

# John Stuart, Duke of Albany and his contribution to military science in Scotland and Italy, 1514–36: from Dunbar to Rome

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## ABSTRACT

*John Stuart, Duke of Albany was born in France, but acted as regent of Scotland from 1514 until 1524. He visited Scotland three times and, in the early years of his regency, is credited with bringing a degree of stability back to Scottish governance during an otherwise troubled political period. Albany was also noteworthy for his love of visual splendour and magnificence. In France, he was an astute patron of the visual arts, commissioning a number of important manuscripts and architectural projects, such as the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte in the Auvergne. Albany's main architectural achievement in Scotland was the fortification and extension of his principal residence, Dunbar Castle, in the form of a great artillery blockhouse: perhaps the first such structure to have been built in the British Isles. The plan of the blockhouse appears to follow the basic form of a contemporary Italian angle bastion. The fortification earned a formidable reputation during this period, contemporary commentators noting that it was impregnable.*

*Further evidence supporting the idea that Albany was greatly interested in Italian developments in military science comes in the survival of a working sketch, now held in the Uffizi, Florence, which bears a note in the writing of the famed military architect, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, that it was undertaken 'following the opinion of the Duke of Albany'. The sketch shows a square fort protected by a ravelin. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the relationship between these two pieces of evidence, to investigate what they tell us of Albany and of his interest in military science, and to demonstrate how such ideas were introduced into Scotland and then fed back into architectural and military discourse on the Continent.*

## ALBANY: HIS EARLY MILITARY CAREER

John Stuart, Duke of Albany was born in the Auvergne in 1482. He was the only son of Alexander Stuart, the younger brother of King James III of Scotland. Albany entered the court of Charles VIII at a young age, likely in 1494, as he later remarked that he had served French monarchs since he was 12 years of age.<sup>1</sup>

During Albany's early career he played a distinguished role in Louis XII's Italian campaigns, which resulted in the conquest of Milan and the recapture of Naples. In September

1499, Louis XII invaded Lombardy, and in three weeks it had been conquered along with the city of Genoa. The 17-year-old duke of Albany was among the French nobles who then accompanied their king when he triumphantly entered Milan. In 1501 Albany took part in a crusade to the eastern Mediterranean and distinguished himself in an attack on the Aegean island of Mytilene.<sup>2</sup> Jean d'Auton noted that 'The Duke of Albany similarly found himself hand-to-hand with another Turk, whom he vigorously defeated and quelled'.<sup>3</sup> On the return voyage in December his ship

*This paper was awarded the Murray Prize for History*

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was wrecked. Fortunately, Albany and his companions were rescued by a Venetian barque, which transported them to Corfu, allowing them to then sail home.<sup>4</sup> In the following year, aged 20, Albany was appointed captain of 100 *lances des ordonnances du roi* garrisoned at Bordeaux, and in 1503 he returned to campaigning in Italy, where he participated in the Battle of Garigliano against the Spanish.<sup>5</sup> In 1505 Louis XII arranged for Albany's marriage to his first cousin, Anne de la Tour, a rich heiress to the comte de Boulogne and d'Auvergne.<sup>6</sup> The marriage took place on 13 July 1505. When Louis invaded Italy again in 1507, Albany was present in the army, preceding the king when the latter entered Genoa on 28 April.<sup>7</sup>

The great turning point in Albany's career took place on 9 September 1513, when James IV was killed at Flodden, leaving an infant James V as his successor.<sup>8</sup> In the immediate aftermath, on 19 September, the lords of the council arranged for the coronation of the infant James V at Stirling and to appoint his mother, Margaret, as guardian of the king and regent of Scotland. Albany was the heir presumptive, and in November that year parliament sent ambassadors to Louis XII to remind him of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland.<sup>9</sup> Louis had already agreed that Albany should travel to Scotland, declaring on 4 October

as to the fourth article desiring the King to send the Duke of Albany to Scotland, as having right to the government and regency, he answers that he is willing because Albany is capable of it, although the Duke is much employed in his wars. Yet he will send him because he values the young King's affairs as his own.<sup>10</sup>

On 6 August 1514, however, Margaret Tudor married Archibald Douglas, sixth earl of Angus, prompting the lords of the council to declare that she should relinquish the regency. On 18 September an invitation was sent 'to my lord duk of Albany governor of Scotland to cum hame in this realme of Scotland in all possible haist for the defence of the samin and for gud reule to be put and kept in the said realme in all partis'.<sup>11</sup> Albany was also requested to ask the French king for material help.<sup>12</sup> Less than

three months later, Louis was dead, succeeded by Francis I, by whom Albany was evidently perceived as a useful diplomatic pawn to be deployed, distracting the English at home, while he invaded Italy.<sup>13</sup> So, on 3 July 1515 the lords of the council recorded 'that ane excellent and mychti prince Johnne duke of Albany, governour and protectour of Scotland and tutour to the kingis grace to his perfite age, arivit in the said realme the XVIII day of May'.<sup>14</sup>

Albany visited Scotland three times over the course of his regency: May 1515–June 1517; November 1521–October 1522; and September 1523–May 1524. His first visit is generally considered the most successful, during which time he brought a degree of stability back to Scottish governance. Albany's friend and representative, Antoine d'Acres, seigneur de la Bastie, travelled to Scotland in late 1513. He received, in Albany's name, the important fortress of Dunbar, part of the Albany property which belonged to the family through the Earldom of March and which had been confiscated when Albany's father had been banished by James III.<sup>15</sup> When Albany arrived at Dumbarton on 26 May 1515, a squadron of eight ships accompanied him. 'The peers and chiefs crowded to his presence; and his exotic elegance of manners, his condescension, his affability, and his courtly deportment, won all hearts.'<sup>16</sup> During Albany's time in Scotland he made Dunbar Castle his principal base where he was allowed, under the terms of his regency, to keep a French garrison. Indeed, in terms of Albany's patronage of architectural projects in Scotland, Dunbar Castle was the key focus for his building activities. Albany was a prolific and important patron of artistic and architectural projects in France, yet little consideration has been paid to his innovations in Scotland. However, as Iain MacIvor has pointed out, the castle and fortifications at Dunbar possess a most elaborate and ingenious plan.<sup>17</sup> The purpose of this paper is, therefore, to examine Albany's architectural and military innovations at Dunbar through the physical and literary evidence that survives, to examine what may have inspired these innovations, and to relate this to further unexplored material documenting Albany's



ILLUS 1 Map of the British Isles with Dunbar Castle highlighted (Cotton Augustus I. i. 9, c 1535) (© The British Library Board)

relationship to developments in military science on the Continent.

### DUNBAR CASTLE AND ARTILLERY BLOCKHOUSE: THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

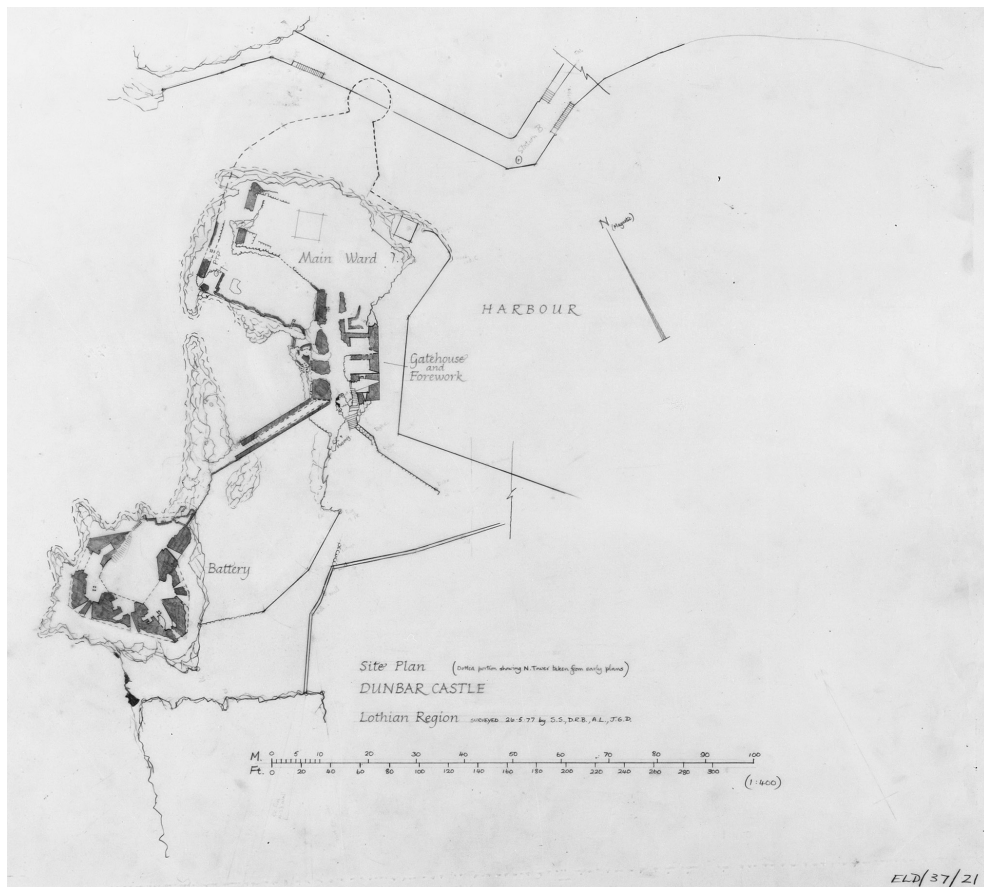
The strategic importance of the position of Dunbar Castle is clear. The castle covered the most convenient landing place on the Scottish east coast beyond Berwick (Illus 1).<sup>18</sup> As Grose noted ‘it was long deemed one of the keys of the kingdom’.<sup>19</sup> After Berwick finally became English in 1483, the importance of Dunbar as a defensive fortress was greatly intensified. The remains of the castle may be understood as the result of four principal building campaigns: an older medieval castle used by the earls of March, a later medieval castle built there for

James IV from 1496 to 1501, work undertaken by Albany between 1515 and 1523 (including the construction of a formidable artillery blockhouse), and lastly, further strengthening work undertaken in 1544–7 by Migliorino Ubaldini.<sup>20</sup> The castle was deliberately demolished, by order of the Parliament of Scotland, in December 1567.<sup>21</sup> The principal concern of this paper is the work undertaken for Albany during his tenure as regent.

