of sleeves, 'une paire des brassieres', but called doublets in Scots translation, these were essentially jackets to which the skirts (sometimes called *vaskines*) were or could be attached. In the 1561 there was an inventory heading of 'Off Doublettis Vaskenis and Skirts'.⁵⁷ Vaskenis and skirts were clearly similar items: item '90' was 'ane doublet of bak velvot and the vaskene of the same' from which Servais later noted 'une vasquine de *cotte* de velours noir'.⁵⁸

Here there is some ambiguity about the layer indicated, a *cotte* might be thought to be the layer beneath a gown, as these doublets and *vaskins* seem to be an upper layer. The 1578 inventory of Mary's clothes in the castle includes over 40 pairs of sleeves and 14 doublets. Mixed in the list are examples of 'ane bodyis of ane gown' with sleeves of contrasting colour, which show that doublets and gown bodices were not unlike.⁵⁹

Ane bodyis of ane gowne of blak crisp but slevis cordonit with silver with little fassis of silver and blak geit.⁶⁰

A velvet 'pere de brassieres' was made for Jean Stewart at Glasgow in October 1553 preparatory to her marriage to the Earl of Argyll.⁶¹

Mary wrote to Sir Robert Melville from Lochleven Castle on 4 September 1567, asking for Servais to send incarnate satin, blue satin, and gold and silver thread. She also asked for 'ane doublet and skirtis of quhyt satin, ane uthir incarnate Ane uthir of blak satin And the skirtis with thame. Send no skirt with the red doublet // Als ane lowse gowne of taffateis ...'.⁶² In Servais's record these doublets appeared as 'paires de brassier' of 'cramoysi', 'noyr' and 'blanc' satin.⁶³

Among the list of Mary's doublets in the 1578 inventory appear 'bodyis of a gowne' and 'forebreasts of doublets'.⁶⁴

Farthingale / *Vardingail*

A farthingale was an underskirt shaped with hoops of rope or whalebone. The bone is noted in the Treasurer's Accounts as 'quhail horne'.⁶⁵ John Knox wrote to his 'sisters in Edinburgh' in 1556 to condemn the 'vardingallis and sic other fond fantassies that were knawin in theis dayis cannot be justifeit'.⁶⁶ Hugh Latimer made the same point in 1552, 'I think indeed Mary never had a farthingale ... every good woman should set them aside'.⁶⁷ This was a general theme shared by Calvinist preachers, the farthingale attracting this comment for its relative novelty and impractical and frivolous nature.

Three of Mary Queen of Scots' farthingales were recorded in Edinburgh Castle in 1578. These were:

Ane vardingard of blak taffetie the foirskirt of satine pasmentit with gold
Ane uther of blak taffetie
Ane uther of bukrem.⁶⁸

The first of black taffeta had a finer silk satin front attached and sported a gold trim. The second was taffeta only, and the third was made of lesser fabric, not intended to be seen.



Jost Amman, The tailor, *Standenbuch* 1568, Jost Amman [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Early farthingales were inspired by Spanish examples, the word is Spanish in origin, *verdugado*. In the later 16th century the extension of the farthingale above the hips was extended, to make a wheel farthingale. It seems unlikely that Mary Queen of Scots would have had a wheel farthingale as early as 1563, her skirts would have had conical or bell-shaped support usually called a French farthingale, as seen in the portraits of Mary Tudor and her court, and earlier images of Elizabeth I.



Spanish dress, 'Recueil de dessins ou cartons'© Bibliothèque nationale de France. BNF Fr. 24461, fol. 100

A farthingale was made for Princess Elizabeth in 1545.⁶⁹ Eleven were made for the Hamilton family between 1548 and 1554. These cost only £3 to £3 10s.⁷⁰ One was made for Mary of Guise in France in 1551.⁷¹ Mary brought a black taffeta *verdugal* to Scotland. This farthingale was listed with the *vasquines*, the skirts that would cover it.⁷² A Scottish-made farthingale for Mary's courtier Marie Cursales in May 1562 cost only 40s, so we can assume the components were inexpensive, and it was worn beneath other clothes. A farthingale made for the queen in December 1562 was £3 10s and included whalebone stiffening costing 25s. 'Doubling' (lining) a farthingale for the queen required seven ells of taffeta of the 'four

thread' quality.⁷³ In the 1578 inventory three farthingales were still in the castle, one with a foreskirt of satin with passementerie with gold. This sounds as if the show front (the *devant*) of the skirt was attached directly to this farthingale. The other two were plain black taffeta and buckram, to be hidden under more lavish layers.⁷⁴

Some portraits made by Hans Eworth in the 1550s show an early English farthingale pressing against a lady's skirt or *devant*.



The hoops of the farthingale beneath are visible impressed against the skirt. Hans Eworth, *Unknown Lady (perhaps Lady Jane Grey)* © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Gown / *Robbe* (Fr.)

pour faire une robbe a une poupine: nyntene gownis kirtillis and vaskenis for thame

Worn over the kirtle and *cotte*, some gowns had sleeves attached. Servais recorded that Jacques the tailor was given grey damask to make a *robbe* for a doll. In the same month, 11 ells of grey damask were given to Mademoiselle Livingston (elder) to make her *robbe*.⁷⁵ This was Mary, a daughter of Alexander, 5th Lord Livingstone, one of the Four Maries, the constant companions of the queen.

