

VIII.

THE *ARMA CHRISTI* IN SCOTLAND.

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By *Arma Christi* we mean representations of the five wounds of Christ, the heart, the hands and the feet, or of the Emblems, or Instruments, of the Passion, or of combinations of the two, often on a shield in a pseudo-heraldic arrangement.

As an earthly king had emblematic reminders of his achievements upon his shield so it was considered appropriate that the King of Heaven should have "arms" bearing as emblems the instruments of His suffering or the members of His Body which were wounded that victory might be achieved over sin and death.¹ The *Arma Christi* not only honoured Christ with a blazon of arms but gave concrete form to a cult which grew in importance and popularity during the later Middle Ages.

The imagery associated with the cult of the Passion instruments and five wounds is sometimes symbolical only, even abstract, as when the wounds are shewn rather than the members which bore them.² But a more literal imagery was common. Representations of the five wounds occur alone, with one or two of the emblems of the Passion, or associated with a comprehensive Passion symbolism.³ The "Image of Pity" and the "Mass of St Gregory" are subjects with which this Passion symbolism is particularly associated⁴ (Pls. XII and XIII *b*). In the less complex representations, the sacred wounds, with or without the Cross as a background, are frequently accompanied by the Crown of Thorns, which may surround the heart or all the five wounded members, or be looped at the intersection of the Cross. The

¹ Vide Gougaud, Dom. L., *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages* (1927), pp. 80 *et seq.*; Gasquet, Cardinal, *The Religious Life of Henry VI* (1923), p. 30; Mackeprang, M., *Aabøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1951*, consulted in an English abstract in the Library of the Warburg Institute, London; Barbier de Montault, X., *Oeuvres complètes*, VII (1893), 377-401; Male, E., *Religious Art of the End of the Middle Ages in France* (1925), pp. 104-6.

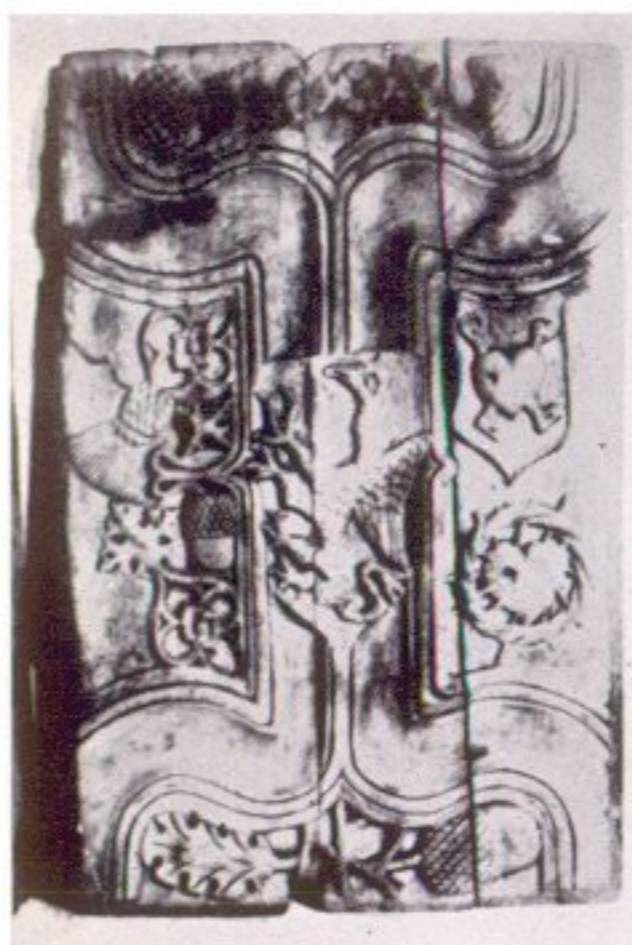
² *e.g.* the seals of certain provinces of the Franciscan Order in the 16th century, where wound slits are depicted—Barbier de Montault, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-3. The five consecration crosses incised upon an altar, or the five circles, with or without a cross, on Pilgrim's badges, as on examples in the London Museum.

³ The roof bosses of Bishop Fox's early 16th-century choir at Winchester Cathedral contain over thirty different emblems, including the sacred wounds.

⁴ As in many of the devotional works printed on early 16th-century presses. Vide Hodnett, E., *English Woodcuts, 1450-1533*, p. 109, Bibliographical Soc. Trans., 22.



(a) Castle Fraser.



(b) Seton Collegiate Church.



(c) Arbuthnott Collegiate Church.



(d) Gight Castle.



(e) St Mary's College,
St Andrews.



(f) Towie Barclay Castle.



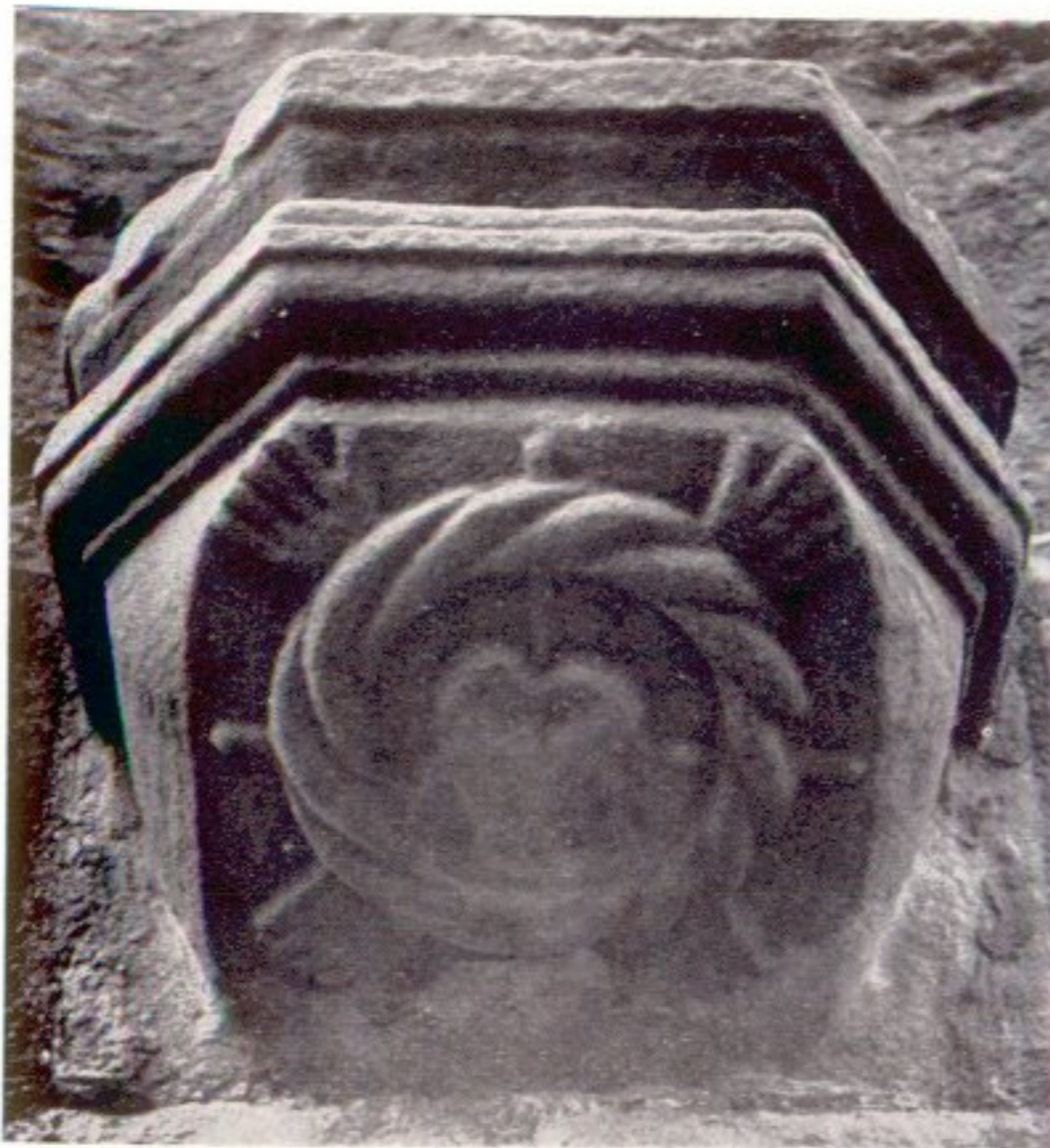
(g) Bargany House.