On an exposed site, the fragmentary remains of the castle are scattered on a rock standing approximately 80 feet above the sea (Illus 2). The physical remains of the building described in the literature are identifiable. To the south-west of the structure built, or repaired, for James IV, a great blockhouse stands on the neighbouring island-like promontory (Illus 3). The blockhouse was originally joined to the castle by a substantial traverse wall built across a tidal chasm. The wall contained a roofed-in passage and above there



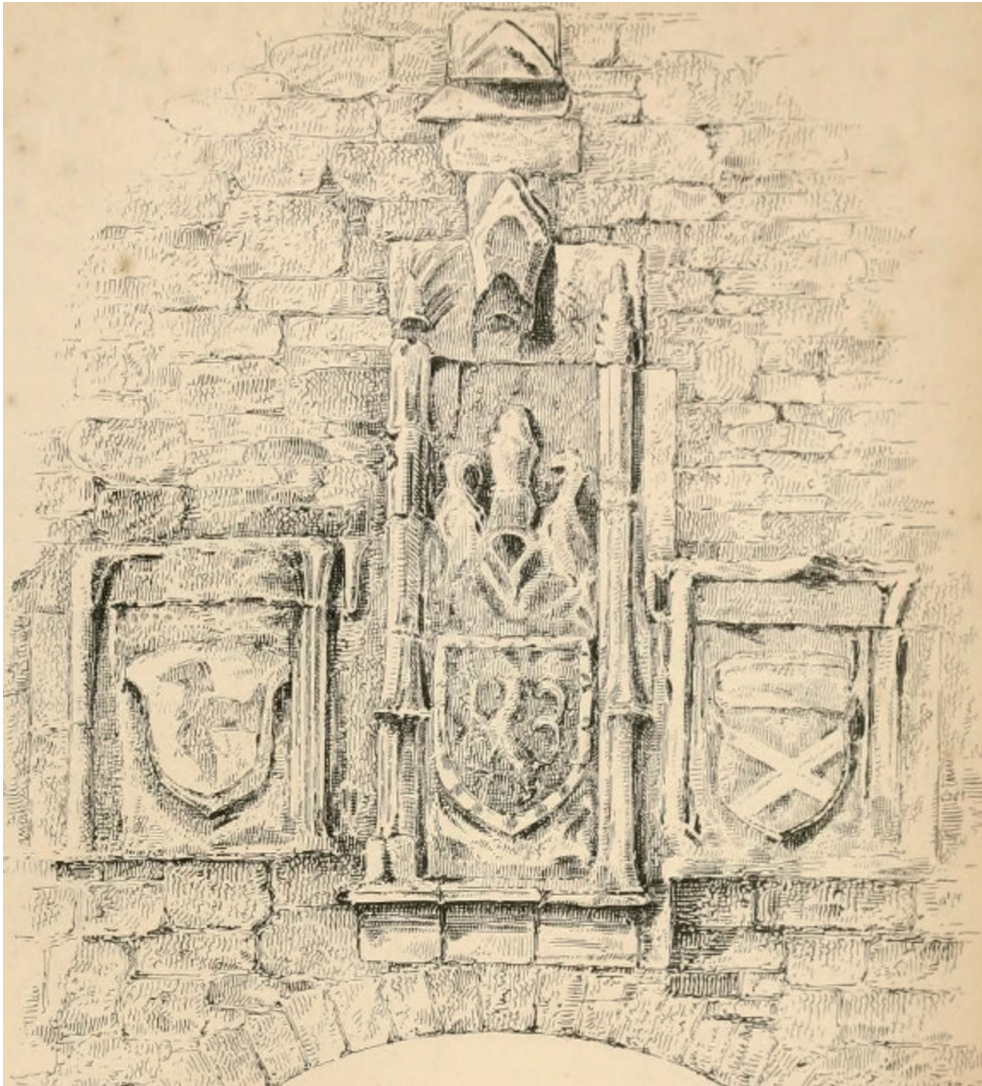
ILLUS 2 Oblique aerial view of Dunbar Castle, taken from the south, showing the blockhouse, remains of the traverse wall, forework and part of the main castle enclosure, DP 135194 (© Historic Environment Scotland)



ILLUS 3 Dunbar Castle: a general plan showing the relationship of the blockhouse, forework and main castle buildings, SC 761525 (© Historic Environment Scotland)

probably existed a rampart walk.<sup>22</sup> This structure provided protected communication between the castle and the blockhouse. Unfortunately, a large section of the remains of the main castle buildings have been lost to a cleft providing an entrance to the new harbour. These are indicated on the plan by a dotted line.<sup>23</sup> The remaining ruins appear to be those of a castle, with a gatehouse and walled enceinte. Miller, in 1830, gave the dimensions of the body of the buildings as 165 feet (east to west) by 207 feet (north to south).<sup>24</sup> The gatehouse includes a number of gunloops which date to the rebuilding work undertaken for James IV c 1496.<sup>25</sup> Both Grose and Miller, in their illustrations, show the curtains terminating in salient circled towers,

which Miller notes had communication with the sea.<sup>26</sup> The natural defences of the promontory have been augmented with the building of a massive wall of red sandstone, which forms the side of the gatehouse. For most of its height, this wall acts as a shell of masonry around solid rock. Other areas of facing masonry survive around the headland, indicating that the augmented natural defences went all the way around the site. In 1868 Henry C Pidgeon published an account of a series of armorial plaques that were displayed above a surviving gateway, apparently to the principal apartments (Illus 4).<sup>27</sup> The plaques were greatly eroded even by this time, however, the published sketch survives as important evidence of this now lost decorative feature; the gateway and



ILLUS 4 Sketch of the armorial plaques over the entrance to the main apartments at Dunbar Castle, now destroyed (Pidgeon 1869: 344–5)

armorial decoration were subsequently destroyed in a storm on 21 October 1869.

The central shield bore a lion rampant within a bordure of roses, for Dunbar. On the left were the three legs for the Isle of Man; on the right, a saltire and chief, for the lordship of Annandale. It was not easy for Pidgeon to interpret the decayed state of the sculpted forms surmounting the three plaques, however, this appears to have included two supporting beasts, perhaps a crest,

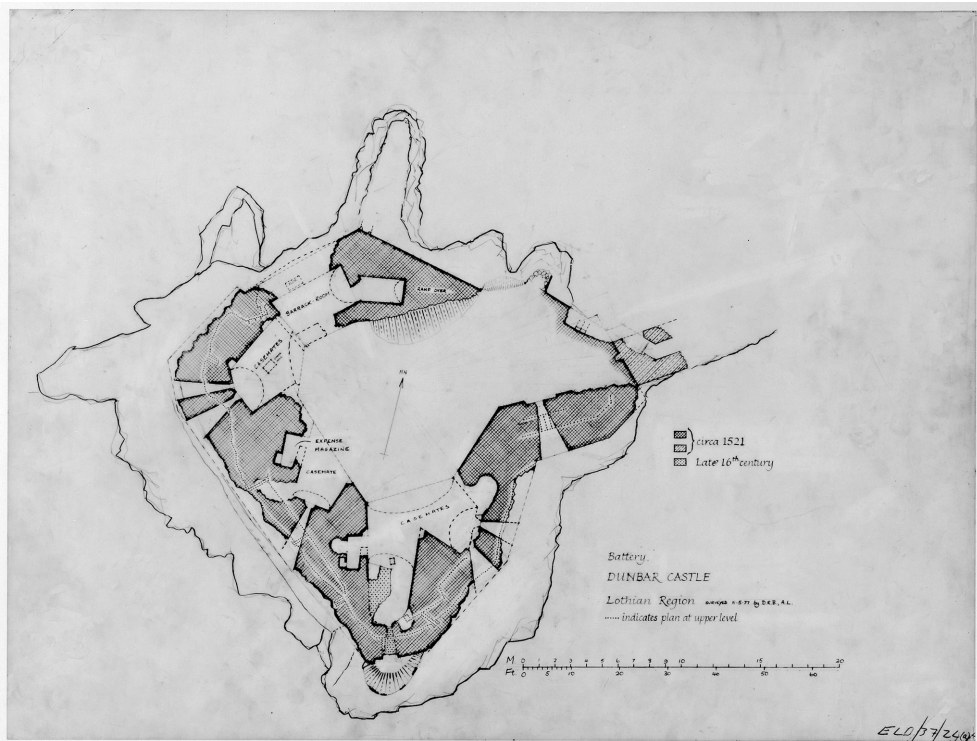
and fragments of an ornamental canopy. Pidgeon argued that the plaques corresponded to the arms of George, the tenth earl of Dunbar and March. This interpretation has been uncritically accepted by scholars thereafter.<sup>28</sup> It is, however, flawed on a number of counts. In 1487 Dunbar Castle was annexed to the Crown, and in 1488 ordered by Parliament to be ‘cassyne doune and alutterly distroyit in sic wise that ony fundment tharof be occasioun of biging nor reparacione



ILLUS 5 The seal of John Stuart, Duke of Albany (British Library, Add Ch 1525. 1 June 1517) (© The British Library Board)

of the said castell in tyme to cum'.<sup>29</sup> When war occurred in 1496, James IV found it advisable again to reconstruct a castle at Dunbar. This was apparently completed in 1501.<sup>30</sup> If the castle buildings were 'alutterly distroyit' it is unlikely that a prominent piece of heraldic ornamentation over the central gateway would have been preserved. If the plaque was erected during the period of rebuilding for James IV it is not likely that it would have born the arms of the tenth earl of March.

The heraldic elements described by Pidgeon, furthermore, relate to those on the arms of John Stuart, Duke of Albany: Dunbar, the earl of March, and the earl of Annandale were the principal components of his heraldry (Illus 5).<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, by comparing the armorial plaques to Albany's seal, similarities can be drawn between the supporting bears and the supporting



ILLUS 6 Dunbar Castle: A plan of the blockhouse. The cross-hatching shows surviving masonry, SC 761519 (© Historic Environment Scotland)

figures observed in the damaged section of the carved plaque.<sup>32</sup> The decorative feature as a whole is consistent with early 16th-century decoration of this type and it appears, therefore, to the author, that it was most likely a decorative addition dating to Albany's regency.<sup>33</sup>

The blockhouse at Dunbar Castle is largely inaccessible now that the connecting passage has collapsed. It was a fortification designed exclusively for gunpowder artillery, perhaps the first of its type in Britain. The plan of the building is polygonal, measuring approximately 54 feet by 60 feet (16.5m × 18.3m) (Illus 6).<sup>34</sup> It originally had a masonry rampart, the facing of which is almost entirely decayed, but which was up to 6.5m thick, graded in thickness according to the threat from battery. Towards the south, the straight faces converge and the salient seems to have been truncated as a short straight length of wall. The general shape of the blockhouse echoes that of a contemporary Italian angle bastion in the shape of its faces, though it is not entirely clear if this was by design, or as a result of the constraints of the site.<sup>35</sup>

The blockhouse was apparently unroofed. It consisted of four large ground-level casemates with segmental vaults which are deeply recessed into the rampart and open to the rear.<sup>36</sup> Casemates were blast-resistant vaults from which the soldiers could fire through *embrasures*, thus maximising protection for the shooters. Seven gunholes survive: six in the casemates (two of the casemates have two gunholes each) and a seventh which penetrates the rampart. The gunhole throats are large enough to hold substantial pieces of artillery and it has been noted that the blockhouse provides the earliest datable examples of this particular gunhole to be found in Scotland (Illus 7).<sup>37</sup> Gunholes of this form certainly existed in France at this date.<sup>38</sup> Towards the northern side of the blockhouse are two (now collapsed) vaulted chambers, the larger of which had a fireplace and was evidently barrack accommodation. Above the casemates is evidence of a large parapet: perhaps originally about two metres thick. It has been suggested that the parapet may have had a curvilinear profile, perhaps similar to Italian examples.<sup>39</sup> The parapet was accessed by a broad



ILLUS 7 Dunbar Castle blockhouse showing a gunhole used for substantial pieces of artillery  
(© B Coombs 2018)



ramp, or steps, on the northern side and narrow steps on the opposite side. The surviving physical evidence of the castle and blockhouse may, furthermore, be reconciled with contemporary literary accounts which provide us with a clearer idea of their form during this period.