A 1561 inventory of the clothes of Mary of Guise lists six gowns – all black. Of these, only one with a fur trim was described as a mourning garment – ‘ane dule gown’. These gowns were all later delivered for Mary of Scot’s use. One had no sleeves, two had long sleeves and two had great sleeves.⁷⁶

Black satin gowns were embellished with bands of other textured black fabrics and were highly fashionable in the 1550s and 1560s, as depicted in portraits by Antonis Mor and Hans Eworth. Mary of Guise’s household was not dressed wholly in black. Gowns of ‘camelot’ were made for eight girls in the household of Mary of Guise in 1552. They were embellished with tanny velvet by the tailor Colimant, and doubled (lined) with taffeta. Tanny was a dull brownish-purple colour which enjoyed a great deal of prestige in the 16th century. Camelot or camlet was a silk fabric with a pile. Three other robes were made of black velvet for Guise’s companions, Margaret Stuart, Anne Erskine and Barbara Kennedy.⁷⁷



Violet and Tanny personified, 'Recueil de dessins ou cartons'© Bibliothèque nationale de France. BNF Fr. 24461, fol. 114

The February 1561/2 inventory of Mary's clothes lists about 60 gowns.⁷⁸

In 1578, a number of Mary's gowns were stored in Edinburgh Castle, some described with 'bodeis and burlettis'.⁷⁹ The *burlettis* were the padded round shoulder pieces. Only a few of these gowns were black: Mary had abandoned wearing mourning before her second marriage, and perhaps wore mourning dress only on special occasions.



Court lady, follower of Antonis Mor, 1560s. Gown with black satin brocade with velvet banding © Art Institute Chicago



?Mary Beaton, 1560s

Sleeves and bodice match, *corps de cotte / paire des brassieres*

Black gown open to reveal bodice

Black gown open to reveal black kirtle

?Antonis Mor, *Called Mary Beaton* © English Heritage

Juppe (Fr.) (not mentioned in connection with dolls)

The *juppe* was mentioned twice in Servais's record and once in the Treasurer's Accounts.⁸⁰ It seems to have been a kind of skirt. One was of tanny satin, the other of 'drogate', a wool and silk mix.⁸¹ There were five in her wardrobe in 1586.⁸²

Kirtle / cotte (Fr.) / *undergown / cota* (Spanish)

Pippens: '19 gownis, kirtillis, and vaskenis for thame'

Earlier 16th-century records indicate that the kirtle was worn over the smock or shirt. The upper body part was shaped and stiffened and there was an integral skirt. Later the two parts became separate items,⁸³ Several royal accounts show how the upper part was constructed of different materials to the lower section. The kirtle of the skirt could be decorated - its front part would be visible, revealed at the opening of the gown, the

layer above. It seems that Mary's kirtles were separable into two garments, the skirts being called *vaskins*. (This may be unexpected, since the word *vasquine* is clearly related to the modern word *basque*, now describing a kind of corset.)

According to Nau, Mary escaped from Lochleven Castle wearing a red *cotte* belonging to one of her women.⁸⁴ This garment is clearly a kirtle.

In 1538, the kirtle was recognised as comprising of bodice and skirt. Fifteen ells of black damask was supplied for two kirtles for the sisters of the Earl of Lennox, with nine quarters of fine black fustian for the bodices of the kirtles. Above this, the sisters had black velvet gowns requiring 26 ells. The kirtles were lined with eight ells of French red. The exposed parts were decorated with applique black velvet and satin. The bodices were lined with bombasy. The sisters had joined the service of Mary of Guise.⁸⁵

In February 1552, Lady Arran got a kirtle of figured velvet and the tailor was paid for lining the skirt of this kirtle, and adding red English broadcloth to the lower parts. Gowns at this time could have long tails.⁸⁶

Although later skirts supported by farthingales appear voluminous, they seem to have required less fabric than earlier styles. In December 1540, eight ells of fine crammosy satin of Venice were given to Mary of Guise for a kirtle, at the same time 15 ells of fine black Lucca velvet was issued for a gown. Another gown took 15 ells of purple velvet, another kirtle of 'white damask of the great flower' required nine ells. Two kirtles for ladies required 15 ells of black velvet, another seven ells.⁸⁷ These quantities are greater than those supplied to Mary: in 1567, a gown for the queen required 12 ells of lining fabric, its bodice only one ell. This is around the quantity of fabric needed for a *robbe*.⁸⁸ A *vasquine* required five ells.⁸⁹ While Mary may have been smaller than her mother, it may be that skirts stretched over a farthingale took up less fabric than folds of cloth in earlier styles.

Robbe, see Gown

Sarks

Inventories rarely mention shirts made of linen, but there are records of them being sewn and perhaps embroidered by court ladies such as Katherine Bellenden for James V.

Skirt, *devant*, *devanter*

Where the Scots inventory mentions a *skirt*, the equivalent French is often *devant* – meaning the triangular front panel which would be visible in the opening of the layer above. This is sometime called a forepart or *devantiere*.

When Mary's companion Elizabeth of France married Philip II in 1559, she had a *vertugade* (a farthingale) and a *coverture de vertugade*, which was probably a *devanter*.⁹⁰

None of a list of 15 of Mary skirts in Edinburgh Castle in 1578 were black. These skirts may have been worn with black gowns.⁹¹

Sleeves, *manches*

In November 1553, Mary of Guise had gowns made with upper and lower sleeves 'les bas et haulx de manches des robbes' of Spanish velvet.⁹² Long decorative lower sleeves might hang from the elbow.

The inventory mention of sarks, sleeves and hose for dolls together may be mean that the packet contained linen sleeves. About 40 pairs of sleeves formerly belonging to Mary were listed in the 1578 inventory.⁹³ A 1567 letter mentions her sleeves tied with points.

Vasquine

Later French sources describe the *vasquine* as a tight bodice lacking stays, worn between the chemise (shirt) and the *cotte*. However, earlier sources appear to describe a petticoat worn over the farthingale. Randle Cotgrave translated *vasquine* as a petticoat or farthingale in his French English

dictionary of 1611.⁹⁴ An account of riot in Angers in 1562 mentions a child of six or seven years age saved from drowning in the Loire by the buoyancy provided by her *vasquines*, which must have been her skirts.⁹⁵

Some of Mary Queen of Scots' *vasquines* were comprised of bodices with attached petticoats. In these records the word seems to apply more readily to the skirt in phrases like 'une vasquyne ... avecq le corps fait a bourletz'.⁹⁶ In this case the *bourrelets* (rings) seem to be the ring-like stiffening for shoulders.⁹⁷ Mary's *vasquin* was sometimes attached to the *cotte*. The records mention *corps de cotte* (bodice) and *vasquine de cotte*.⁹⁸ Another pairing was recorded in 1561 as 'ane doublett of chammilot with the vaskine', and the same inventory item was recorded by Servais as 'une vasquine de Camelot noir' in October 1561, when it was adjusted for Mary Queen of Scots' use. Mr John Wood gave this piece a cross-reference number '94'.⁹⁹ John Wood's number '90' was 'une vasquine de cotte de velours noir', previously called 'ane doublet of bak velvot and the vaskene of the same'.¹⁰⁰

In November 1553, Mary of Guise had a *vasquine* embellished with ten bands of Spanish velvet; 'plus pour parachever de x bandes la *vasquine* de la Royne je delivre demy aulnes de velours d'Espagne'.¹⁰¹ This was the fashionable black on black, contrasting the matte effect of the velvet with the satin skirt.