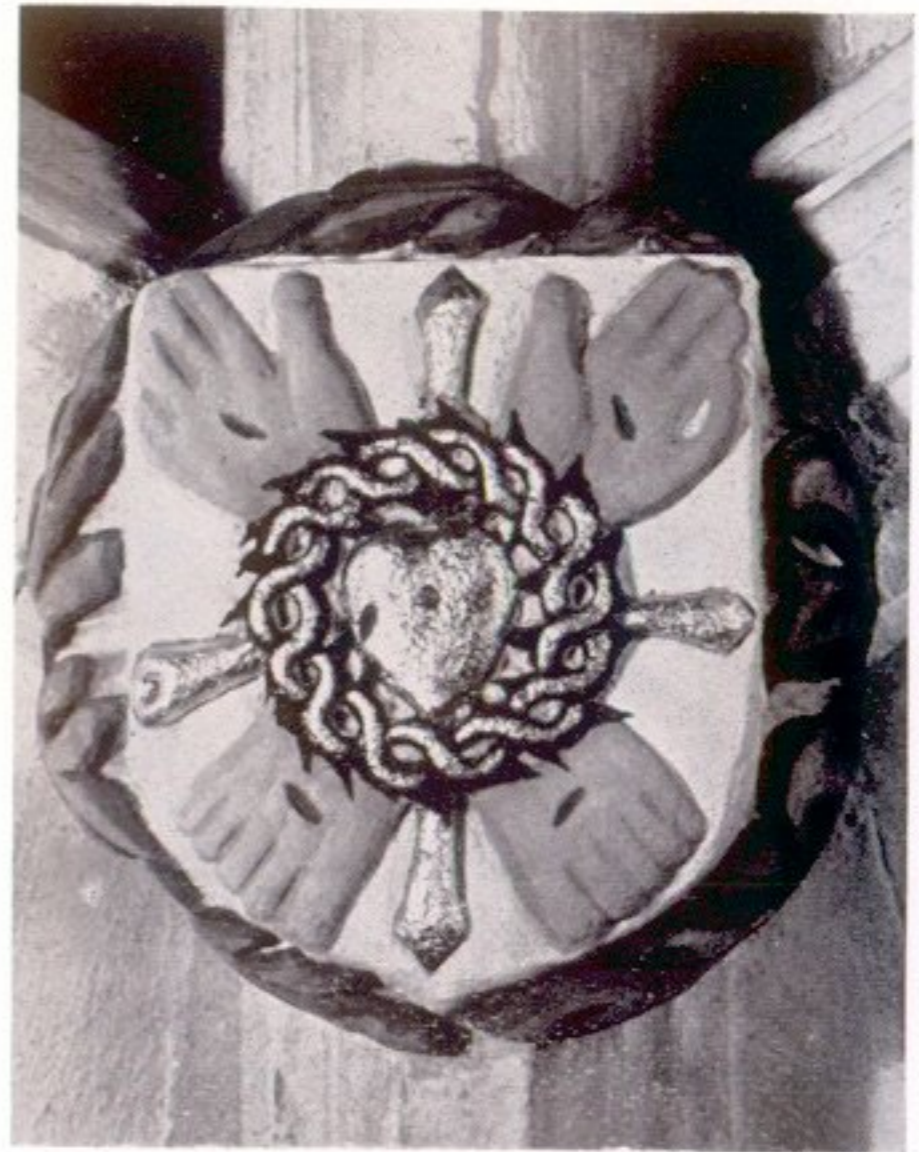
(h) Airlie Churchyard.



(i) Castle Museum,
St Andrews.



(a) Seton Collegiate Church.



(b) Glasgow Cathedral.



(c) N.M.A., probably from John Knox's House.



(d) Elgin Cathedral.



(a) St Mary's, Haddington.



(b) Elgin Cathedral.

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(a) Elgin Cathedral.



FIG. 27. W. de Worde, no. 461.
[1515?] Thomas à Kempis. Imytaciō of cryst.

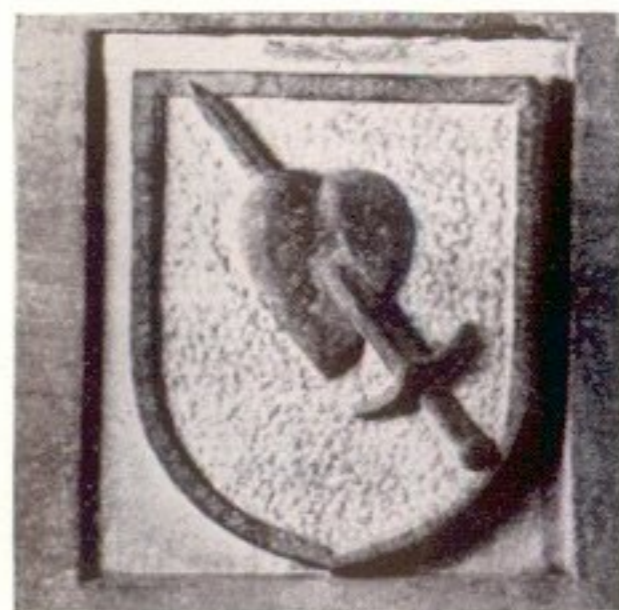
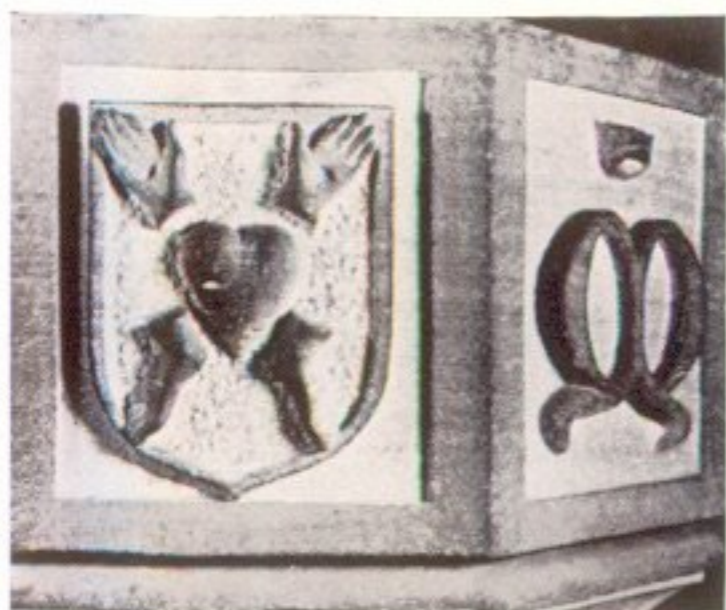
(b)



(c) N.M.A., formerly in Kirkwall Cathedral.



(d) Newton Don House, formerly in Abbot's Lodging, Arbroath.



(a) (b) (c)
St John's Episcopal Church, Aberdeen, formerly at Kinkell.