#### DUNBAR CASTLE AND ARTILLERY BLOCKHOUSE: THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

After Flodden, defence was at the forefront of Scottish thoughts and thus in January 1514 the council considered how Fast and Dunbar Castles might be provided with men, artillery and victuals.<sup>40</sup> Dunbar Castle formally passed to Albany on 6 December 1514 and Albany arrived in Scotland on 18 May 1515. Pitscottie notes that he brought six cannons, six great field pieces and other small guns with him from France to Scotland.<sup>41</sup> Initially, however, Albany had to grapple with internal threats: Alexander Lord Home fortified Fast Castle against the new governor, causing Albany to occupy Fast and Hume Castles.<sup>42</sup> In terms of artillery, by June 1523 it was said that ‘most of the artillery of Scotland’ was at Dunbar,<sup>43</sup> while Pitscottie declared that in 1527 Dunbar Castle housed a formidable armament of two great cannons, two demi-cannons, two double falcons and four quarter falcons.<sup>44</sup> Beyond artillery, Albany also apparently brought to Scotland examples of the types of military machinery we see illustrated in various military manuals of this period. A letter from Margaret Tudor to the earl of Surrey in 1523, for instance, notes that Albany brought to Scotland ‘great pavasies, going upon wheels with the artillery, to shoot and to break the hosts asunder; and of these he hath many; and everyone of them hath two sharp swords before them, that none may touch them’.<sup>45</sup>

The most significant contemporary record regarding Dunbar Castle survives in the form of reconnaissance conducted by Lord Dacre, a field commander, for Cardinal Wolsey. In response to a request for information on the state of the castle, Dacre reported back to Wolsey on the 26 June 1523 that

and finally touching the state and strength of the castell of Dunbar whereof your grace is desirous to be advised, I assure your grace it is a thing in manner unprenable for I have bene in it. It standith upon a crag and there is no waye to go to it but one which is strongly and substantially made with a new bulwerk and sett with ordinance as can be devised by the duke of Albany for in the said castell is all the said duke’s trust. And if the said Bulwerk could be won I think there is no doubt but the castell might be won semblably be reason that the said castell stands low upon a crag and the erth without it is hygh about it, and so there could nothing stirr within it but the ordinance that were without the castell shulde bete it.<sup>46</sup>

This communiqué provides crucial evidence that Albany was responsible for the new bulwark and that this was complete by 1523. It also highlights the contemporary reputation of the fortress as unwinnable. Dacre’s ‘bulwerk’ was without doubt the same structure later described by Pitscottie as a ‘great stane ... blokehouse’. He noted that ‘into his awin castell of Dunbar, and thair remanit ane quhill; and gart craftsmen and maissouns fall to work and build in the samin ane great staine house and insche callit the uttward blokehouse and garnist it witht artailzie pulder and bullatis’.<sup>47</sup>

Albany left for France on 7 June 1517, leaving de la Bastie in charge. Dunbar Castle was occupied by five French gunners under Master Wolf by 1 October 1517.<sup>48</sup> This perhaps reflects, as MacIvor has noted, the personnel required to man Albany’s new fortification. Certainly, Albany’s departure to France would have proved more acceptable if he had already rendered his base ‘impregnable’. Dacre’s account of Dunbar confirms that the blockhouse was built by 1523, and it is feasible that it may have been largely completed by 1517.<sup>49</sup> De la Bastie was murdered on 18 September 1517, however, Dunbar remained in French hands under Saint Jacques as captain.<sup>50</sup> Albany was delayed in his return to Scotland, but was eventually on Scottish soil again on 19 November 1521.<sup>51</sup> It was noted that Dumbarton, Inchgarvie and Dunbar were ‘stuffed with Frenchmen’ at this time.<sup>52</sup> Albany remained in Scotland until 25 October 1522.

Later reports of the castle are also informative. Jean de Beaugué, a French captain writing in the 1550s, for instance, noted that

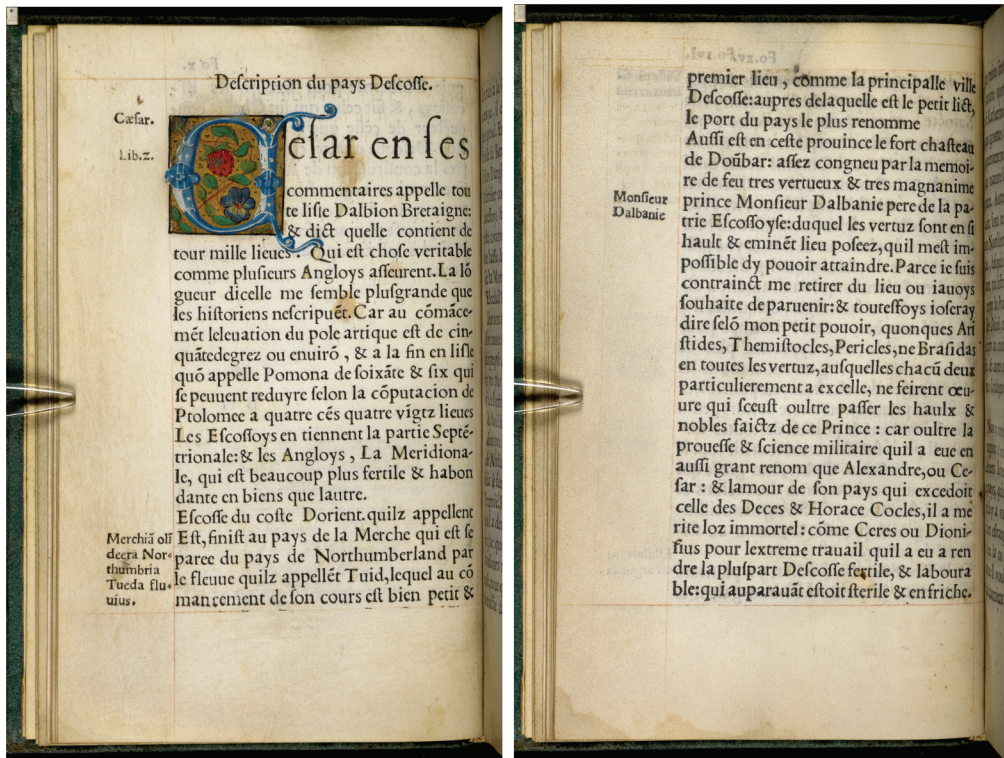
as for the castle, it is a very beautiful and strong place, built on a high rock, by the sea, with very difficult access, and which has been so well guarded, that there are few places today in the world which, by their nature are more advantageous, or less subject to battery and any other kind of conquest (De Beaugué 1556: 96).<sup>53</sup>

Petrucio Ubaldini, an Italian mercenary working for Henry VIII noted in his *Description della region di Scotia* of 1588 that ‘other than that at the mouth of Forth is Doumbar Castle, very popular among all the others of Scotland’ (Ubaldini 1829: 34).<sup>54</sup>

However, of particular interest for the purpose of this paper is an account provided

by Jean Desmontiers in 1538. Desmontiers wrote his text on the origin, topography and marvels of Scotland initially for presentation to Madeleine of Valois, however, the work was redirected, after Madeleine’s death, to Catherine de Medici.<sup>55</sup> Although the work takes much of its details from Boece, via Bellenden’s translation, it also contains original topographical information that suggests that Desmontiers may have visited Scotland himself earlier in his career.<sup>56</sup> Towards the centre of the text is a eulogy to Albany and his accomplishments in Scotland, which may indicate that Desmontiers was engaged in Albany’s service earlier in his career, or perhaps that he accompanied him to Scotland. The section concerning Albany is worth quoting in full.

Also in this province is the strong castle of Dunbar: well known by the memory of the late very virtuous and very magnanimous prince M. Dalbanie father of



ILLUS 8 Jean Desmontiers, *Le sommaire des antiquitez & merueilles Descosse* (G.5441 f xv & xv, British Library, London (© The British Library Board))

Scotland: of whom the virtues have already been put [written about] in so high & eminent place, that it is impossible for me to reach that level. Because I am compelled to withdraw from the place where I had wished to go: and yet I shall dare to say, according to my little power, that neither Aristides, Themistocles, Pericles, nor Brasidas in all the virtues, in which each of them particularly excelled, do no work that was beyond the high and noble deeds of this prince: for, besides the prowess and military science which he was as renowned for as Alexander, or Caesar: and the love of his country which exceeded that of Deces and Horace Cocles, he has deserved to be immortalised: like Ceres or Dionisius for the extreme work he had to render most of all of Scotland fertile, and workable/cultivable: which was previously barren and fallow (British Library G.5441, f xv) (Illus 8).<sup>57</sup>

According, therefore, to Desmontiers the strength of Dunbar was well known in relation to the late duke of Albany, who outdid Aristides, Themistocles, Pericles and Brasidas in virtue of the noble deeds he accomplished. For besides his great prowess in military science, which he is remembered for as much as Alexander or Caesar, and the love of his country, in which he equalled Deces and Horace Cocles, he was immortalised like Ceres or Dionisius for his advancements in agriculture. This account of Albany's achievements and reputation is important and, hitherto, largely unexamined. It stresses what Albany was – or perhaps what he sought to be – remembered for on the Continent. The declaration of his prowess in matters of military science, mentioned in relation to his stronghold at Dunbar, is particularly interesting.

#### THE FIRST SUCH STRUCTURE IN THE BRITISH ISLES?

The development of gunpowder artillery during the 15th century created a need for resistant fortifications and this heralded a period of great innovation in the field of military architecture.<sup>58</sup> This transitional period, from medieval castles to early modern fortresses, is fascinating for the experimentation employed in order to achieve effective architectural solutions. Prior

to this period, the defender of a fortress had the advantage. However, until fortifications were modified to defend against artillery fire, the attacker gained the advantage. The inadequacy of medieval fortifications, which emphasised height rather than strength, was illustrated by the victorious march of Charles VIII and his troops through Italy in 1494.<sup>59</sup> That traditional defensive features were rendered obsolete by developments in artillery stimulated the development in Italy of a radically different form of fortification known as the *trace italienne*. Walls were reduced in height and widened into ramparts, the base of such structures sloped outwards, and bastions were introduced allowing the elimination of blind spots, where the enemy couldn't be reached by flanking fire. These transitional fortifications were individualised to accommodate the existing architecture and the site's topography.

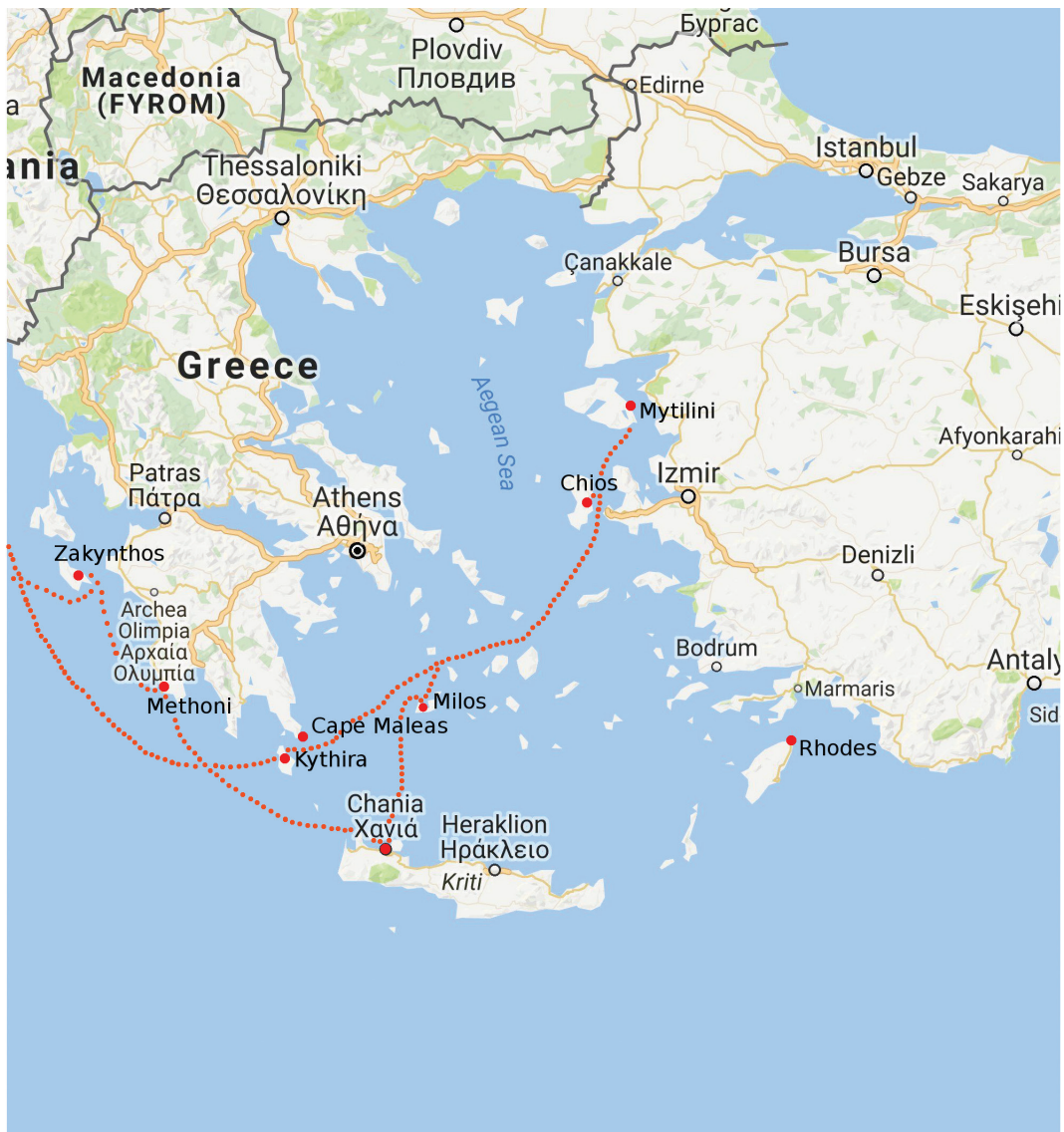
Albany's blockhouse appears to have followed some of these developments. It was an architectural solution to the military problem of rendering the existing castle impregnable.<sup>60</sup> The castle had topographical strengths, situated on a reef of rocks that projected out into the sea. The detached perpendicular rock to the southwest, which formed the site of the blockhouse, was an advantageous site for a fortification designed to update a medieval castle into an artillery-resistant fortress. Innovative features of the blockhouse included the relatively low-lying profile of the building protected, in part, by the natural escarpments of the rock, the thickness of the lower walls, and the polygonal plan of the bastion, designed to ensure that all approaches to the castle were covered.<sup>61</sup> The upper walls of the blockhouse may have possessed a curvilinear profile in order to deflect shot; furthermore, the blockhouse employed large gun-ports for heavy artillery.<sup>62</sup> The accumulation of these features suggests that this was an experimental architectural solution designed to fit the specific site at Dunbar, drawing on innovations Albany had encountered during his earlier military service on the Continent.<sup>63</sup>