In 1563, six satin *vaskins* were brought from France by William Maitland of Lethington, embroidered, 'pirnit' with gold and silver.¹⁰² These *vasquines* would be visible at the front opening of the gown.

Spanish fashion / *Robbe a l'Espagnolle* / *Corps a l'Espagnolle*

In 1561-2, a Spanish gown was made with a body 'a l'Espagnolle'. A piece for a Spanish body took 1¾ ells of black satin and was doubled with half an ell of taffeta for doubling. In December, Jacques made a black satin front for a Spanish body for a *robbe* of 'serge d'ascot' and a Spanish black satin *collet* (a collar) for wearing in the field.¹⁰³

Henri III and Catherine de' Medici also had garments 'a l'Espagnol'. However, it is not possible to characterise these items as the adoption of a foreign style, and the terms probably refer to subtle nuances in style, like looseness.¹⁰⁴ Two gowns made in Spanish fashion in Mary's inventory of February 1562 were listed as masqueing garments, and these pieces with a gown made in the style of Picardy were perhaps more exaggerated in their difference.¹⁰⁵



Ferdinando Bertelli, *Omnium fere gentium nostrae aetatis habitus* (1563), Woman of France,

no. 22. This gown is closed at the front © Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Ferdinando Bertelli, *Omnium fere gentium nostrae aetatis habitus* (1563),
Woman of France,
no. 23. The hooped farthingale is visible at the base of the skirt © Bibliothèque
nationale de France.

5 The Miniature Bed

ane packet with ane furnist bed, (1578)

The packet with a bed in the Edinburgh Castle inventory appears in the section describing the dolls. Another 'packet' contained sleeves for the dolls.

The Brissac family toys in the cabinet at the Chateau d'Etalan in 1552 included 'Une femme en couche dans un lict qui a le ciel de satin verd' (A woman in a bed with a green satin roof).¹⁰⁶

It seems probable that these beds were both toys, perhaps readily available in Paris. No 16th-century dolls' beds survive. A small number of dolls' beds survive from the later 17th century, mostly of angel form, also with female occupants. These beds were probably similar in style to the bed recently made for Stirling Palace.



Doll's bed 17th-century (C) RMN-Grand Palais (musée de la Renaissance, château d'Ecouen) / Philippe Fuzeau

6 The Litter

With Mary's dolls in 1578 was a toy litter;

Ane littare lynnit with crammosie satine and steikit with the harnissing thairto and tua litle chyres in it and a cordoun of silk and gold.

A litter lined with cramosy [red] satin and embroidery with the harness and two chairs in it, and a rope of gold and silk.

Sixteenth-century illustrations exist of formal royal processions with litters. Many are very fanciful. They were used in royal entries. The illustration below shows Elizabeth I in a two-horse open litter somewhat like a sledge. Four attendants hold a canopy above the litter. The poles could also be attached to the sledge-like base to make a closed litter. In French, this type was a *une lictiere a pilliers*.



Elizabeth I in procession the day before her coronation in 1559 © College of Arms (M.6, fol. 41v)

The toy litter in the Brissac household in 1552 at Estelan was described like the Edinburgh example, in the same colours, with two seats, but this example also had two passenger dolls and two toy mules:

Une licrière de velours cramoisy acoustrée de passecimens dor et dedens deux poupines et deux mulles et deux paiges dessus.

A litter of cramosy velvet garnished with golden passments and within two dolls and two mules and two pages.¹⁰⁷

This litter was accompanied by at least three equestrian dolls:

Deux hacquenées blanches et deux poupines dessus.

Neuf aultres poupines, comprins deux gentilshommes dont y en a ung à cheval.

Two white hackneys and two doll riders.
Nine other dolls including two gentlemen one of which rides a horse.

It seems this group of dolls was intended as a plaything to imitate a royal procession, to be brought out and set up as a tableau of a princess going to church or making a royal entry. Such play may not have been unusual amongst aristocratic children close to the French court, and these toy litters may have been produced in Paris. Perhaps the idea of doll play in domestic setting, in doll's houses, was not so fixed.

Catherine de' Medici had a real litter made in 1558, and was described using litters on many occasions, though, sadly, festival books do not illustrate these litters.

Pour une lictiere complete, couverte de veloux noir et doublee de satin cramoisy, pour le personne de ladicte dame, et pour l'acoustrement des deux mulletz qui porteront ladicte lictiere, 500 livres tournois.¹⁰⁸

For a complete litter, covered in black velvet and lined in cramosy satin for the said lady herself, and for the furniture of the the two mules that carry it.

Litters were the preferred transport of queens, at least on formal occasions, and the litter may have been a common plaything for French aristocratic children of the 1550s. Charles de Cosse (1505–63) had two daughters by Charlotte d'Esquetot (the only child of Madeleine Picard d'Etelan),¹⁰⁹ Diane and Jeane, and two daughters by other women. George Buchanan was tutor to their brother Timoleon de Cosse (and perhaps the girls, too).

The presence of the toy litter in the assemblage at Edinburgh Castle so similar to the Chateau d'Etelan example, but lacking figures and mules, suggests that some of the other dolls recorded in 1578 were also playthings from Mary's French childhood.