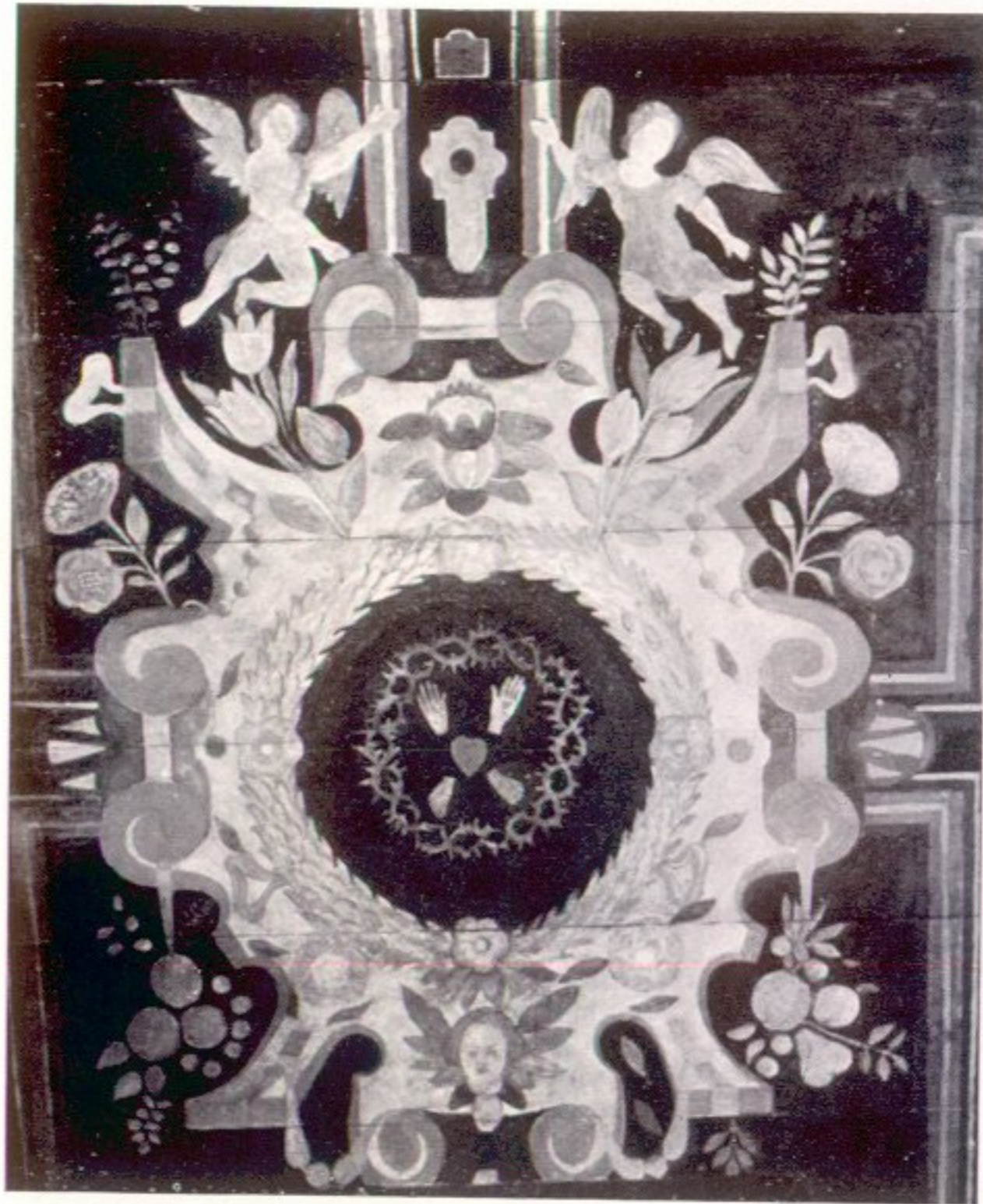


(d) (e)



(f) (g)
Episcopal Church, Meigle.

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(a)



(b)

Provost Skene's House, Aberdeen.

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crown may possess thorns, it may be of the double-twist cable type, or resemble a spiral fillet.¹ Other emblems commonly introduced are the three nails, the dice and the ladder. Angels are sometimes introduced as "supporters." The heart may be pierced by the spear and the issuing blood stream into a chalice. The infant Christ may be seated within the heart, the whip of flagellation in His hand.²

The imagery of the *Arma Christi* has been found in a variety of media and in diverse situations. The present distribution and extant types may reflect inaccessibility to vandals rather than an original usage but those most commonly seen are manuscript illuminations, separate cuts in wood and metal and incunabula illustrations, carvings in wood and stone on roof bosses, corbel tables, fonts, bench-ends, etc. Less common are textiles, enamels, stained glass windows and book-bindings.³

The popularity of the imagery in devotional books, or on separate woodcuts which could be sold cheaply to pilgrims, can be explained by the granting of indulgences to those who said masses of the five wounds or said prayers whilst contemplating them.⁴ The presence of the symbols on roof bosses where they could not readily be seen by those praying may be explained by their having become part of the repertory of popular imagery.

Most examples of *Arma Christi* are of German, Netherlandish or English origin and pre-Reformation in date. In Roman Catholic countries the imagery persisted into the counter-Reformation period and, in unsophisticated circles, down to the recent past.⁵ Mackeprang (*op. cit.*) gives three post-Reformation examples from Protestant Denmark.

What of the protestant country of Scotland? This country shared the devotional climate of Northern Europe in the late Middle Ages and was in close touch with the Netherlands where the imagery was popular.⁶ The Passion and Wounds of Christ were emphasised in Scots devotional literature.⁷

¹ St Mark xv. 19, "And they smote Him on the head with a reed." The iconography of this emblem was influenced by the reputed true Crown of Thorns, sold in 1238 by the Emperor of Constantinople to Louis XI of France, which was a wreath of rushes bound together by twisted ties. Anderson, M. D., *Imagery of British Churches* (1955), p. 119.

² Interesting examples of these are illustrated in Dodgson, C., "English Devotional Woodcuts of the late 15th century," *Walpole Soc.*, xvii.

³ A volume of Nonnus in York Minster Library, bound by John Reynes, London, early 16th century, is blind-stamped with the *Redemptoris Mundi Arma* cut of Thielman Kerver.

⁴ Hours of the B.V.M., 15th century, York Minster Library: f. 44 has sewn to it a sheet printed on paper with a pseudo-heraldic display of the Passion instruments at the foot of which is the inscription: "Who su ever devoutely behoideth these armys of Christ haith VI^mVII^cLV Y per."

⁵ Gougau, *op. cit.*

⁶ The paintings by Hugo van der Goes now in the National Gallery of Scotland are instances of the close links with Bruges, a city whose artists painted pictures notable for their Passion symbolism. It was there Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews, in 1451, walked in the Procession of the Holy Blood (Dunlop, A. I., *Life and Times of Bishop Kennedy* (1950), p. 135); thence the monks of Pluscarden obtained their Sacrament house.

⁷ Vide Bennett, A. J. W. (Ed.), *Devotional Pieces in Prose and Verse*, Sc. Text. S. (1955), which contains several examples. *E.g.* the opening lines of Dunbar's *Of the Passion of Christ*. Among the Arundel MSS., collected by Lord William Howard, a Catholic living in Cumberland after 1603, who had

The Passion was the subject of Miracle Plays. The first religious play to be recorded as performed in Aberdeen was the *Holyblude* play of 1440.¹ Masses were said in Scotland in honour of the five wounds: the Missal in use at the end of the 15th century was of Sarum Use which contained a Mass of the Five Wounds. A missal of this Use in Blairs College, which has MSS. additions to make it suitable for Scotland, bears a note that it was used at St Nicholas, Aberdeen. In that church, masses were said in honour of the five wounds every Wednesday at the altar of St Mary, on the foundation, 1512, of Sir John Lilstair; every Thursday at the altar of St Martin, on the 1520 foundation of Thomas Waus; and every Friday at the altar of St Salvator, on the foundation of Sir John Chawmer.² The dates of these foundations link them to the liturgical innovations of Bishop Elphinstone who issued his Aberdeen Breviary in 1509-10, intending it to supersede the Use of Sarum in Scotland. It has been stated that he intended to supersede the Sarum Missal also and may have done so though no copy has come down to us. His influence has been seen in the two masses, one of them a Mass of the Five Wounds,³ later added as a prefix to the Arbuthnott Missal written in 1491 by James Sybbald. The Mass of the Five Wounds was prominent in the devotions of Bishop Elphinstone's great helper, Alexander Galloway, Rector of Kinkell, who was associated with their foundation twice in King's College Chapel and once in St Machar's Cathedral.⁴

Ritual and art have ever gone closely together and the devotional trend was accompanied by an appropriate imagery. The following is a catalogue of its occurrences in Scotland.

the interest and the opportunity to collect from Northern sources, which are thought to be a safe guide to the practices of the devout in Scotland on the eve of the Reformation, are prayers on each of the wounds of Christ and *Ane devoit remembrance of Ye Passion of Christ* which specifically mentions the five wounds. Sir David Lindsay, on the eve of the Reformation, could not escape the imagery. In the fourth book of *The Monarchie* he describes how Christ will come to His judgment and will display the instruments of His Passion and His wounds to evoke contrition and repentance.