The ideas that Albany experimented with in the creation of this blockhouse appear to have been the first example of this type of military architecture employed in Britain.<sup>64</sup> Many of the

developments discussed above were evident in the device forts of Henry VIII. However, the English king's campaign of coastal defence only began in 1539 and, therefore, post-dates Albany's blockhouse at Dunbar by over ten years.<sup>65</sup> We have already established that the blockhouse was built between 1515 and 1523 and it was perhaps largely completed as early as

1517. What, therefore, had Albany seen in his early career that may have influenced the design of his fortification at Dunbar?

Albany participated in a crusade to the eastern Mediterranean in 1501. Here he would have seen the great fortress of Mytilene.<sup>66</sup> In this endeavour, the French were assisted by the Knights of Rhodes who would have acquainted

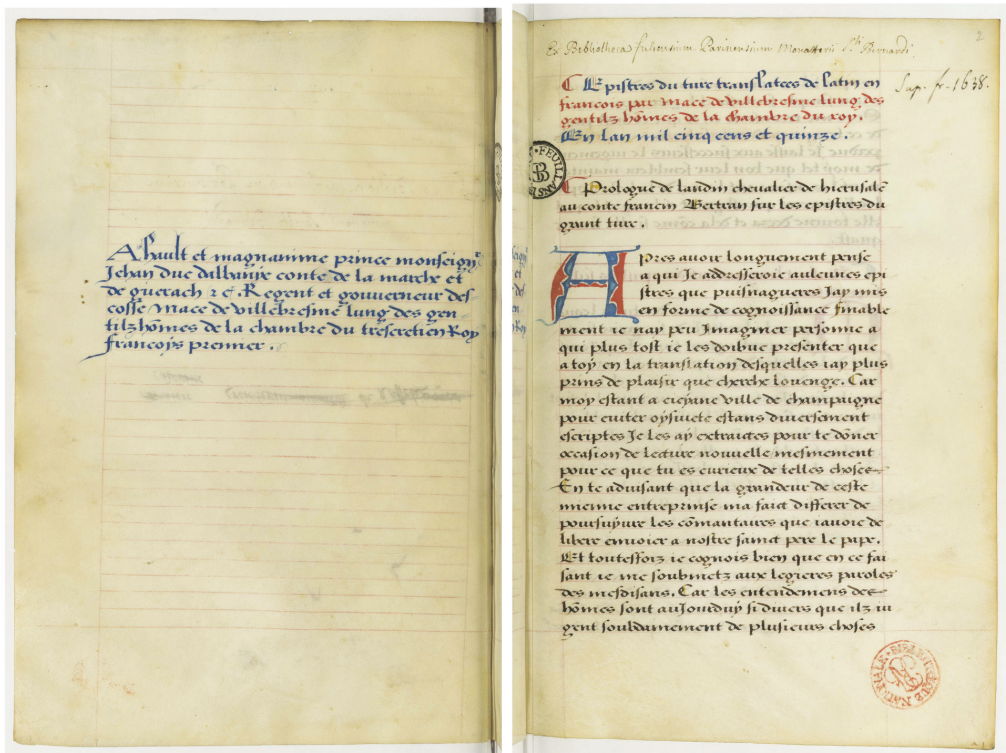


ILLUS 9 A map showing the approximate route taken by John Stuart, Duke of Albany on his crusade in 1501 (Map data © 2019 Google)

Albany with their development of some of the first polygonal bulwarks that would come to define the *trace italienne*.<sup>67</sup> At Rhodes in 1496, under Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson, a bastion of a slightly irregular pentagonal form, called the St George Bastion, was built. This became the most powerful stronghold of the fortress of Rhodes and one of the earliest pentagonal bastions in architectural history.<sup>68</sup> One reason that Albany may have paid particular attention to the developments in military architecture at Rhodes was that Pierre d'Aubusson, like Albany, was an Auvergnat.<sup>69</sup> The innovative developments in military fortification taking place there may have caught Albany's attention, both in relation to his crusade and in respect to the Auvergne connection.<sup>70</sup> Jean d'Auton's account of the voyage provides enough

information to sketch out a general itinerary and to map some of the sights and fortresses that Albany would have seen and which may have influenced his ideas regarding developments in military fortifications. These included Bohali Castle, Zakynthos;<sup>71</sup> Methoni Castle,<sup>72</sup> Cape Maleas; Chania in Crete;<sup>73</sup> the Castle of Chios;<sup>74</sup> while on his return voyage, his ship was wrecked on Kythira (Illus 9).<sup>75</sup>

If, however, the inspiration for the blockhouse at Dunbar did not come from Rhodes, it may have come directly from Italy. Albany spent much of his early career in the train of Louis XII during his Italian incursions and may, therefore, have been influenced by the developments in military architecture undertaken, for instance, by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Baccio Pontelli, Baldassare Peruzzi, or the brothers Giuliano



ILLUS 10 *Epistres du Turc* [MAHOMET II], Translated from Latin into French, by Macé de Villebresme, gentleman of the *Chambre du Roy*, 1515. Dedicated to the high and magnanimous prince Monseigneur Jehan duc d'albanye, comte de la march and guerach etc. Regent and governor of Scotland (BnF fr MS 12406 f 1v & 2r) (© BnF, Paris)



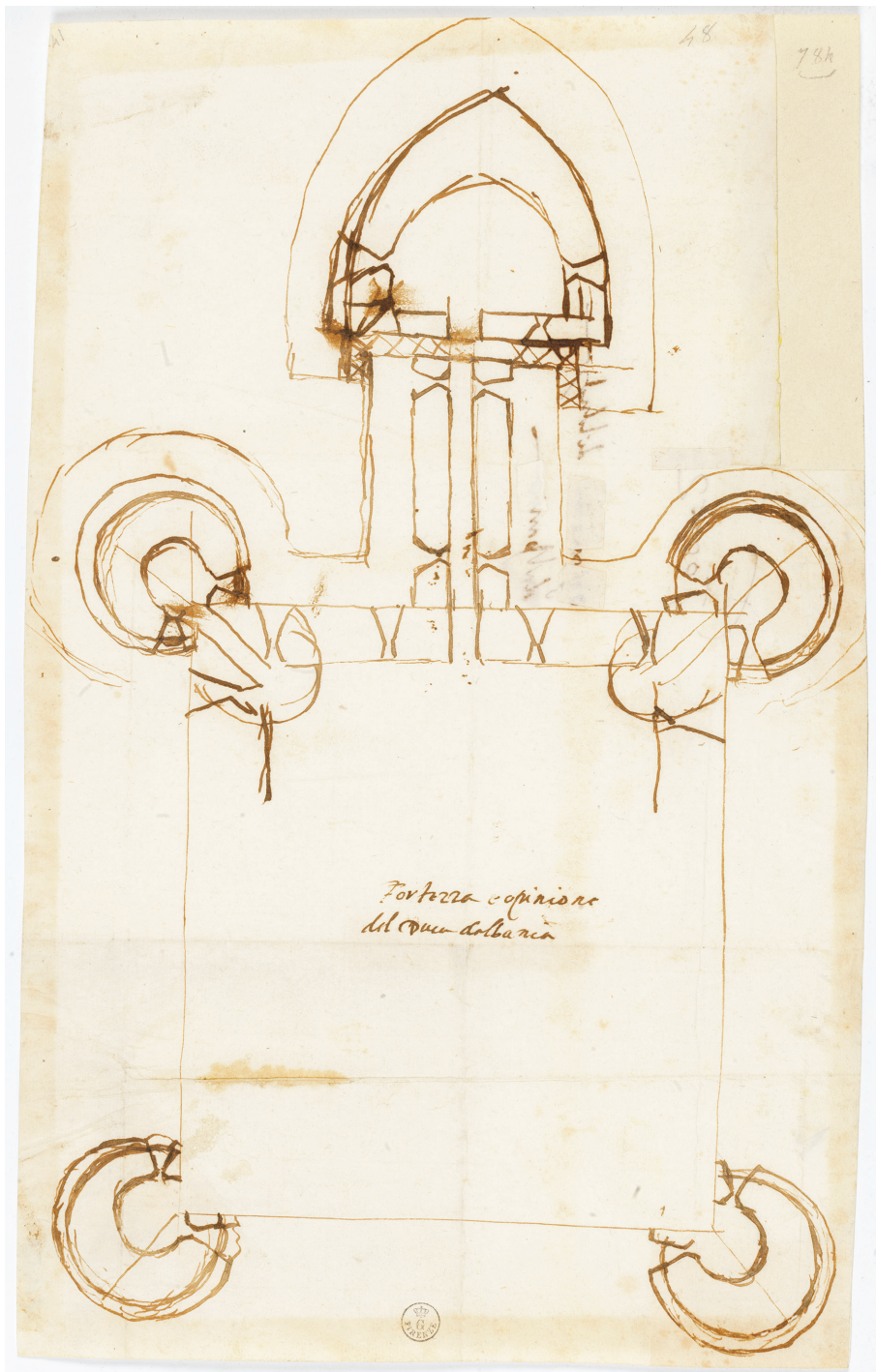
ILLUS 11 Fortifications at Rhodes, *Gestorum Rhodie obsidionis commentarii* (BNF Lat 6067 f 32r)  
(© BnF, Paris)

and Antonio da Sangallo.<sup>76</sup> The difficulty in pinpointing a single source for Albany's fortification results from several factors: principally that we do not know exactly how the blockhouse at Dunbar looked when it was intact, and also because the unusual topography of the site at Dunbar required a unique plan.<sup>77</sup> The blockhouse was intended to defend the castle covering all land approaches as well as the bay to the west. This was made possible by the unusual situation of the castle, and indeed of the blockhouse, on rocky promontories projecting into the sea connected by a great man-made curtain wall. An angle bastion in its simplest form was little more than a solid platform projecting out from a castle or town wall. Artillery enclosed in casemates could fire both outwards, in a confrontational manner, and sweep a curtain wall.<sup>78</sup> The angular shape of the blockhouse at Dunbar would have achieved this objective: it simultaneously allowed an outwards attack on a siege and a defensive sweep across the approach to the peninsula. It appears to have drawn on ideas being developed in Italy and Rhodes, and may be seen as a hitherto largely overlooked example of experimental military architecture for this period.