Appendix 1

The Contents of Mary Queen Of Scots' Cabinet Stored at Edinburgh Castle¹¹⁰
SCHRYNIS, cofferis, buistis, caissis,¹¹¹ pippennis, fantasies, fedderis, masking
claithis,¹¹² pictures, cairtis, and veschellis of glass¹¹³

IN THE FIRST ane cais with fedderis of divers hewis.

5 masking garmentis of crammosie satine freinyeit with gold & bandit with claith
of gold

6 maskenis of the same pairt of thame uncompleit

24 scheildis of claith of gold for bak and foir.

12 heid peces of clath of silver claith of gold and crammosie satine.

11 pair of slevis of craip of silver bandit with claith of gold

3 Egiptianis hattis of reid and yallow taffeteis.

Sum uther bladdis of silver claith and uther geir meit for maskene

5 masking quaiffis for the hind heid [5 coifs]

5 litle crownis for the foirheid [5 tiaras]

Tua flaconis of layme anamalit with blew and quheit & ane all blew. [faience]

Ane fair steill glas . [a mirror]

Ane uther les schawing mony faces in the visie. [facetted mirror]

Tua litle cairtis of the yle of Malt. [maps of Malta]

Ane quaver for arrowis coverit with crammosie velvot. [archery quiver]

Sevin viollis [a 'chest' of viols]

Ane pair of Spainyie pantonis

Ane quhite polk of greit chas men of bane. [white bag of chess men]

Ane litle grene polk with sum chas men. [green bag of chess men]

Ane greit moder of perll brokin

Ane litle auld pictour of King James the Fyft.

Ane pictour of King Frances the Secund.

Ane pictor of the constable of France.

Ane creill with sum images of allabast and builyettis

Foure standeris of fedderis for the toppis of beddis.

Ane creill with sum bulyettis of tymmer and pippennis [wooden balls &
dolls]¹¹⁴

The beik of a foule of India or Brasile. [beak of exotic bird]¹¹⁵

Ane paper of fedderis of sindrie sortis

Ane litle buist of reid crammoisie broderie full of sindrie bittis of silk of divers
culloris.

Ane litle coffer in forme of ane coid of grene velvot pasmentit with gold and silver
and ane blet of reid satine about it.

Ane litle paintit grene buist full of beiddis of sindrie culloris.

**Ane coffer quhairin is contenit certane pictouris of wemen callit pippennis
being in nomber fourtene mekle and litle;**

fytene vadingaill for thame,

nyntene gownis kirtillis and vaskenis for thame,

ane packet of sairkis slevis, and hois for thame,

thair pantonis,

ane packet with ane furnist bed,¹¹⁶

**ane uther packett of litle consaittis and trifillis of bittis of crisp and
utheris,**

tua dussane and ane half of masking visouris

Certane werklumes for ane brodin stare;
Ane cabinet lyke ane coffer coverit with, purpoure velvet quhairin is drawin litle
buistis to keep writtingis in.
Ane Danskene coffer.
**Ane littare lynnit with crammosie satine and steikit with the harnissing thairto
and tua litle chyres in it and a cordoun of silk and gold.**¹¹⁷ [toy litter]
Ane coffer of crammosie velvet broderit with gold and sum perll and within it;
Ane uther litle coffer round coverit of the same fassoun within it
Ane preincoid of blew and yallow velvet. [pin-cushion]
Ane cais of camis furnist.
Sevin pennis wrocht with gold and silk of divers cullouris.
Ane litle flacat of yallow and reid silk with threid of gold.
Ane litle coffar of crammosie satine broderit with gold full of litle fantaseis.
Tua uther litle cofferis of crammosie satine broderit with gold.
Ane litle preincoid of crammosie satine broderit with gold
Tua litle cofferis coverit with silk of nedle werk of divers cullouris
Tua pair beiddis of gold and crammosie silk
Ane butour fute coverit with gold and round perllis. [bird foot: bittern]
Ane uther pair of beiddis with four knoppis of gold & perllis & fassis of grene silk
Ane litle pece of broderie werk grotesque.
Ane uther coffer wrocht of cantailie of gold with medallis of moder of perll
contenand 78 flouris maid of wyre coverit with silk of divers cullouris, and a
porcupenis pen.
Ane auld buist coverit with cantailie of gold and flouris of gold silver and silk,
contenand;
7 fannonis of stra wrocht with silk of divers cullouris;
6 of fedderis of sindrie cullouris,
3 of giltit paper,
ane birs sponge,
ane brokin glas fassinnet in forme of ane hairt with silver.

Ane uther les coffer coverit with cantailie of gold with ane medall of moder of
perll contenand 6 [blank] quhilk coffer is for halding of ringis.
Ane uther coffer cullourit with reid coverit with pantit paper contenand 27 pecis
of litle conseittis of gold silver and silk of sindrie hewis.
Ane uther litle buist of trie paintit, quhairin is tuentie clewis of threid wrocht with
sewing gold and silver
Ane grene buist paintit on the lid quhairin is 7 angus dayis of sindrie sortis;
twa tume buistis outwith the same of the same sort.
4 auld buistis of cantailie of gold, in the leist quhair of is sum peces of glas.
Ane litle buist of aik trie lang with flouris of silk fast in it.
Ane uther litle buist grene paintit on the cover with nyntene portratouris of men
on horsbak and utheris fantaseis of evir bane & woid.
Ane quhite buist with chas men in personages of woid. [white box of chess
men]
Tua lang reid buistis paintit with flouris, in the maist quhair of is 34 pictouris of
paper
Foure cairtis of sindrie cuntreis. [cairtis: maps]
Ane gilt basine of glas,¹¹⁸
Tua blew flaconis garnist with tyn