A vellum roll, 14th century, now in Blairs College Library, contains a poem on the Instruments of the Passion of which the concluding lines are:

"These Armes of Christ bothe God and Mary
St Peter the Pope descrivyed hem (=them)
What man these armes overseeth (=despiseth)
For here (*i.e.* their) sinnes sori and schrive both."

quoted in Geddes, W. D., and Duguid, P., "The Heraldic Ceiling of St Machar's Cathedral," *New Sp. Club* (1888), p. 148.

¹ Bain, A., *Merchant and Craft Guilds, etc.* (1880), p. 49.

² "Cartularium Eccles. St Nichola Aberdonensis," *New Sp. Club*, II (1892), 407-10.

³ *Ibid.*, 407, a rubric precedes the Mass of the Five Wounds and repeats the traditional attribution of the Office to St. Boniface, who granted to all "who shall devoutly celebrate and fulfil five times the aforesaid Office indulgence (and the remission) a seventh part of all their sins and to those devoutly hearing it forty days indulgence of mortal sins and a years of venial sins."

⁴ Cooper, J., "Fasti Aberdonensis," *Sp. Club* (1854), 69-72; *T. Aber. Eccl. S.*, III (1894), 95-7.

EXAMPLES NOW KNOWN ONLY FROM LITERARY SOURCES.

Aberdeen: King's College Chapel.—The inventory of 1542,¹ containing the entry, "Quatuor colume, super quas effigies quatuor portantium insigne Christi," implies that the altar of the Chapel was similarly furnished with Passion emblems to that in St Salvator at St Andrews (see below).

Aberdeen: St Machar's Cathedral.—The familiar account of the Master of Forbes' destructive work in 1640, given in Spalding's *Troubles*,² establishes that there were *Arma Christi* carved on the tomb of Bishop Dunbar (1518–32) in the south Transept and on the front of the pulpit, and that the monogram IHS occurred on the panelling near the Consistory door. Pulpit and panelling were both the work of Bishop William Stewart (1532–40). The exact nature of the "arms" on the pulpit must remain a matter of conjecture. Dr Kelly³ called them "Arms of Christ" and, probably, a shield charged with the five wounds. Logan⁴ referred to a Crucifix, and Orem⁵ stated that they were probably the instruments of the Passion on a shield. The arms of Christ at "ilk end" of Dunbar's tomb would be the five wounds on one of the label terminations of the arch, and Passion instruments or the sacred monogram on the other; the five wounds could be made out in the 1880s, now they are indecipherable. The tomb was probably planned by the Bishop himself but executed by his master mason, Thomas French.⁶ The similarity between the cornice of the tomb and that of the Sacrament House at Kinkell, c. 1524, has been remarked.⁷ This should be borne in mind when we are discussing the font, formerly at Kinkell, later in this paper. We should also refer to the monstrance which was in use at St Machar's "for ye holy blud mess daly." It was ornamented at the top with an image of "gold veil annamalit of our Lord of Pette craftuisly made."⁸

St Andrews: St Salvator's College Chapel.—The inventory of c. 1500,⁹ though it may be older, as items presented by John Meston, Provost of the College 1479–1505, are additions to the original text, shews that the High Altar was enclosed at each end and behind by curtains hanging from iron rods connected to four brazen pillars crowned by angels bearing "tokynnys" of the Passion. The construction of the building followed closely upon its inauguration in 1450 and, by his testament in 1453–4, Bishop Kennedy endowed his new church with rich vestments and ecclesiastical furnishings.¹⁰

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FIVE WOUNDS WITH A SMALL NUMBER
OF PASSION INSTRUMENTS OR NONE.

*Inverness-shire: Beaully Priory.*¹¹—The doorway in the centre of the west front has a semicircular arch with two label terminations: one bears the sacred monogram, the other the five wounds, now badly weathered.¹² The work at the west end of the church was that of Bishop Reid (1540–50).

¹ *Fasti Aberdonensis*, 561.

² Spalding, J., "Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland, etc.," *Sp. Club*, I (1850), 313.

³ Kelly, W., "Notes on Logan's Collections," *Third Sp. Club* (1941), 145–8.

⁴ Logan, J., "Records of Old Aberdeen," *New Sp. Club*, II (1909), 308.

⁵ Orem, W., *A Description of the Chanonry* (1791), 132.

⁶ Kelly, *op. cit.*

⁷ Kelly, W., *Aberdeen University Studies*, No. 125 (1949), 29.

⁸ "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis," *Sp. Club*, II (1845), 196.

⁹ Cant, R. G., *The College of St Salvator, Inventory by F. C. Eeles* (1950), 126–7.

¹⁰ Dunlop, A. I., *op. cit.*, 295.

¹¹ Macgibbon and Ross, *Eccles. Arch. Scot.*, II, 248, fig. 651.

¹² Simpson, W. D., *Ant. J.*, xxxv (1955), 4.

Orkney: Kirkwall Cathedral.—An oak panel, now in the Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, but ex-Kirkwall Cathedral, shews the wounded heart with a Crown of Thorns, with one hand above, a foot below and, at the side, three nails and three dice. The remaining members and other emblems of the Passion would have been disposed on the missing part of the panel, which may have been a bench-end (Pl. XIII, c). The Museum label states: "Late 15th cent." but it may be later. Robert Reid, responsible for the rebuilt west end at Beaulieu, was made Bishop of Orkney, 1541, whilst the panel may be connected with the heraldic panel of Earl Robert Stewart, possibly a pew back, referred to by J. S. Richardson as at Kirkwall,¹ though it is not mentioned in the *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments Commission*.

Aberdeenshire: Craig Castle.—The diagonal ribs of the groin-vaulted vestibule spring from large corbel caps. The south-west corbel bears a shield with the five wounds, now much defaced; that on the NW. has a shield with three boars' heads and the initials W. G. (? William Gordon). Dr Simpson suggests that the tower was built subsequent to 1556.²

Aberdeenshire: Castle Fraser.—On the exterior of the Castle, above the door and 24 ft. above ground, under a window facing E., there is a carved stone panel shewing an angel carrying a shield which bears the five wounds; underneath, on a scroll, are the words *Arma Chr.* (Pl. X, a). The window above the panel lighted a vaulted chamber which, Dr Kelly³ suggests, was an Oratory, with its altar behind the panel. The prominent, external position of the panel, all other instances in the Aberdeenshire castles being internal, suggested to him a pre-Reformation date and the Flemish characteristics of the angel a reason for assigning it to the mid-16th century. He believed the west block, and perhaps part of the central block of the present three-stepped castle, to have formed part of an earlier castle to which the Oratory and panel of the five wounds would have belonged, the Royal Coat of Arms of 1576 being inserted into the walls of this castle. In view of other instances to be described, a post-Reformation date for the *Arma Christi* would not be impossible.

*Aberdeenshire: Towie Barclay Castle.*⁴—In the Oratory, a small gallery in the stone and groin-vaulted hall, there is a boss with the IHS monogram and an octagonal boss depicting the five wounds, surrounded by a Crown of Thorns and an inscription which appears to read, "Pite Pet domo dominus domo oracionis" (Pl. X, f). Other readings have been given.⁴ The Castle bears the date stone 1593.