In examining possible sources for this type of military architecture, it is important to consider evidence of Albany's outlook and preoccupations during this early stage in his career. A fascinating, and so far unexplored, document provides important evidence with regards to piecing together his interests and preoccupations around the time he first travelled to Scotland.<sup>79</sup> Macé de Villebresme was a courtier and a *valet de chambre* to Louis XII.<sup>80</sup> He also acted as French ambassador to Scotland in 1515. He is recorded as having brought on the 3 May letters, dating to the 9 April, which told of the ratification by Francis I of the treaty made by his predecessor with England, with the inclusion of Scotland on the condition of hostilities ceasing on the English borders after 15 May.<sup>81</sup> His exhortations were supported by Balthasar Stewart, an envoy of Leo X, who had been in Scotland for a year using all his efforts to persuade the Scots to abstain from war with England, and join in the crusade against the Turks.<sup>82</sup> Of particular interest in relation to

this episode is a document that survives in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, containing the epistles of Mehmet II, translated from Latin (by Landin, knight of Jerusalem) into French, by Macé de Villebresme in 1515 and dedicated to 'Jehan, Duke of Albany, regent and governor of Scotland' (Illus 10).<sup>83</sup> Given that Villebresme died in August 1517, it is likely that this work was translated for presentation to Albany on Villebresme's visit to Scotland in 1515. Villebresme notes in the prologue to the work that he had pondered long and hard who to present the work to and had decided that there was no one better than Albany, given his 'curiosity' in such affairs. It appears, therefore, to provide evidence of Albany's interest in, and preoccupation with, the military matters he engaged with on his crusade some years earlier.<sup>84</sup> The date of the presentation of this document precisely coincides with the beginning of Albany's campaign to fortify Dunbar and one wonders, therefore, if these events are connected.

That Albany was noted as 'curious' in matters concerning the siege of Rhodes may indicate that he obtained a copy of the important work by Guillaume Caoursin, *Gestorum Rhodiae obsidionis commentarii*.<sup>85</sup> This work, which describes in detail the siege, includes minutely accurate topographical illustrations of the fortifications and armament employed at this time (Illus 11). This text was an important piece of propaganda, intended to convince the sovereigns of the West to support the Knights of Rhodes' efforts against the Turks. Villebresme's mission to Scotland in 1515 had been on the pretext of promoting a truce between Scotland and England, but with a secondary objective of stressing the importance of crusading resolve. This was a political objective that Albany appears sympathetic towards. In terms of Albany's actions, his priorities on arrival in Scotland were principally concerned with strengthening Scotland's defences. Furthermore, he commissioned several manuscripts around this time which set out in forceful terms his military ambitions.<sup>86</sup> Albany's thoughts were evidently more inclined to war, and the promotion of his military capabilities, than to ideas of peace. The suggestion that Albany might draw upon military



ILLUS 12 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, A drawing of a transitional fortification, with the note: 'Fortezza e opinione del Duca dalbania' (U1051A) (© The Uffizi Gallery, Florence)



innovations he had encountered on his travels, when thinking about Scotland's defensive capabilities, appears consistent, therefore, with his outlook and priorities.

#### UFFIZI DRAWING U1051A: ALBANY AND ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER

That Albany was concerned with fortifications and developments in military science, particularly in relation to his time spent in Italy, is demonstrated by a fascinating surviving document. In the Uffizi Gallery in Florence are a large collection of architectural drawings attributable to the Sangallos, an influential family of Florentine architects and military engineers.<sup>87</sup> Among these is a rough sketch in brown ink on paper that appears to show proposals for the modernisation for a typical late 15th-century fortress, by the addition of a ravelin and caponier (U1051A) (Illus 12). A line of text on the sketch notes '*Fortezza e*

*opinione del Duca dalbania*', or 'fortress and opinion of the Duke of Albany'. A note on the verso again states '*Fortezze; opinione del duca dalbania*'.<sup>88</sup> The writing, certainly on the verso, has been attributed to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (12 April 1484–3 August 1546). That Albany's opinion regarding a matter of military science should have been sought by such an eminent Renaissance architect and engineer is fascinating and deserves greater consideration than has hitherto been the case.

Adams and Pepper note in their catalogue of the architectural drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger that drawing U1051A recalls the work of Francesco di Giorgio Martini; similarities may be seen, for instance, in his proposals for Fossombrone.<sup>89</sup> The basic forms, furthermore, are explored in his *Trattato d'architettura civile e militare*.<sup>90</sup> The manner in which a ravelin and caponier has been employed in a transitional form most closely resembles, however, the Spanish-built fortress of Salses in Roussillon.<sup>91</sup> Construction at Salses was



ILLUS 13 The transitional fort de Salses, Salses-le-Chateau, view from the east (RMW17-0109, 2017) (© Rémy Marion / Pôles d'images / Centre des monuments nationaux)

conducted from 1497–1504 for Ferdinand II of Aragon (Illus 13). The fortress marked an important point of passage for any invading army wishing to move from Languedoc to Roussillon. It was designed by the engineer Francisco Ramiro López and, while still in progress, the fortress suffered and resisted a siege by the French under Louis XII in 1503. Revolutionary for its time, Salses presents a rare surviving example of this transition between the medieval castle and bastioned fortification that began to appear in the first quarter of the 16th century. Given that the French army laid siege to Salses in 1503, at a time when Albany was commanding French troops for Louis XII against the Spanish, it is possible that he had first-hand knowledge of this particular fortification.<sup>92</sup> It is, therefore, plausible that the sketch came about following discussions between the architect, Sangallo, and the soldier and diplomat, Albany, in relation to Albany's direct military experience of laying siege to this fortress some years earlier.<sup>93</sup>

Two scholars have mentioned the Uffizi drawing in relation to Albany and his fortification at Dunbar. In 1999, Marcus Merriman noted, in relation to the blockhouse at Dunbar, that 'the broad-brush stroke conception may have been the brain storm of none other than Antonio da Sangallo the Younger', and in 2001 Iain MacIvor, attributing the sketch to Migliorino Ubaldini, noted that it 'shows a place which looks like Dunbar Castle as it might be envisaged from a verbal description of the place'.<sup>94</sup> I believe both scholars were mistaken. The drawing appears not to be directly linked to Dunbar Castle. It does not provide evidence of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger participating in the plans for Dunbar, nor does it show a sketch referring to a verbal description of Dunbar. The drawing appears to show a description provided by Albany of the fortress at Salses, or a similar example of transitional military architecture from this period. What is important is that Albany's opinion was evidently highly regarded by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, and in this respect Albany's reputation, recorded by Desmontiers as demonstrating prowess in military science, is crucial. It is the wider reputation of Albany's fortress at Dunbar

that is key. If Antonio da Sangallo the Younger was aware of the strategically important, impregnable fortress that Albany had had built in Scotland, this would clarify why he might seek out the Duke's opinion on other matters of military architecture.

#### DATING THE DRAWING: ALBANY AND HIS LATER DIPLOMATIC CAREER

In dating the drawing we must return to Albany's career and the time he spent in Italy; particularly important in this respect are his family connections to the Medicis. On 2 May 1518, Madeleine de la Tour, Albany's sister-in-law, was married to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino.<sup>95</sup> The marriage was extremely important for Albany, substantially elevating his standing in France by allying him with the powerful Florentine Medici family and by providing him with a direct connection to Lorenzo's uncle, Pope Leo X. Within several months of the birth of Madeleine and Lorenzo's only child, Catherine – at Urbino on 19 April 1519 – both parents died. This left the young child's closest relatives as Pope Leo X and Albany. Francis I decreed that the child should inherit her parents' share of the de la Tour lands and properties, making Catherine de Medici a great heiress in France. Albany visited Rome in June 1520, pledging obedience to Pope Leo X, as ambassador of King James V of Scotland.<sup>96</sup> His position as a duke and regent to the kingdom of Scotland appears to have complicated the normal diplomatic protocol; he was allowed in this instance to sit with the cardinal-deacons at Mass rather than with the other diplomats. The master of ceremonies noted that this concession was made 'by the grace of the Pope because they are related'.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, in both papal bulls secured by Albany at this time he is referred to by the Pope as his *dilecti filli*, 'beloved son'. Following the death of Pope Leo X on 1 December 1521, Albany was appointed Catherine's tutor and guardian, as her closest male relative.

Having returned to France from Scotland in 1524, Albany joined Francis I's Italian campaign against Charles V. He was in the vanguard of

Francis I's army that left France for Milan in autumn 1524. Around 25 November he was ordered by the French king to proceed with 4,000 foot soldiers and 500 lances and commence an attack on Naples. He was accompanied by Giovanni de Medici as commander of the light cavalry. Albany prepared for this expedition by corresponding with the governors of Parma, Piacenza and Bologna, requesting safe conduct and permission to purchase supplies.<sup>98</sup> Albany was, however, recalled by the French king, before being dispatched a second time to Naples, this time with 300 light horsemen, 600 men at arms, 7,000 foot soldiers and a dozen pieces of artillery. He thus proceeded through Lucca, but appears to have made slow progress thereafter, perhaps fearing that he would once again be recalled. By the end of January 1525, Albany had only reached Siena.<sup>99</sup> Albany entered Rome on 13 February, and was lodged with honour as the Pope's kinsman.<sup>100</sup> Here Albany, no doubt, took the opportunity to visit his niece, Catherine. Given that his wife, Anne de la Tour, had died a year earlier and that they had no children, Catherine was Albany's closest surviving relative.<sup>101</sup> Having then travelled to Formello, on 24 February, Albany was informed of the devastating news that Francis I had been captured at Pavia. He thus retreated to papal territory and left Italy for France at the end of March.<sup>102</sup>

Albany's interest in Scotland persisted and in March 1527 Albany, as ambassador for France, was heavily involved in the negotiations to declare the marriage of Margaret Tudor and the Earl of Angus invalid.<sup>103</sup> Rumours also continued to circulate that Albany would return to Scotland.<sup>104</sup> In 1530 Albany was appointed French ambassador to the Holy See, acting as the chief negotiator for the marriage of his niece, Catherine, and the duc d'Orleans.<sup>105</sup> Albany's status at this time again appears to have caused some difficulties in terms of papal ceremony, given that dukes outranked ambassadors. On this occasion he was treated as a duke.<sup>106</sup> Albany's family ties to the Pope evidently afforded him special standing in Rome. This was illustrated in November 1530 when he was responsible for carrying the papal train, and at Christmas 1531,

when the ambassadors were ranked, in reverse precedence, Venice, England, Imperial, duke of Albany.<sup>107</sup> In mid-August 1533, Albany returned to Italy to escort Catherine to France for her wedding.<sup>108</sup>

There are, therefore, several periods during Albany's career when he may have made the acquaintance of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: during his brief visit to Rome in 1520, his protracted military excursion in 1525, or as part of the long running negotiations of 1530–3. Although Albany had been in Italy prior to becoming regent of Scotland, at this time he did not have the kinship links to the Medici popes, Leo X and then Clement VII, which would later afford him a more elevated social standing and access to the more privileged circles in Rome.<sup>109</sup> It is through access to these circles most likely, in either 1525 or 1530–3, that Albany could have made the acquaintance of Sangallo.

Sangallo maintained a good relationship with the popes throughout his career. Under Pope Leo X he undertook the design of fortifications for Civitavecchia (1515–20), the naval base on the west coast of the Papal States. Under Clement VII he worked on numerous civic and ecclesiastical projects, and in 1526 the Pope commissioned him to assess the state of fortifications of Papal possessions. For this he travelled around Italy inspecting fortifications, assisted by Sanmicheli.<sup>110</sup> The bulk of Antonio's surviving drawings date to the later period of his career and throughout the 1530s, when he and his workshop were busy simultaneously working on a number of fortification projects. The production of a hasty sketch illustrating Albany's opinions on the most effective manner to fortify a medieval castle against artillery fits well into this working climate.<sup>111</sup> Albany's status, his standing and reputation in Italy are, therefore, crucial to our understanding of the manner in which he was perceived there. The circles in which he moved, and the contacts that he made, are important indicators of how he operated as a conduit for ideas between Scotland, France and Italy. We are fortunate that several other pieces of evidence help us sketch a clearer picture of Albany's cultural interests and enthusiasms, and the artistic contacts he forged, during this period.