Ane uther blew flacon
 Foure gilt chandilleris
 Ane Samaritane woman and hir well maid of trie
 5 pleittis of quheit anamaling
 Ane pleitt hollit as gif it wer wandis. [fashioned like a basket]
 3 uther pleittis of divers cullouris
 3 pleittis cullourit plane,
 8 blew salceris, ane brokin,
 2 litle barrellis and ane litle thre futtit pott,
 Ane blew lawer with ane gilt coupe,
 Ane litle lawer blew gilt,
 Ane quhite vais,
 Ane coup of jasp with the cover
 Thre heich gobblettis tua coverit and ane without a cover
 8 couppis of sindrie fassionis
 6 litle culing fannis of litle wandis. [basketwork fans]
 Ane litle coid of quhite taffetie pasmentit with silver.
 Ane perfumit cod of claith of gold embroderit with perll & garnettis
 2 wandis ane of gold and grene silk ane uther of silver & blak silk.
 Ane mitten without fingeris of quheit taifetie sewit with reid crammosie silk
 Ane polk with table men. [table men: draughtsmen,
 carved discs]
 16 gardrobbis schrynnis and cofferis.¹¹⁹
 2 greit maillis of ledder. [mail: trunk]
 Ane palyeoun for the feildis without tymmer or towis. [tent]¹²⁰
 Ane blak cordoun for a day. [dais, a decorative rope for a
 canopy]

Appendix 2

French Dolls, the Petit Cabinet de Mlle de Brissac, Chateau d'Etelan 1557 and 1552

Dolls for Diane and Jeane de Cossé. The editor of this inventory noted 'the cabinet contained games, jewels, and objects of fantasy of all sorts of uses for the Brissac women in large number, but including this selection'.¹²¹ The inventory has not attracted much comment. Like the inventories of Mary Queen of Scots, it includes dolls and some embroideries of birds.

Un petit mesnaige d'ârgent (bacin, flacons, coupe, gobelet, tasse, salières, escuelles, assiettes, etc.)

Six petitz ymages dores, où est la vierge marye qui tient nostre seigneur. Ung a dor esmaillé de blanc et gris.

Une noix étrange garnye d'argent doré la ou il y a des fleurs de lys et des daulphins.

Une lictière de velours cramoisy acoustrée de passecimens dor et dedens deux poupines et deux mulles et deux paiges dessus. [Litter: see section 5]

Deux hacquenées blanches et deux poupines dessus.

Neuf aultres poupines, comprins deux gentilshommes dont y en a ung à cheval.

Une femme en couche dans un lict qui a le ciel de satin verd.

Deux poupines et une religieuse tenant ensemble un bouquet fait en rond, là où il y a cinq aigneaux.

[Two dolls and a nun together holding a *bouquet* embroidered with five sheep]

Deux bouquets de soye ou il y a une pélican.

[Two silk bouquets with a pelican]

Dix huit aultres petiz bouquets de soye.

Deux paons, un coq, un seigne et deux aultres oiseaulx.

[Two peacocks, a cock, a swan and two other birds.]

Further Illustrations



Fashion doll, c.1585–90. This doll is assumed to be a fashion doll. 15cm in height. The head is fabric with human hair, the body has a wire armature. The gown is velvet and silk trimmed with lace and seed pearls, with matching muff and hair ornaments. The volume of doll's garments may often have been achieved with wire © Photo: Erik Lernestål, The Royal Armoury, Stockholm (CC BY-SA 3.0)”



Daniël van den Queborn (1552-1602), Portrait of Louise Juliana of Orange-Nassau aged about six, with a doll, 1582 © Siegerlandmuseum im Oberen Schloss – Universitätsstadt Siegen - Courtesy Förderverein des Siegerlandmuseums und des Oberen Schlosses e. V. (Siegen, Germany).



Isaac Claesz van Swanenburg, Portrait of Catharina van Warmond, 1596. Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague, inv./cat. no. 16/31. Like the portrait of Arbella Stewart, the doll is dressed in the fashions of a previous decade. By Isaac Claesz. van Swanenburg [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Abbreviations

NLS National Library of Scotland
NRS National Records of Scotland

Bibliography

Primary

J. Berger de Xivrey, *Recueil de Missives de Henri IV*, 5 (Paris 1850).

- Edmond Bonnaffe, *Inventaire des Meubles De Catherine de Médicis en 1589, Mobilier, Tableaux, Objets d'art, Manuscrits* (Paris 1874).
- Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Vatican Archives*, vol. 1, 1558–71 (London 1916).
- A. Chester, *Selected Sermons of Hugh Latimer* (Charlottesville 1978).
- G. Corrozet, *Les divers propos memorables des nobles & illustres hommes de la Chrestiente* (Paris 1556).
- Randle Cotgrave, *Dictionarie of French and English tongues* (London 1611).
- A. Desjardins, *Négociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, IV (Paris 1872), 528–9.
- W. Duncan, *Miscellaneous Papers: Principally Illustrative of Events in the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI* (Glasgow 1834).
- L. de Farcy, 'Un inventaire du XVI^e siècle, récolement fait en 1557 par Charlotte d'Esquetot des meubles du château d'Estelan' (Brissac de Cosse 1552), in *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, sciences et arts d'Angers*, 14 (1911), 413–25.
- H. de la Ferrière, *Deux années de mission à Saint-Pétersbourg: manuscrits, lettres et documents* (Paris 1867).
- A. P. Golitsyne, *Inventaire des meubles, bijoux et livres estant à Chenonceaux, 1604* (1856).
- HMC 6th Report Earl of Moray* (1877).
- HMC 17th Report Earl of Ancaster* (1907).
- HMC Salisbury*, I (1883).
- L. Lafaist, 'Comptes des Despences de Catherine de Medicis', in *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France* (Paris 1836), t. 9, 117.
- D. Laing ed., *Works of John Knox* (Edinburgh 1844).
- J. R. Lumby ed., *Ratis Raving* (London 1870).
- Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. 3, part 1 (Edinburgh 1842).
- J. Michaud and J. Poujoulat, *Memoires Journaux de Duc de Guise* (1857), 446.
- NRS E34/19, account of velvet and silk used by Mary of Guise.
- H. de la Popelinière, *L'Histoire de France: Enrichie des plus notables occurrences* (Paris 1581).
- J. Robertson ed., *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse* (Edinburgh 1863).
- D. Starkey ed., *Inventory of Henry VIII* (London 1998).
- TA. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, 13 vols (Edinburgh 1877–1978).
- T. Thomson ed., *Collection of Inventories* (Edinburgh 1815), 237–42.
- M. Wood, *Balcarres Papers* (Edinburgh 1925).