*Aberdeenshire: Gight Castle.*⁵—The vestibule is ribbed and groin-vaulted with shields bearing armorial emblems at the springing and intersections of the ribs. The central boss carries an unusual arrangement of Passion emblems: the heart, surrounded by a cable "Crown of Thorns" occupies the soffit, whilst on the vertical faces are seen the hands and feet alternating with the ladder, the column and cock, the hammer and nails and the reed and spear (Pl. X, d). Gight is said to have been built by George Gordon, who succeeded in 1513 and died after 1570. It is first mentioned in 1577. The Gordons of Gight remained Catholic after the

¹ *P.S.A.S.*, LX (1925-6), 385.

² *P.S.A.S.*, LXIV (1929-30), 75.

³ *Deeside Field*, v (1931), 61-2. Simpson, W. D., *Earldom of Mar* (1949), p. 84, fig. 16.

⁴ Simpson, W. D., *P.S.A.S.*, LXIV (1929-30), 85.

⁵ Billings, R. W., *Baronial and Eccles. Apt. Scot.*, IV, "reir rei domo dominus domo gracionis;" Geddes, W. D. and Duguid, P., *op. cit.*, 149, "Fit vitae dono Dominus domo oracionis."

⁶ Simpson, *ibid.*, p. 81.

Reformation.¹ Dr Simpson states² that Gight, Delgaty, Towie Barclay and Craig Castles resemble each other so closely and differ so greatly from other buildings of the period as to make it almost certain that they were the work of the same master mason. Gight was the archetype, then Craig, Delgaty and Towie Barclay. A post-Reformation date for the *Arma Christi* which three of them bear is presumptive.

*East Lothian: Haddington: St Mary's Church.*³—The capital of the central pillar of the west door is generally held to be late 15th-century work, though significant work may have been done here after the damage by the English troops in 1548 or during the archiepiscopate of David Beaton (1539–46) when Collegiate rank was sought.⁴ It is enriched with mouldings which enclose a shield on which are carved the Crown of Thorns enclosing the heart and with the hands and the feet above and below. Three nails transfix the heart through the Crown (compare the corbels at Seton, below, though there the Crown is of cable type). There was an Altar of the Holy Blood at this church (Pl. XII, *a*).

East Lothian: Seton Collegiate Church.—One of a pair of panels now in the Nat. Mus. Ant. (1952—886) bears a heart within a radiant Crown of Thorns and a shield bearing the five wounds. An unusual feature is in the placing of the feet so that both face the same way giving the appearance of walking (Pl. X, *b*). The museum label gives the date as 1525–50 and associates the imagery with the dedication of the church to St Mary of the Cross.

On the exterior of the church,⁵ two corbels, that on the south-east buttress of the south Transept and that on the north-east buttress of the north Transept, each carry a shield bearing the five wounds, the heart within a "Crown" formed of a plaited double-strand and the hands and feet saltire-wise above and below. Three nails pierce the Crown to reach the heart (Pl. XI, *a*). The carvings closely resemble one another except in the shapes of the shields and the heads of the nails. The church was rebuilt towards the end of the 15th century when the fourth Lord Seton made it collegiate in 1493. Further work, including the transepts, was done by Lady Janet Hepburn, widow of the fifth Lord, after he had fallen at Flodden and before her death in 1558.⁶

*Fife: St Andrews, Blackfriars Chapel.*⁷—The surface ribs of the vault meet at a central boss which bears upon a shield and within a tressure, the five wounds, the nails, the dice, and the spear piercing the heart, a unique feature in Scottish imagery though often occurring on 15th-century woodcuts. Corbel stops bear the arms of Prior Hepburn who, when Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen died in 1514, succeeded in obtaining funds from his executors for the rebuilding which was undertaken in 1525.⁸

Fife: St Andrews, St Mary's College.—A corbel inserted in the later masonry of the College bears the five wounds on a shield supported by two angels. The Crown of Thorns lies above the five wounds (Pl. X, *e*). Associated heraldry is that of Patrick Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews 1525–35 and, later, Bishop of Moray. The College was founded in 1537–8 by Archbishop James Beaton and final payment for the work was made to the master mason, Thomas French, in 1543–4.

¹ "Selections Records Kirk Session Aberdeen 1562–1681," *Sp. Club* (1846), 33–4, records how, in 1604, John Melville was admonished for painting a crucifix "to the buriall of the Ladye of Gight." In defence, he produced "ane missive" from the Laird of Gight, commanding him to "paynt the said crucifix."

² *Ibid.*, 80–1.

³ Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, II, 501, figs. 895–6; R.C.A.M. (*East Lothian*), 40, fig. 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁶ Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 223, fig. 1146.

⁷ R.C.A.M. (*Fife*), 249–50; Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 445.

⁸ Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 445.

A Flemish character has been noted in the roundness of the angel supporters and Continental masons visited the work whilst it was in progress. The construction of the College has been linked to the work at Falkland Palace at which we will notice contemporary Passion imagery.¹

Kincardine: Arbuthnott Collegiate Church.—On the corbel on the south-east buttress of the aisle built by Sir Robert Arbuthnott in 1506 and endowed the year before,² a shield has been carved with the five wounds accompanied by the three nails, arranged side by side below, and the ladder (Pl. X, *c*). In 1491, at this church the vicar, James Sybbald, completed the Arbuthnott Missal.

Edinburgh: John Knox's House.—A cast (KG 79) (Pl. XI, *c*) in the N.M.A., Edinburgh, is said to have come from this house, the primary building of which may not be earlier than 1544.³ The cast shows the five wounds against a Cross on which the Crown of Thorns has been looped at the intersection. This is almost identical with a shield from the Chapter House at Elgin (Pl. XI, *d*).

THE FIVE WOUNDS AS PART OF A COMPREHENSIVE PASSION SYMBOLISM.

Moray: Elgin Cathedral.—The Chapter House contains two occurrences of the five wounds and two of instruments of the Passion.⁴ The central pillar supporting the roof has an octagonal capital, on each face of which there is a shield. On four of the faces the shields bear the Royal Arms, the quartered arms of two of the Stewart Bishops of Moray, and a carved figure of St Andrew. Alternate with them are shields, one bearing the instruments of Passion (Pl. XII, *b*) and two with the wounded members. One of these has the Cross, with the Crown of Thorns looped at the intersection, as a background (Pl. XI, *d*). The other is now badly defaced but Macintosh⁵ gives a drawing which shows the usual arrangement of the heart, hands and feet, but with flames above, out of which a small cross emerges. During the incumbency of Bishop Andrew Stewart (1482-1501), whose arms appear on the capital, the Chapter House was restored and is stated to have been dedicated to the Passion.⁶ On a roof boss there is an elaborate arrangement of Passion instruments on shields (Pl. XIII, *a*). The same fifteen instruments appear as those on the shield on the capital but their arrangement is different.

Glasgow Cathedral.—In Bay 5 of the south aisle of the Choir are bosses with shields bearing the pillar and the robe, two scourges, the Crown of Thorns, and the three nails.⁷ A boss from the vaulting of Blacader's aisle (Pl. XI, *b*) shows the wounded heart, surrounded by a Crown of Thorns and through it transfixed by four nails at right angles, between which are the hands above and the feet below. The treatment may be compared with that at Seton and Haddington, though here the number of nails is unusual and, perhaps, a reference back to the early type of Crucifix in which the feet of Christ were separately nailed to the Cross. This method of incorporating the nails with the five wounds is, in my experience, unique to Scotland. Bishop Blacader, who was responsible for the building of the aisle, was consecrated in 1484 and died in 1508. He was also responsible for the two altar bases against the choir screen which bear his arms, one of which is known as the Altar of St Mary of Pity.

¹ R.C.A.M. (*Fife*), 248-9.