ILLUS 14 Andrea del Sarto, *The Sacrifice of Abraham* (P0003360 (© Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado))

### ALBANY, DEL SARTO AND RUSTICI: CULTURAL CONTACTS IN RENAISSANCE ITALY

In a letter written in Florence on 8 October 1531, by Giovan Battista Mini to Baccio Valori in Rome, Mini announces the sale of a 'quadro de l'Abram' by Andreino del Sarto for 125 ducats to John Stuart, Duke of Albany.<sup>112</sup> Two copies of a painting of the same subject, attributed to the Florentine painter Andrea del Sarto, were also mentioned in the contemporary account of Andrea del Sarto's life by Georgio Vasari. Vasari records how Giovanni Battista della Palla, on the authority from the King of France, commissioned of del Sarto 'Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac'. Andrea apparently produced a masterpiece in response to this request, which Vasari describes in some detail. He then notes that Paolo da Terrarossa, having seen a sketch of the Abraham, asked for a copy of it, which Andrea did for him in a reduced scale.<sup>113</sup> There are three surviving versions of this subject attributed to Andrea del Sarto: Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, Gal.-Nr. 77; The Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 37.577 and the Prado Museum, P000336.<sup>114</sup>

Disentangling which of the surviving paintings might relate to which contemporary record has proved problematic; nevertheless, it is generally supposed that the two paintings mentioned by Vasari are those in Dresden and Madrid. It is also agreed that the Cleveland version represents an unfinished original autograph version of the composition, perhaps an abandoned early attempt. The Dresden painting is believed to be the version commissioned by della Palla for the French king, and the Madrid version that for Paolo Terrarossa.<sup>115</sup> It is also the Madrid version which is thought to be that bought by Albany (Illus 14).<sup>116</sup> Shearman notes that as an ambassador for Francis I in Italy, Albany likely acquired the painting on behalf of the French king, however, this was not necessarily the case.<sup>117</sup>

Dating to August 1529, a French document records that three carriers were charged to transport from Paris to Vic-le-Comte '12 images of terracotta of the 12 apostles of our Lord' for Albany.<sup>118</sup> The sculptures noted in the document

are evidently the 12 terracotta figures still displayed in the gallery of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte, which Albany founded in 1520.<sup>119</sup> The document does not name the sculptor, however, an attribution to the Florentine artist, Giovanni Francesco Rustici (1475–1554), who was then working in Paris, is convincing on stylistic and circumstantial grounds.<sup>120</sup> The documentation of this transportation of sculptures is interesting: it demonstrates the great lengths that Albany went to to complete the decorative programme of his chapel and, furthermore, illustrates his desire to incorporate a contemporary Florentine aesthetic into his French religious foundation, regardless of the expense.<sup>121</sup> If Albany was preoccupied with commissioning Italian artists to provide decorative features to be included in his Sainte-Chapelle in 1529, it is plausible that the Andrea del Sarto painting may also have been acquired for a similar purpose.<sup>122</sup> Certainly Italian works of art were greatly sought after in France during this period, and a Saint Sebastian painted by Andrea Mantegna, for instance, appears to have been displayed in the neighbouring Sainte-Chapelle at Aigueperse, also in the Auvergne, at this time.<sup>123</sup>

The unifying factor between Albany's contact with Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Andrea del Sarto, and potentially with Francesco Rustici, is Medici approval. All worked for the Medici family during their career and the merits of their work were quite possibly introduced to Albany via his Medici connections. During the 1520s and early 1530s, evidence suggests that Albany moved in exalted circles in Italy, primarily due to his kinship with the Medici family. It appears, furthermore, that he was interested in matters of art and architecture: commissioning decorative features for his grand ecclesiastical foundation back in France, but also evidently engaging in theoretical discussions regarding military architecture with some of the most important practitioners of the day. That Sangallo might have been receptive to Albany's thoughts on such matters attests both to the high regard with which he was held by Sangallo's principal patron, Clement VII, but also may owe something to the military reputation that Albany cultivated and



ILLUS 15 Bremond Domat, 'Le duc Jehan dalbanie les armes de ma dame anne de bologne sa femme', *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l'Écosse* (KB 74 G 11, f 52v-53r. 1518) (© Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag)

was documented by Desmontiers. That Albany's reputation was linked to his supposed prowess in military science in general, and the wider reputation of his fortress at Dunbar in particular, is of great importance.

#### CONCLUSION: REPUTATION AND PRESTIGE, ALBANY AND HIS SCOTTISH FORTRESS

As I have explored elsewhere, Albany was very adept at constructing and promoting his self-image.<sup>124</sup> We can see evidence of this in two manuscripts he commissioned in 1518 and 1519: a French translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis*, with an illuminated genealogy of the kings of Scotland appended (the Paris Manuscript), and

a composite manuscript including genealogical material relevant to his wife's family, the counts of Boulogne and d'Auvergne (the Hague Manuscript).<sup>125</sup> In the Hague Manuscript, a poem included underneath an ornate representation of Albany's arms, impaled by those of Anne de la Tour, sets out his military objectives (Illus 15). It boldly proclaims:

Albany, bonnie child,  
who will by sea conquer,  
Scotland also England,  
and put them into subjection,  
by strength of arms and of war,  
he will take possession of them.<sup>126</sup>

An affirmation of these military ambitions is reiterated in the section that follows, which

addresses the influence of the planetary deities on Albany's life. Here he is described as 'double crowned two times king'. His intent was, therefore, to suggest that he was not only the ruler of Scotland, but the potential ruler of England.

The prognostication of the nativity of prince Jehan, duc dalbanye, as speculated by the planets.

**VENUS**, principal planet,<sup>127</sup>  
governing his nativity  
promises him papal power  
coming from the divinity  
absolute authority  
double crown two times king  
Mars threatens him with adversity  
and with a little disarray  
**SOL**, very magnificent planet  
who governs the heart of princes  
as good, dignified and angelic  
He gives kingdoms and provinces  
Jupiter minces his enemies  
held and gives him power  
the hour and the gift of twelve nymphs  
from which will come a ...<sup>128</sup>  
**SATURN** is gracious to him  
and generate some noise  
But mercury the gracious  
will defer all pleases or non-pleases  
Luna will do everything at his ease  
promising him good fortune  
but so that Minerva is not displeased  
there will be no contradiction.

Therefore, when Albany commissioned his French translation of the *Liber Pluscardensis*, in the Paris Manuscript, he had an imperative to promote a biblical origin myth for the Scottish nation. Given his statement of intent in the Hague Manuscript, foreseeing himself as 'double crowned two times king', he had every impetus to stress Scotland's antiquity and rights over England.<sup>129</sup> In the preface and prologue to the *Liber Pluscardensis*, the author and translator, Domat, noted that he sought to praise the victorious and invincible men of Scotland, a nation resplendent in all parts of the world and feared by all, a nation who was not defeated by the obstacles of persecution, pests, tyranny and insults. The royal house of Scotland, he wrote,

had its origin 330 years before the incarnation of our Lord and had not succumbed to subjection. This longevity and autonomy was crucial to any ideas Albany harboured regarding a claim to sovereignty in England.<sup>130</sup> He notes, furthermore, that occupants of the noble kingdom of Scotland were resplendent in all parts of the world, and feared and redoubted by all nations. Albany was keen not only to promote Scotland and the virtues of the Scots on the Continent, he also wished to promote his strategic military importance and his European significance as a potential ruler of both Scotland and England. In this respect, possessing a formidable fortress in Scotland, renowned as being impregnable, was very important. Whether the reality of Dunbar Castle and its blockhouse entirely measured up to such a reputation was not important. If Albany boasted of his fortress while in France and Italy, he could be sure few would actually travel to Scotland to see it: its reputation was what counted. That Albany went to great lengths to retain possession of Dunbar after his regency was renounced emphasises its strategic importance for Albany in both a military and a diplomatic sense.<sup>131</sup>

The purpose of this paper has been to examine two pieces of evidence relating to Albany's documented reputation as being renowned for his prowess in military science: the building of his artillery blockhouse at Dunbar and the sketch of a fortification attributed to Antonio da Sangallo the younger following the opinion of the Duke of Albany. A careful examination of these two pieces of evidence in relation to Albany's military and diplomatic career reveals that the traditional interpretation of them as directly linked, ie as the sketch deriving from, or forming the basic plan for, the blockhouse at Dunbar is mistaken. They are, nevertheless, linked in an equally interesting manner; Albany's reputation on the Continent, as a man possessing prowess in matters of military science, likely stemmed, in part, from the reputation of his impregnable fortress at Dunbar. His opinions, therefore, on matters of military architecture, particularly drawing on his early experiences as a mercenary for Louis XII, may have been considered valuable in Italy.<sup>132</sup> Crucial to this reputation was his kinship and the

support he received from the Medici family, who apparently facilitated his integration into cultural and artistic circles in Rome at this time.

The artillery blockhouse at Dunbar was certainly a new innovation in military architecture in Scotland, and likely within Britain.<sup>133</sup> It was admired and respected by field commanders and others from England, France and elsewhere. Tracing Albany's early career suggests that it may have drawn upon experimental architectural practices being developed in Italy, but also perhaps from farther afield; drawing on defensive strategies Albany had encountered in the eastern Mediterranean while engaged in a crusade to Mitilene. That Albany was interested in developments relating to combat and fortification in the east is hinted at by the epistles of Mehmet II, dedicated to Albany by Macé de Villebresme in 1515, the same year that Albany first arrived in Scotland and began to consider strengthening the fortifications at Dunbar. Albany's blockhouse appears to have been an experimental solution designed to combat a particular threat. It is an interesting early 16th-century example of the importance of individual figures, such as Albany, acting as conduits for the transmission of ideas between Scotland, Europe and farther afield. Lastly, it falls to the author to reiterate Iain MacIvor's earlier attempt to highlight the importance of excavating this unique site before it is entirely lost to coastal erosion and structural decay.<sup>134</sup> Such work may allow for a greater understanding of the true profile of this important building and further work of this nature would facilitate in-depth research into the likely sources of inspiration behind the plan. It is, therefore, with some urgency that I wish to highlight the historic importance of recording and excavating the remains of the castle and blockhouse at Dunbar.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The preliminary results of this research were presented at Swansea University Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Research (MEMO) Symposium by the Sea (28–29 June 2018) 'Britain & its Neighbours: Cultural Contacts & Exchanges in Medieval & Early Modern Europe'. I am grateful to Dr Charlie Rozier

for organising this symposium, and to those who attended for their insightful questions and comments. I am also grateful to Professor John Law for his continued interest and suggestions in relation to this research. I am most grateful to staff at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; British Library, London; Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague; Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence; and the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, for their helpful assistance. Lastly I would like to thank Dr Tom Tolley, Penny and Carey Coombs, and Jackson Pauls.

Since submitting this work I have discussed various aspects of it with Professor Alasdair A MacDonald, Dr Aonghus MacKechnie, Professor Ian Campbell and Dr Janet Hadley Williams. I am immensely grateful for their encouragement and suggestions for further areas of research.

#### NOTES

- 1 Brewer 1920, IV: no. 52.
- 2 Molinet 1828, XLVII: 183–91; D'Auton 1834, II: 12, 17, 19, 49–50, 57–8. The commander of this mission was Philippe de Ravenstein who appears to have hand picked Albany to accompany him.
- 3 'Le duc d'albanie pareillement se trouva main à main avec un autre Turc, lequel vigoureusement vainquit et occit.' D'Auton 1834, II: 85. He is again singled out for special mention in D'Auton 1834, II: 49–50.
- 4 Stuart 1940: 15.
- 5 D'Auton 1834, III: 23.
- 6 On 5 December 1512, Louis XII dispatched a request to James IV that Alexander Stuart's confiscated estates might be restored upon Albany, thus enabling the French king to make a marriage settlement befitting such a match (Wood 1933: 62–5).
- 7 D'Auton 1834, III: 309–37.
- 8 It has been supposed that Albany was little concerned with the affairs of Scotland up until this point. However, evidence suggests that c 1509 he may have commissioned a copy of Pierre Gringore's *Abus du Monde* (Pierpont Morgan, MS M 42) to present as a gift to James IV. The gift was evidently intended to secure Scottish support for the French king's Italian ambitions in general and the activities of the League of Cambrai in particular (Coombs forthcoming).