Secondary

- J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds 1988).
- M. Bath, *Emblems for a Queen* (London 2008).
- J. Boucher, *Deux épouses et reines à la fin du XVI^e siècle: Louise de Lorraine et Marguerite de France* (1995).
- S. Buck, 'Beauty and Virtue for Francis I: Iohannes Ambrosius Nucetus and the Early Portrait Miniature', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 71 (2008), 191–210.
- Sarah Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Entertainments of Mary Queen of Scots', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 82, no. 214(2) (2003).
- Y. C. Croizat, "'Living Dolls": François Ier Dresses his Women', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 60, no. 1 (Spring 2007), 94–130.
- P. Delorme, *Marie de Médicis* (Paris 1998).

- Pavel Drábek, 'English Comedy Czech Marionettes', in R. Henke ed., *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theatre* (2014).
- C. Edwards, *Encyclopedia of Furnishing Textiles* (Aldershot 2007).
- H. de Ferrière, *Les projets de mariage de la reine Élisabeth* (Paris 1882).
- S. ffoliot, 'Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia', in M. Ferguson ed., *Rewriting the Renaissance* (Chicago 1986), 227–41.
- D. H. Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh 1897).
- Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot 2009).
- F. Kelly, 'Shakespearian Dress Notes – II. B. – Farthingales', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 29, no. 165 (1916).
- A. Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, VII (Paris 1842), 235.
- M. Manson, 'Divers approches sur l'histoire de la poupée du XVe au XVIIe siècle', in *Les Jeux de la Renaissance* (1982), 525–51.
- Jean-H. Mariéjol, *Catherine de Médicis* (Paris 1920).
- R. K. Marshall, 'Prosopographical Analysis of the Female Household', in *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting Across Early Modern Europe* (Brill 2014), 209–28.
- N. Mikhaila and J. Malcolm-Davies, *The Tudor Tailor* (London 2006), esp. 78–81, English gowns; 120–2, farthingales.
- N. Orme, 'The Culture of Children in England', *Past & Present*, no. 148 (August 1995).
- E. Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire* (Aldershot 2014).
- A. Reynolds, *In Fine Style* (2013).
- J. Spinks and S. Broomhall, 'Imagining Domesticity in Early Modern Dutch Doll's House', in *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries* (Aldershot 2011).
- J. Stevenson, *The History of Mary Stewart, by Claude Nau* (1883).
- R. Tamalio, *Ferrante Gonzaga alla corte spagnola di Carlo V* (Paris 1994).
- C. Trouquet, *Diane, bâtarde du roi, princesse de la Renaissance* (2013).
- J. Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots* (1988).

Online sources

- DOST. *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, www.dsl.ac.uk/.
- Sylvène Édouard, 'Corps de Reine. Du corps sublime au corps souffrant d'Élisabeth de Valois (1546–1568)', *Chrétiens et sociétés* [Online], 12 (2005), <http://chretienssocietes.revues.org/2186> [accessed 6 October 2015]; DOI: 10.4000/chretienssocietes.2186.
- Isabelle Paresys, 'Vêtir les souverains français à la Renaissance: les garde-robes d'Henri II et de Catherine de Médicis en 1556 et 1557', *Apparence(s)* [Online], 6 (2015), <http://apparences.revues.org/1319> [accessed 10 September 2015]. www.periodcostume.co.uk/a-gown-for-queen-catherine-howard/

Dr Michael Pearce worked with Historic Environment Scotland investigating historic interiors and contributed to the restoration of Stirling Palace, General Register House, Dumfries House and many other projects. He recently completed his PhD study in material culture and artistic patronage in Scotland in the 16th and 17th centuries. Michael continues to research inventories and records of merchants and makers, and is editing craft records and royal manuscripts.