² Mackenzie, A. M., *T. Aber. Ecc. S.I.*, iv (1890), 41; Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 242, fig. 1164.

³ R.C.A.M. (*Edinburgh*), 99.

⁴ Macintosh, H. G., *Elgin, Past and Present*, pp. 79-80, figs. 20-2. There are excellent casts in the Elgin Museum.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 60.

⁷ Davidson, A. N., *Short Guide to Glasgow Cathedral* (1938), p. 11.

*Aberdeen: St John's Episcopal Church Font*¹ (Pl. XIV, *a-c*).—On the faces of this octagonal font, formerly at Kinkell Church, Aberdeenshire, are carved the initials of Alexander Galloway, Rector of Kinkell, c. 1516–52; a heart pierced by a sword; the sacred monograms, IHS, crowned; two faces each bear the rose; the Cross with the Crown of Thorns looped at the intersection; the five wounds; and a crowned Gothic M. The quality of the carving has been remarked and we would draw particular attention to the strong Marian associations—the presence of the Virgin's "arms" as well as those of Her Son. Galloway was a close associate of Bishop Elphinstone who, when he founded King's College, dedicated it to the Virgin, the Lily of whose annunciation was his favourite emblem.² Dr Kelly³ states that the treatment of the carving is that of the school of Thomas French. The date of 1525 is given by Macgibbon and Ross in their description of the Sacrament House at Kinkell which also bears the initials of Galloway.⁴

Perthshire: Meigle Episcopal Church Font.⁵—This 19th-century building contains an octagonal font dug out of the rubbish when the early church was demolished. There is said to have been an early chapel at Meigle dedicated to St Mary. On each face of the font, within arches with carved crockets, there is a carved relief (Pl. XIV, *d-g*). The subjects are, the crucifixion; a shield with the seamless robe; the scourges and the dice; the resurrection; the Cross with the Crown of Thorns at the intersection; the five wounds; the column, rope and cock; the ladder, spear, reed and sponge set saltire-wise; and the hammer and three nails. Macgibbon and Ross say probably 16th century.

Angus: Airlie Church.⁶—Five miles N. of Meigle stands the Parish church of Airlie which contains, inserted in the wall under the stair to the gallery, a Sacrament House preserved from the old church of St Medan. The spandrels above the ogee arch of the House contain, on the right, a rendering of the five wounds and, on the left, a Cross with the Crown of Thorns of cable type at its intersection. Into a wall in the old burial aisle in the churchyard has been built a stone which T. S. Robertson⁷ thought might originally have been the sill of the Sacrament House, for the carving is similar, but, which, as the measurements do not agree, he suggested might have come from an altar. This stone has been carved with the five wounds, crudely rendered and bearing a resemblance in their arrangement to a St Andrew's Cross, the scourge, pillar, ladder, Cross with Crown of Thorns, pincers, spear, robe, dice, and what appear to be the thirty pieces of silver (Pl. X, *h*).

Provost Skene's House, Aberdeen.⁸—The painted Gallery (Pl. XV, *b*) includes

¹ Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 385–6, fig. 1319; Kelly, W., *Aberdeen University Studies*, No. 125 (1949), 30, fig. 15. This carving has probably been reworked.

² The "Arms" of the Virgin and their association with the five wounds: in St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, there are roof bosses in close juxtaposition: one bears the five wounds, the other the sword-pierced heart (St Luke ii. 35). A crowned M appears in East Anglian churches, *vide* Anderson, M. D., *The Imagery of British Churches* (1955), 148–50. The Rose and the Lily are other emblems. The Virgin and Child within a Rosary, in the shape of a mandorla, in which at four positions the wounded hands and feet have been introduced, appears on an altar panel of the Westphalian School in the Founder's Chapel at King's College, Cambridge. A line-engraving by Israel van Mechelin, early 16th century (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), shews the Virgin and Child within a Rosary. Saints, ecclesiastics and donors kneel below and at the sides appear five angels, each carrying in one hand one of the instruments of the Passion and in the other a shield displaying one of the five wounds.

³ *Op. cit.*, 30.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, III, 385.

⁵ Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 518, figs. 1480–1.

⁶ Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 452–3, fig. 1393.

⁷ Robertson, T. S., *T. Aber. Eccl. S.*, III (1894), 2.

⁸ *Vide Handbook to Provost Skene's House* (1953); McRoberts, Rev. D., *Innes Review*, v, II, 119.

panels containing large subjects: The Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, Deposition and Resurrection. Six panels are now blank or almost entirely so. At the time of the restoration of the house there was presumptive evidence of the Ascension, and the Coronation of the Virgin; the subjects of the other panels must remain conjectural. Illustrations of emblems of the Passion, about half of the original series, include the thirty pieces of silver, the torch and lantern, the sword of Peter and the ear of Malchus from the Betrayal; the cock crowing at Peter's denial, the ewer and basin of Pilate's hand-washing gesture of innocence and the column of scourging from the Trial and Humiliation series, and the Cross. There remain nine panels for other emblems by which later incidents of the Passion would have been indicated. Also present are the Five Wounds within a crown of thorns, which is itself surrounded by a laurel wreath with roses at four points (N., S., E., W.), two roses and a female head (Pl. XV, *a*). A curious feature is the presence above the surrounding cartouche of two angel supporters who have between them a symbol which resembles the ground plan of a church, in the form of a latin cross with three apsidal chapels. Other symbols are the sacred monograms IHS and XPE.

The painting is in the late 16th to early 17th century technique of painted boarding, of which there are many examples in Scotland and which the decorative motifs of Provost Skene's House resemble. The paintings combine naïveté of execution with complexity of design, suggesting the work of local craftsmen using as a model an illustrated Bible or similar source. Father McRoberts suggests a Rosary Book as a source for the major subjects, adducing in support the evidence of one circulating in Aberdeen in the mid-17th century.¹ Marian associations include the Annunciation—indeed, all the extant major subjects except the Resurrection depict events at which the Virgin may have been present—and the roses near the Five Wounds.

Under the soffit of one of the windows in the room is a restored heraldic painting which resembles the armorial bearings of Matthew Lumsden, which, impaled with those of his wife, Elizabeth Aberdour, and accompanied by their initials and the date 1626, are carved upon a pediment above the south-east window of the room. Above the shield is a capital M. Does this stand for Magister, is it an allusion to marriage or is it possibly a reference to Mary?

Matthew Lumsden occupied the house 1622-44. He has been identified as Bailie Matthew Lumsden whom Spalding described as a Covenanter but who may have been a Catholic in his youth. He came from the Lumsdens of Clova, a prominent Catholic family. Father McRoberts claims him as a crypto-catholic. He may have directed the painting of the ceiling in the 1620s. We may add that Clova is near to Craig and Auchendoir where *Arma Christi* occur. The painted ceilings survived the iconoclasm of the 17th century. When the House was restored they were for the most part hidden behind lath and plaster ceilings of a later date which Cooper² thought not more recent than the 17th century. Perhaps the concealment was part of the alterations made to the House by George Skene subsequent to 1669 and a reflection of his personal taste rather than a desire to shield the paintings.

Angus: Arbroath.—A series of wooden panels from the Abbot's Lodging, now at Newton Don House, Coldstream, Berwickshire. Connected with David Beaton (1494-1546), Abbot of Arbroath, 1523, later Archbishop of St Andrews, and made for him when he was Commendator of St Andrews. The series of panels

¹ "Selections from Records of the Kirk Session Aberdeen, 1562-1681," *Sp. Club* (1846), 138.

² Cooper, J., *T. Aber. Eccl. S.*, II (1890-3), 6.

may have come from the dais of the refectory in the lodging. One of the panels bears heraldically the most fully developed treatment of the theme to be found in Scotland (Pl. XIII, *d*). Two angels act as supporters of a shield on which, centrally placed, there is a cross, of the Tau type, carrying a heart at the middle of the shaft. The wounded hands and feet are placed corner-wise with the three nails and the dice box. Above the Cross is a helm carrying the Crown of Thorns and above, plumed as a crest, the column with the whip and the scourge and surmounted by the cock.