- 9 Fleming & Miller 1908: 281.
- 10 Wood 1933: 84.
- 11 Hannay 1932: 20.
- 12 Hannay 1932: 21.
- 13 At the coronation of Francis I, Albany took an exalted position in the procession. He appeared at the coronation in glorious apparel, wearing silver-brocaded white satin sewn all over with birds' wings wrought in silver-gilt that fluttered as he moved. The edging was embroidered with his motto *Sub umbra alarum tuarum* (Godefroy 1649, I: 271–5; Baluze 1708, I: 354). The motto translates as 'In the shadow of thy wings' (Psalms 16:8 of the Vulgate Bible).
- 14 Hannay 1932: 40.
- 15 Hannay 1932: 27.
- 16 Pinkerton 1797, II: 132–3. Pinkerton notes that the duke was inaugurated as governor of Scotland with solemn ceremonies during which a crown was placed upon his head, the lords paid homage, and the regency was proclaimed to last until the youthful king was 18, that is until 1530.
- 17 MacIvor 2001: 70.
- 18 It remained a possibility that England might again attempt to occupy Dunbar Castle as an advance post from Berwick.
- 19 Grose 1797, I: 85.
- 20 The castle remained the stronghold of the earls of Dunbar until the forfeiture of George, Earl of March, in 1457, when it was dismantled to prevent its occupation by the English. It was restored by James IV later in the century (Dickson 1877–1905, I: lxxxiii, 323; II: lxxxii. For Ubaldini see Merriman 1999: 240–2).
- 21 Dunbar and the fortress on Inchkeith were to be 'cast down utterly to the ground and destroyed in such a way that no foundation thereof be the occasion to build thereupon in time coming'. (*The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, A1567/12/34). In September 1568, some of the stone was selected for reuse at the quayside of the shore of Leith (Marwick 1875: 250–9).
- 22 Measured at 69 feet (21m) by Miller, the wall collapsed in 1993 (Miller 1830: 4). In military science, a blockhouse was a sturdy fortification designed for gunpowder artillery, it usually refers to an isolated fort in the form of a single building, serving as a defensive strong point. Blockhouses sometimes had accommodation for the short-term use of a garrison.
- 23 The harbour entrance was constructed in 1842.
- 24 Miller 1830: 2.
- 25 MacIvor 1981: 94.
- 26 Grose 1797, I: 85–90; Miller 1830: 4–5.
- 27 Pidgeon 1869: 344–5.
- 28 For instance, see the current listing on Canmore: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/57687>. Pidgeon 1869: 344. Miller in 1830 suggests that the armorial plaques relate to George, eleventh earl of Dunbar (Miller 1830: 4). Grose mentions the arms but does not suggest who was responsible. Sir Walter Scott suggests that the armorial plaques relate to Albany's father, Alexander Stuart. However Scott suggests the full arms may be found among others, which is likely an error (Scott 1834: 410).
- 29 See note 20.
- 30 A chapel dedicated to St John was also built at this time (Dickson 1877–1905, I: lxxxiii, 323; II: lxxxii).
- 31 Albany's arms may be described as: Quarterly; first, or, a lion rampant gules, armed and langued azure, within a double tressure flory counterflory gules (Scotland); second, gules, a lion rampant argent, on a bordure argent, charged with eight roses gules (earldom of March); third, gules, three legs embowed and conjoined at the thigh, argent spurred or (lordship of Man); fourth, or, a saltire and chief gules (lordship of Annandale). The arms visually convey the close relationship of Albany to the royal house of Scotland and display his hereditary titles: earl of March, lord of the Isle of Man and lord of Annandale. Sixteenth-century examples of Albany's arms may be found in the *Scots Roll* at the British Library, Add MS 45133 f 47r and the *Armorial of Sir David Lindsay*, at the National Library of Scotland, MS 31.4.3, f 25.
- 32 The royal arms of Scotland found on Albany's shield may have featured on this section of the sculpted decoration.
- 33 For instance, see the slightly later armorial plaque at Spynie Palace with Bishops David Stewart's and Patrick Hepburn's armorial shields.
- 34 Miller 1830: 4.
- 35 MacIvor 1981: 112; MacIvor 2001: 69.
- 36 The soffits of two of the casemates are pierced with vents to help disperse smoke (MacIvor 1981: 113).
- 37 The lower-level gunholes may have accommodated large pieces of artillery; a

- stocked breech-loader on a trestle mounting has been suggested (MacIvor 1981: 94–152). The guns on the upper tier may have been longer-ranged, muzzle-loaded pieces mounted on carriages. Fawcett notes that such gunholes were to be widely copied in Scotland (Fawcett 1994: 290).
- 38 These gunholes appeared in France around 1460 (Tabraham 2005: 86).
- 39 The suggestion of a curvilinear profile is supported by early engravings of the castle. MacIvor suggests a comparison with Sangallo's bastioned *forteza* at Pisa (MacIvor 1981: 116).
- 40 Hannay 1932: 7.
- 41 Pitscottie 1899, I: 288. Pitscottie is not, however, an altogether reliable source and his account must be treated with caution.
- 42 Home fled to England, gave himself up, was placed in Edinburgh Castle, and then fled again (Stuart 1940: 51–6).
- 43 Brewer 1920, III: no. 3114. Albany is recorded as bringing 55 ships loaded with Frenchmen, artillery and victuals in support of his realm from France on his third visit (Thomson 1833: 8; Dickson 1877–1905, V: 42).
- 44 Pitscottie 1899, I: 331.
- 45 Cotton MS Caligula, B, VI, f 379, published in Green 1846: 284. There is evidence that Albany owned a collection of popular military manuals. BnF MS lat 18610 contains an inventory of the extensive library of Catherine de Medici at Château Mirefleur in 1560. This was a library directly inherited from Albany after he died at Château Mirefleur, his favourite residence, in 1536. On f 208r of the inventory we find, for instance, 'plus ung livre nomme Robertus Valturius' evidently the popular military manual, *De Re Militari*.
- 46 Add MS 24965, f 27; Brewer 1920, III: 3134.
- 47 Pitscottie 1899, I: 303.
- 48 Dickson 1877–1905, V: 155.
- 49 Dacre was recalling an earlier visit to the castle. Perhaps he attended a meeting there on 28 January 1522. This is hinted at in Brewer 1920, III: no. 1949. This would increase the likelihood of construction of the blockhouse to the first period of Albany's governorship.
- 50 Burnett & Stuart 1878–1908, XIV: cxliii, 351.
- 51 Francis I wished to remain friendly with England and thus Albany was unable to return. His return would have been viewed as a hostile act to Henry VIII. Nevertheless, Anglo-French relations deteriorated and Albany was able to return to Scotland.
- 52 Brewer 1920, III: 811.
- 53 'Et quant au chasteau, c'est une fort belle & forte place, bastie sur un hault rocher, au bord de la mer, de tresdifficile avenue, & ou l'art ha été gardé tellement, que peu de lieux se touvent aujourd'huy au monde, qui soyent de leur nature plus avantageux, ne moins sujets à baterie & à tout autre sorte d'expugnation' (De Beaugué 1556: 96).
- 54 'Oltra di ciò alla foce di Forthea è il castello Doumbar munitissimo tra tutti gli altri di Scotia' (Ubal dini 1829: 34).
- 55 Madeleine died on 7 July 1537.
- 56 Hector Boece, a native of Dundee, studied in Paris before becoming principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1500. He wrote his *Historia Gentis Scotorum* in Latin and published it in Paris in 1527. John Bellenden translated Boece's history into the Scottish vernacular text, *Croniklis of Scotland*. It was published in Edinburgh in 1536. The description Desmontiers gives of the Tweed at Berwick does not appear in Boece or Bellenden, and suggests that he had visited this area. The following phrase suggests an eyewitness account: 'J'ay oiiy dire vulgairement que en Angleterre n y avoit point de Loups, mais je puis bien assureur d'en avoir veu pardeca Bervic' (British Library, G.5441, f xvi). Desmontiers' text exploited an interest in all things Scottish (in France) at the time of James V's marriage. The appearance in Paris of the histories of Mair and Boece attests to public interest in such matters, particularly in the marvellous and mysterious in Scotland. Desmontiers *Sommaire* is a valuable document which indicates what a 16th-century Frenchman was willing to believe about Scotland (Desmontiers 1863; Miller 1903: 27–38; Johnstone & Robertson 1929: 37–8; Young 1952: 1–11).
- 57 British Library G.5441, f xv. 'Aussi est en cest province le fort chasteau de Doubar: assez congneu par la memoire de feu tres vertueux & tres magnanime prince monsieur Dalbanie pere de la patrie Escossoyse: duquel les vertuz sont en si hault & éminét lieu poseez, quil mest impossible dy pouvoir attaindre. Parce ie suis contrainct me retirer du lieu ou iauoys souhaite de parvenir: & toutesfoys ioseray dire

- seló mon petit pouvoir, quonques Aristides, Themistocles, Pericles, ne Brasidas en tout les vertuz, ausqueslles chacú deux particulièrement a excelle, ne feirent oevure qui sceust oultre passer les haulx & noblez faicts de ce Prince: car oultre la prouesse & science militaire quil a eue en aussi grant remon que Alaxandre, ou Cesar: & lamour de son pays qui excedoit celle des Deces & Horace Cocles, il a merite loz immortel: come Ceres ou Dionisius pour l'extreme travail quil a eu a rendre la pluspart Descosse fertile, & labourable: qui auparauát estoit sterile & enfriche.' Numerous copies of the *Sommaire* are known. See Pettegree, Walsby & Wilkinson 2007: 466, who list at least 18. The version I consulted is British Library, G 5441. The British Library copy omits the dedication to Catherine de Medici and has consequently a different pagination; this beautiful volume, printed on vellum and bound in green silk, contains several illuminated initials and previously belonged to the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville.
- 58 Gunpowder had been used in Europe since the early 14th century. The critical change came in the later 15th century when the French adopted iron shot, giving an enhanced destructive performance from lighter more mobile guns.
- 59 Hale 1983a: 6. His siege train included powerful artillery which enabled him to take city after city with a force of only 40,000 men (Knecht 1994: 70). Pepper has, however, challenged the traditional account of the effectiveness of French artillery on Italian fortifications (Pepper 1995: 263–93). For the growing importance of garrisons for the French monarchy at this time see Contamine 1972; Potter 2008; Mallet & Shaw 2012.
- 60 Scottish blockhouses tended to be rounded. One of the earliest may have been the D-shaped example built to protect the harbour at Aberdeen, perhaps planned in 1497, however, built in 1533–42. Blockhouses appeared at St Andrews c 1523. Archibald Douglas, sixth earl of Angus, would have witnessed the building of the blockhouse at Dunbar and it appears that he attempted to imitate it at Tantallon Castle shortly afterwards. A circular two-storey gun-tower survives at the entrance today (Fawcett 1994: 295; Meikle 2014: 433). The problem with these rounded examples was that they left dead ground which could not be covered by flanking fire.
- 61 The blockhouse also defended a landing spot to the west. Lord Dacre confirms the low-lying aspect of the blockhouse noting that 'the said castle stands low upon a crag and the earth without it is high about it and so there could nothing stint within it but the ordinance that were without the castell bete it' (see note 46).
- 62 MacIvor 1981: 116.
- 63 James V, while in Orléans, granted letters under the privy seal on 1 December 1536 to Mogin Martyne, Frenchman, sometime master mason of the castle of Dunbar, making him his master mason. It is often assumed Mogin (Moyse) was responsible for building the blockhouse. We do not know for certain when he was employed at Dunbar, or what he was responsible for. MacIvor makes the suggestion that Martyne may also have had some hand in the reinforcement of Blackness Castle. The blockhouse at Dunbar was likely built under the supervision of de la Bastie, a French military leader with engineering expertise (Paton 1957, I: xxxi, xxxiv, I, 206, 208; MacIvor 1981: 128; Fawcett 1994: 289, 320, 323).
- 64 'In this work the Scots were introduced for the first time to more up-to-date notions of what was appropriate for such artillery fortifications' (Fawcett 1994: 289). 'Albany was to add a further reinforcement of the place which set Dunbar at the forefront of fortification development in Britain' (MacIvor 2001: 69). 'It was a fortification designed exclusively for gunpowder artillery, and can rightly claim to be the first of its type in Scotland, and among the first in the British Isles' (Tabraham 2005: 86).
- 65 Henry did resolve in 1519 to check the security of his frontiers, but there appears to have been little resulting from this (Brewer 1920, III: 576). The Device Forts, also known as *Henrician castles*, were a series of artillery fortifications built to defend the coast of England and Wales by Henry VIII. The threat of French and Spanish invasion led the King to issue an order, called a 'device', for a major programme of work between 1539 and 1547. The initial instructions for the 'defence of the realm in time of invasion' concerned building forts along the southern coastline of England, as well as making improvements to the defences of the towns of Calais and Guisnes in France, then controlled by Henry's forces. Thirty new fortifications were constructed in 1539 (Hale 1983b).