Notes

- ¹ T. Thomson ed., *Collection of Inventories* (Edinburgh 1815), 237–42.
- ² Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, see appendix; J. Robertson ed., *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse* (Edinburgh 1863).
- ³ M. Manson, 'Divers approches sur l'histoire de la poupée du XVe au XVIIe siècle', in *Les Jeux de la Renaissance* (1982), 525–51.
- ⁴ J. R Lumby ed., *Ratis Raving* (London 1870), 58.
- ⁵ N. Orme, 'The Culture of Children in England', *Past & Present*, no. 148 (August 1995), 52.
- ⁶ J. Spinks and S. Broomhall, 'Imagining Domesticity in Early Modern Dutch Doll's House', in *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries* (Aldershot 2011), 109.
- ⁷ Y. C. Croizat, "'Living Dolls": François Ier Dresses his Women', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 60, no. 1 (Spring 2007), 94–130.
- ⁸ E. Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire* (Aldershot 2014), 24.
- ⁹ Croizat, 'Living Dolls'.
- ¹⁰ Ambrogio Nocetto, 'Tutte le dame del Re', Milan Biblioteca Trivulziana n. 2159: S. Buck, 'Beauty and Virtue for Francis I: Iohannes Ambrosius Nucetus and the Early Portrait Miniature', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 71 (2008), 191–210.
- ¹¹ R. Tamalio, *Ferrante Gonzaga alla corte spagnola di Carlo V* (Paris 1994), 203.
- ¹² H. de Ferrière, *Les projets de mariage de la reine Élisabeth* (Paris 1882), 25, 'si j'étois une des poupines que Sa Majesté vous envoie présentement, je vous en dirois davantage'.
- ¹³ *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Vatican Archives*, vol. 1, 1558–71 (London 1916), no. 228.
- ¹⁴ C. Trouquet, *Diane, bâtarde du roi, princesse de la Renaissance* (2013), 178.
- ¹⁵ J. Boucher, *Deux épouses et reines à la fin du XVIe siècle: Louise de Lorraine et Marguerite de France* (1995), 98–101; A. P. Golitsyne, *Inventaire des meubles, bijoux et livres estant à Chenonceaux, 1604* (1856).
- ¹⁶ J. Boucher, *Deux épouses et reines à la fin du XVIe siècle: Louise de Lorraine et Marguerite de France* (1995), 98–9; A. Desjardins, *Négociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, IV (Paris 1872), 528–9; *Calendar State Papers Foreign Elizabeth 1575–1577*, XI (London 1880), 541–6.
- ¹⁷ P. Delorme, *Marie de Médicis* (Paris 1998), 38–9; J. Berger de Xivrey, *Recueil de Missives de Henri IV*, 5 (Paris 1850), 256.
- ¹⁸ Edmond Bonnaffe, *Inventaire Des Meubles De Catherine De Médicis en 1589, Mobilier, Tableaux, Objets d'art, Manuscrits* (Paris 1874), 15–16, 88, 93–4, 164; Jean-H. Mariéjol, *Catherine de Médicis* (Paris 1920).
- ¹⁹ M. Bath, *Emblems for a Queen* (London 2008), 84–5.
- ²⁰ S. ffoliot, 'Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia', in M. Ferguson ed., *Rewriting the Renaissance* (Chicago 1986), 227–41.
- ²¹ H. de la Ferrière, *Deux années de mission à Saint-Pétersbourg: manuscrits, lettres et documents* (Paris 1867), 17, 234; Sylvène Édouard, 'Corps de Reine. Du corps sublime au corps souffrant d'Élisabeth de Valois (1546–1568)', *Chrétiens et sociétés* [Online], 12 (2005), <http://chretienssocietes.revues.org/2186> [accessed 6 October 2015]; DOI: 10.4000/chretienssocietes.2186.
- ²² G. Corrozet, *Les divers propos memorables des nobles & illustres hommes de la Chrestiente* (Paris 1556), 56–7.
- ²³ D. Starkey ed., *Inventory of Henry VIII* (1998), p 422, nos 17096–7; *HMC Salisbury*, I (1883), 131.
- ²⁴ J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds 1988), 157–8.
- ²⁵ For detail of ladies-in-waiting, see R. K. Marshall, 'Prosopographical Analysis of the Female Household', in *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe* (Brill 2014), 209–28.
- ²⁶ Marshall, 'Prosopographical Analysis of the Female Household', 224–5.
- ²⁷ *TA*, XI, pp xx, xxiii–xliii, *Inventaires*, 129.
- ²⁸ Marshall, 'Prosopographical Analysis of the Female Household', 222.

- ²⁹ J. Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots* (1988); D. Laing ed., *Works of John Knox*, II (Edinburgh 1844), 294.
- ³⁰ Laing, *Works of John Knox, First Blast against the Regiment of Women*, IV (1855), 381, citing Tertullian, *De Habitu Mulierum – De Cultu Feminarum*, I cap. 1.
- ³¹ Laing, *Works of John Knox, History of the Reformation*, II (1848), 381, 389.
- ³² J. Stevenson, *The History of Mary Stewart, by Claude Nau* (1883), 56, 261.
- ³³ 'Schrynis' – simply boxes, not religious objects.
- ³⁴ Another inventory of different masking clothes is in the Moray Papers, NRAS 217, printed *HMC 6th Report Earl of Moray* (1877), 672.
- ³⁵ Spinks and Broomhall, 'Imagining Domesticity', 108.
- ³⁶ *HMC 17th Report Earl of Ancaster* (1907), 7, 'To two men which played upon the puppets two nights before herr Grace'.
- ³⁷ Robertson, *Inventaires*, lxxi fn. 6.
- ³⁸ D. H. Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots* (1898), 60; A. Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (1968).
- ³⁹ Robertson, *Inventaires*, lxxi-ii, 145.
- ⁴⁰ Sarah Carpenter, 'Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Entertainments of Mary Queen of Scots', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 82, no. 214(2) (2003), 206.
- ⁴¹ Pavel Drábek, 'English Comedy Czech Marionettes', in R. Henke ed., *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theatre* (2014), 179.
- ⁴² Robertson, *Inventaires*, 142.
- ⁴³ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 125–78.
- ⁴⁴ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 139.
- ⁴⁵ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 127 no. 35, 17¾ Scots ells.
- ⁴⁶ M. Freer, *Elizabeth de Valois* (London 1857), 42.
- ⁴⁷ www.periodcostume.co.uk/a-gown-for-queen-catherine-howard. Some details of period dressmaking are recreated in N. Mikhaila and J. Malcolm-Davies, *The Tudor Tailor* (London 2006), esp. 78–81, English gowns; 120–2, farthingales.
- ⁴⁸ NRS E34/19.
- ⁴⁹ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 26.
- ⁵⁰ A. Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, VII (Paris 1842), 235.
- ⁵¹ NRS E34/19, fol. 8.
- ⁵² Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 234–5.
- ⁵³ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 71–3.
- ⁵⁴ NRS E34/19, fol. 4.
- ⁵⁵ NRS E34/19, fol. 11. This account records the issue of fabric and its use rather than outfits made.
- ⁵⁶ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 68–73.
- ⁵⁷ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 27.
- ⁵⁸ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 142; Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 132.
- ⁵⁹ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 225–30.
- ⁶⁰ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 229.
- ⁶¹ NRS E34/19, fol. 8, 'faites a glascot au voyage saint [?traignan]'.
⁶² *Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. 3, part 1 (Edinburgh 1842), 186–7.
- ⁶³ W. Duncan, *Miscellaneous Papers: Principally Illustrative of Events in the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI* (Glasgow 1834), 12–19.
- ⁶⁴ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 228–9.
- ⁶⁵ TA, XI, 204.
- ⁶⁶ A. Laing, *Works of John Knox*, IV (Edinburgh 1845), 227.
- ⁶⁷ F. Kelly, 'Shakespearian Dress Notes – II. B. – Farthingales', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 29, no. 165 (1916), 357–9; A. Chester, *Selected Sermons of Hugh Latimer* (Charlottesville 1978), 201, St Stephen's day sermon 1552 at Grimsthorpe.
- ⁶⁸ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 230.
- ⁶⁹ Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot 2009), 120.
- ⁷⁰ TA, IX, 279 Lady Barbara Hamilton (Lady Gordon); TA, X, 29 Lady Gordon, 38 Lady Anne Hamilton, 46 Lady Gordon, 70 Lady Anne and Effie Hamilton, 140 Lady Ann, 141 Elizabeth daughter of James Hamilton of Finnart, 142 Effie Hamilton, 164 Lady Gordon, 201 Lady Ann and Effie Hamilton.