On the other panels are (2) the Annunciation; (3) heraldic panel containing medallions with the Royal Arms, four other coats of arms, the monograms IHS and MA; (4) the Tree of Jesse; (5) an entwined foliage pattern with poppies and roses; (6) heraldic shields (Beaton) with foliage and poppies; (7) entwined foliage pattern with thistle, etc.; (8) Royal Arms—unicorn supporting a shield with the lion rampant. Still at Arbroath, the property of the Town Council but lent to the Abbot's Lodging, are two narrower panels, carved in a debased style, for which Dr J. S. Richardson¹ suggests a date immediately prior to the Reformation, the subjects are (1) a thistle, and (2) the angel annunciate.

The presence of the Annunciation, the monogram MA accompanying IHS, and the rose are all associations of emblems of the Virgin with the *Arma Christi*. The Tree of Jesse has also been regarded as of Marian significance.

Fetternear Banner.—Now in Edinburgh, in the National Museum of Antiquities, to which it has been lent by the Bishop of Aberdeen, this notable Scottish example of the Image of Pity may be included here, for though its comprehensive Passion symbolism only contains the Five Wounds by implication, it was probably intended to contain them explicitly also: in conversation, Dr J. S. Richardson suggests that the unfilled square at the top of the Banner, which McRoberts suggests would have contained the Godhead, was intended to contain them. The Banner has been fully described and illustrated by McRoberts² so that all that is necessary here is to note that Father McRoberts, though he cannot altogether dismiss the possibility that this ecclesiastical Banner was originally made for Dunkeld Cathedral, inclines to the view that it was intended for the very active Confraternity of the Holy Blood of St Giles, Edinburgh, whose aisle contains Passion symbolism on a tomb recess (see below). The Banner was never used because it was never completed but he dates it about 1520. It is also relevant to our subject that in the rosary which surrounds the central subject of the Banner, the Ave Maria beads are arranged in fives instead of in tens as was more usual. Father McRoberts sees in this an allusion to the Five Wounds, which would be a special devotional exercise of the Confraternity within the main theme of their devotion to the Holy Blood. In the Westphalian School picture and the van Mechelin engraving, where the wounds are shewn, the rosary is arranged in tens.³

THE INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION UNACCOMPANIED BY THE FIVE WOUNDS.

Aberdeenshire: St Mary's Church, Auchindoir.⁴—According to a label on the back of a plaster cast now in Provost Skene's House, Aberdeen, the stone shield from which it was taken formerly had a place in this church. The shield displays instruments of the Passion disposed around the Cross in an arrangement identical

¹ Richardson, J. S., *op. cit.*, 390-1, fig. 15.

² McRoberts, D., *The Fetternear Banner*, Nat. Mus. Ant., Edinburgh.

³ *Supra*, footnote to 117.

⁴ Simpson, W. D., *Earldom of Mar* (1949), 84, fig. 28; *P.S.A.S.*, LXIV (1929-30), 63-7.

with that on the capital in the Elgin Chapter House. This shield, and the notable Sacrament House at Auchindoir, may be connected with the erection of the church into a prebend of King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, in 1513-14.

Aberdeen: St Nicholas Church.—The printed Missal of the Use of Sarum in the library of Blairs College, to which we have already referred, was printed by Martin Morin at Rouen in 1506. The book was bound originally in stamped leather, fragments of which have been preserved from a later rebinding. One fragment shews the Tree of Jesse, and the other, two rectangular panels, the upper of which contains a comprehensive series of instruments of the Passion.¹

Perthshire, Fowlis Easter Church.—Here, where there is a pre-Reformation painting of the Crucifixion, there is an elaborately carved Sacrament House, above the recess of which is a carved group of Christ with angels on either side, one carrying the Cross and the other the pillar of scourging. Above the cornice is a rendering of the Annunciation.² The present church was built in the mid-15th century but was later raised to Collegiate rank.

Fife: Wemyss Castle.—A broken corbel bears Passion emblems. This has been communicated to me by Dr J. S. Richardson but I have not been able to see it yet.

*Edinburgh: Collegiate Church of St Giles.*³—On a tomb recess inserted into the Aisle of the Holy Blood the finial at the centre of the arch bears the heart within a Crown of Thorns, on the label-stop at the left end of the arch appears the column with the whip, and at the right end, the nails, the spear and the sop. According to Macgibbon and Ross,⁴ this aisle was formed in 1513 and the Altar of the Holy Blood erected in 1518.

Fife: St Andrews, Cathedral Museum.—A block of freestone bears, within a shield, the Cross with the Crown of Thorns at the intersection, the column and the ladder (Pl. X, *i*); nothing appears to be known of its history.

Fife: St Andrews, St Salvator's College.—The College Mace,⁵ made for Bishop Kennedy by Jean Mayelle in Paris in 1461, has, under flying buttresses, the figures of angels bearing the Cross, the lance and the pillar.

Fife: Falkland Palace.—The buttresses of the south side of the Chapel carry niches on the corbels of which are carved emblems of the Passion, a single emblem to each corbel. They are now much worn and difficult to decipher. The images which the niches contained are known to have been carved by Peter Flemishmann in 1538.⁶

Ayrshire: Bargany House.—A wooden roof-boss (Pl. X, *g*) formerly at this House and now in private possession bears a comprehensive series of instruments of the Passion, pseudo-heraldically disposed. An unusual feature is the placing of the heart against the vertical of the Cross but without the hands and feet which are usual in such presentations, as in woodcuts of the Image of Pity and of the five wounds, on the shields from Elgin and John Knox's House described above, and on the Arbroath panel.

Illuminated Manuscripts.—The Rev. David McRoberts gives instances of the Image of Pity in the *Yester Book of Hours*, c. 1480, and the title page of the breviary which belonged to John Greenlaw, prebendary of Corstorphine in 1553, and of the closely allied subject, the Mass of St Gregory, in the *Arbuthnott Book of*

¹ *P.S.A.S.*, xxxiii (1898-9), 440-1, fig. 2.

² Macgibbon and Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 193-4, fig. 1113.

³ R.C.A.M. (*Edinburgh*), 34, Pl. LI, fig. 145.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 441, fig. 844.

⁵ *P.S.A.S.*, xxvi (1891-2), 444; R.C.A.M. (*Fife*), III, fig. 36.

⁶ Mylne, R. S., *The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland* (1893), 44; R.C.A.M. (*Fife*), 138.

Hours and in the *Yester Book of Hours*.¹ Dr J. S. Richardson has informed me of a small, 16th-century service book, formerly at Saltoun House, East Lothian, which contains Passion symbolism, but I have been unable to trace its present whereabouts.

This catalogue reveals that the *Arma Christi* imagery was above all a manifestation of late medieval piety. The St Salvator altar columns and mace are the only examples which can be dated earlier than the closing years of the 15th century. Three-quarters of the occurrences belong to the first half of the 16th century and half to its second quarter. The imagery was in use after the Reformation, for four examples may date from the second half of the century and one, if the date of 1626 is accepted for the Skene's House paintings, to the 17th century. Eight examples are in secular buildings, five being in the NE. and possibly post-Reformation.

With two exceptions, the imagery is found at or near the east coast where there were trade connections with the Netherlands and North Germany where Passion symbolism was popular. Generalisation would be dangerous from such a small number of examples, which might not reflect an original distribution, but it does seem that whilst the rendering of the instruments of the Passion was equally popular throughout the area, that of the five wounds was more popular in the NE. At least it has survived there and the conditions which made such survival possible must be considered.

Of the thirty-eight Collegiate churches in Scotland at the time of the Reformation, thirty-six were founded during the 15th and first half of the 16th centuries,² *i.e.* during the time when the cult of the five wounds was most popular. Hence, it is not surprising that several of these churches, dedicated above all to the saying of masses, contain Passion emblems.