-
- ⁷¹ M. Wood, *Balcarres Papers* (Edinburgh 1925), ii, xxvii, translation of a document in the fifth volume of Balcarres Papers, NLS.
- ⁷² Robertson, *Inventaires*, 71.
- ⁷³ TA, XI, 163, 246.
- ⁷⁴ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 230.
- ⁷⁵ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 139.
- ⁷⁶ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 25.
- ⁷⁷ NRS E34/19, fols 4r-v, 6.
- ⁷⁸ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 60-7.
- ⁷⁹ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 219-24; DOST, Burlat.
- ⁸⁰ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 140, 149; TA, XI, 94.
- ⁸¹ C. Edwards, *Encyclopedia of Furnishing Textiles* (Aldershot 2007), 82.
- ⁸² Labanoff, *Lettres*, VII, 235.
- ⁸³ A. Reynolds, *In Fine Style* (2013), 39: Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 120.
- ⁸⁴ J. Stevenson, *Memorials of the Reign of Mary Stewart* (1883), 289.
- ⁸⁵ TA, VII, 136-7.
- ⁸⁶ TA, X, 57.
- ⁸⁷ TA, VII, 409, 412, 424.
- ⁸⁸ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 139, a *robbe* for Mary Levington took 11 ells.
- ⁸⁹ J. Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh 1897), 510-11.
- ⁹⁰ J. Michaud and P. Poujoulat, *Memoires Journaux de Duc de Guise* (1857), 446.
- ⁹¹ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 224-5.
- ⁹² NRS E34/19, fol. 8, November 1553. Some of the clothes in this entry were made at Stirling.
- ⁹³ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 225-7.
- ⁹⁴ Randle Cotgrave, *Dictionarie of French and English tongues* (London 1611), 'vasquin'.
- ⁹⁵ H. de la Popelinière, *L'Histoire de France: Enrichie des plus notables occurrences* (Paris 1581), 310.
- ⁹⁶ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 69.
- ⁹⁷ *Une bourrelet* is a horse collar.
- ⁹⁸ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 141-2.
- ⁹⁹ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 127; Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 132.
- ¹⁰⁰ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 142; Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 132.
- ¹⁰¹ NRS E34/19, fol. 8.
- ¹⁰² Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 159.
- ¹⁰³ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 130, 134, 135.
- ¹⁰⁴ <http://apparences.revues.org/1319>. Isabelle Paresys, 'Vêtir les souverains français à la Renaissance: les garde-robes d'Henri II et de Catherine de Médicis en 1556 et 1557', *Apparence(s)* [Online], 6 (2015), <http://apparences.revues.org/1319> [accessed 10 September 2015], para. 27.
- ¹⁰⁵ Robertson, *Inventaires*, 73.
- ¹⁰⁶ L. de Farcy, 'Un inventaire du XVI^e siècle, récolement fait en 1557 par Charlotte d'Esquetot des meubles du château d'Estelan' (Brissac de Cosse 1552), in *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, sciences et arts d'Angers*, '14 (1911), 413-25, at 423-4. Source Archives de Maine-et-Loire, E 2099.
- ¹⁰⁷ de Farcy, 'Un inventaire du XVI^e siècle'.
- ¹⁰⁸ L. Lafaist, 'Comptes des Despences de Catherine de Medicis', in *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France* (Paris 1836), t. 9, 117.
- ¹⁰⁹ www.chateau-etelan.fr/chateau_eng.php.
- ¹¹⁰ Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 237-42.
- ¹¹¹ These are four types of fancy boxes: 'schryne' compare Dutch *Schrijn*.
- ¹¹² Another inventory of different masking clothes is in the Moray Papers, NRAS 217, printed *HMC 6th Report Earl of Moray*, 672.
- ¹¹³ This was a 'cupboard of glass' confiscated at Huntly Castle in 1562.
- ¹¹⁴ Could these be wooden heads for dolls?
- ¹¹⁵ Michael Bath explores this in *Emblems for a Queen*, 78-85.
- ¹¹⁶ This is a miniature bed for the pippens.
- ¹¹⁷ This is a kind of triumphal chariot, presumably a miniature for the pippens.

¹¹⁸ The following glassware and other items indented here were confiscated at Huntly Castle in 1562.

¹¹⁹ These following items are for travel.

¹²⁰ Mary's own tent, lacking poles or ropes.

¹²¹ de Farcy, 'Un inventaire du XVIe siècle,
<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5444461c/f433.image>.



HISTORIC
ENVIRONMENT
SCOTLAND

ÀRAINNEACHD
EACHDRAIDHEIL
ALBA

We are the lead public body established to investigate, care for and promote Scotland's historic environment.

We want to make sure Scotland's heritage is cherished, understood, shared and enjoyed with pride by everyone.



© Historic Environment Scotland 2018

You may re-use this information (excluding logos and images) free of charge in any format or medium, under the terms of the Open Government Licence v3.0 except where otherwise stated.

To view this licence, visit <http://nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3/> or write to the Information Policy Team, The National Archives, Kew, London TW9 4DU, or email: psi@nationalarchives.gov.uk

Where we have identified any third party copyright information you will need to obtain permission from the copyright holders concerned.

Any enquiries regarding this document should be sent to us at:

Historic Environment Scotland

Longmore House
Salisbury Place
Edinburgh
EH9 1SH
+44 (0) 131 668 8600

www.historicenvironment.scot

Scottish Charity No: SCO45925