A high proportion of the *Arma Christi* are in the form of small-scale architectural decoration and many consist of simple renderings of the five wounds with a limited number of Passion instruments, no doubt because of their appropriateness for this type of decoration. For such simple renderings the masons might have had recourse to cheap woodcuts, but the more fully developed heraldic treatment of the Arbroath panel may derive from a more elaborate engraving similar to that by the Master E.S. which is in the British Museum, and the comprehensive series of Passion instruments, accompanied by the five wounds, may be based upon a woodcut Image of Pity. The maximum use of the imagery coincided with the literary renaissance connected with the names of Dunbar, Kennedy and Lindsay, and with the spread of printed books, through which a devotional literature, illustrated with such emblems, would become available in the vernacular to the devout Scots layman and familiarise him with both the devotional cult and its imagery.

Many of the examples given must have been carved by local masons but

¹ *The Fetternear Banner*, 15.

² *Macgibbon and Ross, op. cit.*, III, 7.

there are links with more notable men. Excellent craftsmen would be at work in the Chapter House at Elgin. The Kinkell font, and the examples from St Machar which are no longer extant, must be connected with the workshop of Thomas French who also worked at Falkland and St Andrews¹ where French or Flemish workmen are also said to have been engaged. As with masons so with patrons. The imagery was directly inspired by the leading ecclesiastics and reflects the personalities of outstanding individuals: Bishop Kennedy, James and David Beaton, and the Hepburns at St Andrews; Bishops Andrew Stewart at Elgin and Blacader at Glasgow, and at Aberdeen, Bishop Elphinstone, liturgical pioneer and initiator of building works, at St Machar, King's College and the Bridge of Dee, which were continued by his successor Bishop Dunbar, and by their important coadjutor, Alexander Galloway, Rector of Kinkell, who has been regarded as the man behind the late flowering of medieval art which took place in the NE. of Scotland during the first third of the 16th century, of which the quality of the building and decoration of King's College Chapel and the notable series of Sacrament Houses in the district are the evidence.

The *Arma Christi* provide evidence of the degree to which Scotland shared with other countries in Northern Europe the late medieval devotional emphasis upon the Passion but indicate that here the devotional climate was favourable to a longer persistence of the medieval imagery. We would note, further, the close association here of the emblems of Mary with those of the Passion of Her Son. The monograms of Christ and MA for Mary are often found together.² Wooden panels of the late 15th or early 16th centuries, from Dumfriesshire, which at the time of his paper³ were in Dr Richardson's possession, contain the two monograms, twice repeated, and a human heart pierced saltire-wise by two arrows. Dr Richardson thought the heart with the arrows might indicate a connection with Sweetheart Abbey but it seems likely that it was intended as an emblem of Mary. To associate the "Arms" of Christ with those of Mary was to repeat on a smaller scale the not uncommon association of sets of Passion altar tables with those of the Virgin. Several of the churches in which the imagery occurs bear dedications to the Virgin though, of course, the dedication may be earlier than the imagery.

The late date and the survival of certain examples in the NE. provide further testimony to the circumstances which attended the Reformation there.⁴ Towie-Barclay, Gight and Craig are three of the few places, all of which are in Aberdeenshire or nearby, at which a medieval type of ribbed and groined vaulting persisted into, or was reintroduced during, the 16th

¹ Mylne, R. S., *op. cit.*, 36 *et seq.* The Castle Fraser example probably links the imagery with the notable Bel family of Aberdeenshire masons.

² *e.g.* the Sacrament Houses at Auchindoir and Kintore. The font at Broxburn R.C. Church, but from the medieval church of St Nicholas, Strathbroc. R.A.C.M. (*West Lothian*), 242, Macgibbon and Ross. *op. cit.*, I, 344, figs. 306 and 307.

³ Richardson, J. S., *op. cit.*, 390, fig. 4.

⁴ Simpson, W. D., *Earldom of Mar* (1949), 94.

century. This has been linked to an adherence to the old religion.¹ These castles belonged to lairds connected directly or by marriage with the Huntly Gordons, leaders of the Counter-Reformation which continued in the N. until almost the end of the 16th century. Catholics were persecuted in Aberdeen early in the 17th century yet strict enforcement of the laws against them must have been difficult. Law cannot easily run counter to public opinion and would have been difficult to uphold against individuals who were both numerous and influential.² There is evidence that it was not, at first, enforced with ruthless severity³ and that, though the Reformation was attended by iconoclasm in the NE. as elsewhere, this was less thorough,⁴ at least until the Civil War period.

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¹ Macgibbon and Ross, *Domestic and Castellated Architecture of Scotland*, II, 9.

² Stuart, G., Preface to Blackhall, Gilbert, "A Brieffe Narration of the Services done to Three Noble Ladies," *Sp. Club* (1844), xii-xiii.

³ Taylor, L. B. (Ed.), *Aberdeen Town Council Letters*, I (1942), 291, as late as 1628 the Town Council were in correspondence about the "Growth of poperie and the insolence of proffest and avowed papistes . . . they are not affrayed of aine course that the said Lords or the kirk can take against them."

The "Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen, 1562-1681," *Sp. Club* (1846), p. 114, 28th June 1640, contain an order for the removal of a portrait from above the Session House door as "smelling somequhat of poprie." But the portrait had given no offence until, in 1640, action was forced upon the Kirk Session by soldiers of General Munro's army. *Op. cit.*, p. 86; Alexander Pantoun was admonished in 1618 for painting a crucifix. The leniency of this punishment and his evidence in defence, "and gif he had knawin that anything he did in that erand should have bred offence to any, he would not have payntet anything," implies that anti-Catholic feelings were not bitter in Aberdeen at that time.

Roberts, D., *Innes Review*, V, 119, describes Provost Skene's House as a Catholic chapel and evidence of the strength of crypto-Catholicism. He instances Blackhall, *ibid.*, p. 112, that the Catholic missionary Blackhall was given timely warning of danger by Patrick Chambers, Clerk of the Presbytery, "who was catholik in his heart."

Kelly, W., *Aberdeen University Studies*, No. 125 (1949), 61, describes the old grave slab in King's College Chapel which F. C. Eeles had recognised as the mensa of a pre-Reformation altar bearing three of its original five consecration crosses. A later inscription in memory of Peter Udny, the seventh Sub-Principal of the College who died in 1601, may be read "Safe I lie down again weary of the wicked world and I have learnt and I have taught thy wounds, O Christ." A shield in the centre bears at the four cardinal points the letters M.P.V.S. and Dr Kelly suggested that the final S. might not refer to Sub-primarium but to Sacerdos, that the inscription might refer to the symbolic meaning of the five consecration crosses, that, in fact, Udny might have been, secretly, a member of the Roman Church. The phrase, "I have learnt and I have taught thy wounds," seen in the context of this paper is an eloquent testimony to the continued devotion to the five wounds after the Reformation.

⁴ *Sp. Club Miscellany*, IV (1849), 59; Simpson, W. D., *P.S.A.S.*, LXIV (1929-30), 68.

The familiar passage in Spalding's *Troubles* contains such phrases as "that had stand since the upputting thair of," and "On movit quhill now" and "quhilk was never troublit before" which are revealing. It was not until 1640 that obvious examples of devotional imagery were disturbed. Iconoclasm could be half-hearted: at Fowlis Easter the synod required the minister in 1610 to see that the "painted whilk is upon the pulpitt and ruid loft . . . being monuments of idolatrie sal be obliterate." The order was repeated three years later and again after six months but the Rev. Mr Morton stalled successfully and some of the paintings remain to this day, *vide* Robertson, T. S., *T. Aber. Eccl. S.*, I, Pt. 3, 41; Spalding, *ibid.*, p. 376, describes how, only in 1640 was the Choir Screen at Elgin, "quhilk had stand sen the Reformation," destroyed, yet it bore a painting of the Crucifixion.