- 66 In 1501, Sultan Bayezid II repaired the damage suffered by this castle during the Ottoman–Venetian War (1499–1503) and built two large round towers with cannon and developed new walls.
- 67 D’Auton 1834, II: 18, 22. Rhodian fortification was advanced for its time. Some elements, for instance protobastions in the form of pentagonal bulwarks, apparently came into being in Rhodes before they appeared in Italy. Also, the classical pattern of the bastion was developed here simultaneously with the Italian examples. It is unclear if Albany actually visited Rhodes in person on his crusade, however, he would certainly have been informed of developments by the Knights of Rhodes who assisted the French on this crusade.
- 68 Nossov 2012: 26.
- 69 Grand Master Pierre d’Aubusson (1476–1503), was a hero of the siege of Rhodes in 1480 and a gifted military engineer. During the siege, when Rhodes was exposed to powerful artillery fire for the first time, it revealed the city’s weaknesses. Thus, when it ended, Pierre d’Aubusson set to work restoring and strengthening the fortifications. His coat of arms may be seen on the city walls in more than 50 places. He considerably increased the thickness of the main wall, widened the ditch and changed the outer profile of the fortress bulwark on the mainland side. Formidable polygonal bulwarks were built in front of the main towers of the posts of Auvergne, England, Aragon and Provence. All these outworks differed in height and shape, suggesting that the Knights experimented in search of optimal protection. This was a consequence of the division of the fortress defences into *langues* according to nationality. Pierre d’Aubusson, an Auvergnat, had the most powerful bastion (St George) built at the Auvergne Post (see Nossov 2012).
- 70 An experience of the fortifications at first hand need not have been the only way that military ideas spread. In 1501 the military architect, Basilio della Scola, displayed in Venice a wooden model of a fortress with the aim of showing ‘what was being done in France, Italy ... and elsewhere’. Basilio had forged his reputation as a gunner in France and was accepted in Italy as a reliable authority on artillery and fortification. He commanded one of Charles VIII’s famously effective artillery trains for the invasion of Italy in 1494, before being employed by the Venetians. It was in this capacity that he was dispatched to assist in the fortification of Rhodes between 1520 and 1522. In 1521, furthermore, Basilio made a model of the fortifications of Rhodes, which was sent to the Pope just before the decisive Ottoman attack. Models, therefore, played a critical role as visual aids and for the migration of architectural ideas (Zorzi 1959: 174, 177; Buisseret 1998: 125; Trim 2003: 120; Pepper 2007: 18). Another example is provided by Vasari in his life of Giuliano da Sangallo who records that Charles VIII was presented at Lyon with a model of a palace made for him by Sangallo (Vasari 1900, II: 216).
- 71 ‘Château de Zante’ (D’Auton 1834, II: 19).
- 72 ‘Port de Modon’ (D’Auton 1834, II: 22).
- 73 ‘Cité de Canée en Candie’ (D’Auton, 1834 II: 23).
- 74 ‘Ile de Chio’ (D’Auton 1834, II: 25).
- 75 ‘Cythérée’ (D’Auton 1834, II: 65).
- 76 In 1474 Francesco di Giorgio Martini began to build the fortress of Sassocorvaro (Rocca Ubaldinesca), and in 1479 the fortress of San Leo. In 1483–6 Giuliano da Sangallo, with Baccio Pontelli, completely rebuilt a fortress in Ostia. The fortresses of Sassocorvaro and Ostia provide an opportunity to see engineers experimenting with the new fortification structures in the form of projections with acute angles turned in the direction of the enemy. In Sassocorvaro the projection was of a triangular shape, and in Ostia it was pentagonal, thus termed a ‘protobastion’. In 1487 Giuliano da Sangallo made a plan for the modernisation of the fortress Poggio Imperiale, consisting of ten bastions. In 1492 Antonio da Sangallo began fortifying the Pope’s residence, the Castel Sant’Angelo in Rome. He modernised the outer round towers and put low heptagonal protobastions in front of them. In 1494, again for Pope Alexander VI, Antonio began to build a small pentagonal fortress called Civita Castellana. The first half of the 16th century saw bastioned fortifications built throughout Italy (Hale 1977). For an important recent discussion regarding the evolution of the bastion in Italy and elsewhere, see Faucherre, Martens & Paucot 2014.
- 77 No visual records of the castle and/or blockhouse in a complete state survive. This is in contrast to a huge volume of depictions of the castle ruins

- at Dunbar, many dating to the 19th century, when the site was popularised as a picturesque example of romantic ruins.
- 78 Hale 1977: 10; Hale 1983a; Pepper & Adams 1994.
- 79 This work has not been published. The connection between this manuscript (BnF, fr 12406) and Villebresme's diplomatic visit to Scotland is drawn here for the first time, providing important historical context for this unusual literary work.
- 80 Tournoy-Thoen 1973: 70–1. Macé belonged to a family of retainers of the House of Orléans. For more information on Villebresme, see Chesney 1932: xxi, 11.
- 81 'Rex Scotorum ad Regem Franciscum super Comprehensione in Tractatu Pacis Angliae' (Cotton MS Caligular B VI 104; Rymer 1739–45, XIII: 508; Brewer 1920, II: 464; Wood 1933: xc; Hannay 1954: 22). An account listed in the Exchequer Rolls for Scotland notes that on 20 September 1515 a payment of £90 was made to 'Willebrand, Ambassador of the most Christian King, bearing the comprehension of peace between us and the English, paid on precept of the Lords of the Council'. This was likely a corruption of Villebresme (Burnett & Stuart 1878–1908, XIV: xxxix, 105–6).
- 82 Brown 1867: n. 638; Hannay 1954: 12, 18, 22, 24, 27, 39.
- 83 BnF, fr 12406 contains the 'Epistres du Turc' (f 1–23V) followed by 'Epistre de Cleriande la Romaine à Reginus, son concitoien' (23v–30v); 'Complainte de madame la douairiere de Nevers' (f 30v–33v); 'Translation historique de latin en françoys par le dessus nommé Macé de Villebresme' (f 33v–53), and lastly 'Plainte sur le trespas de feu maistre Jehan Braconnier, dit Lourdault, chantre, composée par maistre Guillaume Cretin, tresorier du boys de Vincennes' (f 53r–56v). Villebresme signed the end of the 'Epistres du Turc' with an anagram of his name '*DECLERES IMMVBABLE*' and his poetic device '*PLUS QUE MOINS*' (f 23v). This manuscript is unstudied in the context of Albany, Franco-Scottish relations and crusading interests. It is described as an 'oeuvre étrange' by Chesney (Chesney 1932: xxii). The 'Epistres du Turc' appears to be a propagandic composition by Villebresme, relating fictional letters between the Turc and other great powers, evidently intended to incite crusading fervour.
- There are 90 epistles in total. The section from f 33v–53r details a series of historical exemplars extracted from different Greek, Latin and medieval authors. There is a focus on great military leaders and on virtues, such as fidelity, which aid military victory. As this translation by Macé does not appear to survive elsewhere it may also have been composed for Albany and, therefore, provides important evidence of Albany's interest in military exemplars from the classical past.
- 84 The evidence suggests that Albany was greatly preoccupied by ideas surrounding a crusade during this period. His expedition in 1501 appears to have fostered a 'curiosity', as Villebresme puts it, in the affairs of the eastern Mediterranean. Albany's crusading enthusiasms have not previously received scholarly attention. Macquarrie's key text on Scotland and the Crusades 1095–1560, for instance, barely mentions Albany (Macquarrie 1997: 116).
- 85 An illuminated version of this work is kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Lat 6067. It contains 51 miniatures attributed to the maître du Cardinal de Bourbon. A draft of the manuscript by Caoursin is still preserved in the Vatican Apostolic Library, BAV MS Reg Lat 1847. This manuscript contains part of the instructions intended for the illuminator. Each monument and each figure is carefully described. The author also indicates that he sent a painting representing the city of Rhodes to serve as a model. Eight miniatures included are topographical views of the city, four of which are general aeriels and the other four show details of the fortifications. For the manuscripts see Vaivre & Vissière 2012; Vissière 2015.
- 86 For Albany and the manuscripts he commissioned in 1518 and 1519 see Coombs 2015. Scottish crusading resolve was stressed in Domat's introductory poem in the *Liber Pluscardensis* translated into French for Albany in 1519: 'Powerful Princes, this present chronicle, Demonstrates by very clear evidence, Of Scotland has [Bruict] sovereign and antique, And is still why by excellence, I write this here solemmn work, To demonstrate how the Catholic faith, Was kept and judicial power, Peace and love, equity, temperance, And against Turks often took a lance, Nobles and lay, I beg you, without replica, See this fact, full of

- prudence. Domat, the author translator.' Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, *Chronique d'Écosse & généalogie des rois d'Écosse*, MS 936, f 2v. Bremond Domat.
- 87 Prominent members of this family include Antonio da Sangallo the Elder; his elder brother Giuliano da Sangallo; Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, the nephew of Antonio da Sangallo the Elder; and Francesco da Sangallo, the son of Giuliano.
- 88 Adams notes that the text on the verso is certain evidence of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's hand (Frommel & Adams 1994, I: 193).
- 89 Frommel & Adams 1994, I: 193. For Fossombrone see Fiore & Tafuri 1993: 224–5. A connection to Martini is also drawn by Giovannoni 1959, I: 73, n 1.
- 90 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, codice Magliabechiano II.I.141 f 53r.
- 91 Frommel & Adams 1994, I: 193. Although this connection is noted in Frommel & Adams, no discussion takes place as to if there is a historical basis for such a connection. For Salses see, among others, Potter 2008; Faucherre 2011. There is a fascinating drawing of the castle of Salses in British Library, Cotton MS Augustus I ii 79. The watercolour shows the effects of an artillery siege on the building, reflecting its state before and after being besieged c 1640.
- 92 Auton recounts the siege of Salses in 1503. Albany is not mentioned in his account, however, this does not preclude his involvement or the possibility that he was informed of events there (D'Auton 1834, II: 361–92).
- 93 The drawing is particularly interesting as an example of the sort of collaboration between architect and soldier talked about in treatises of this time. Alberti pointed out in the mid-15th century that 'if you were to examine into the expeditions that had been undertaken, you would find that most of the victories were gained more by the art and skill of the architects than by the conduct or fortune of the generals and that the enemy was oftener overcome and conquered by the architect's wit without the captain's arms, than by the captain's arms without the architect's wit' (Alberti 1565: 6). It is also possible that the drawing provides evidence that Albany was used by the papacy as an informer regarding architectural and military matters in France.
- Just as Albany drew on his papal connections to further his own ambitions, the papacy likely considered Albany an important figure with regards to gaining information on French and Scottish affairs.
- 94 The attribution by MacIvor is mistaken (Merriman 1999: 240; MacIvor 2001: 69).
- 95 Solmi 1904, XXXI: 389–410. Documents published by Solmi in 1904 show that Leonardo da Vinci was employed at Amboise in 1518, arranging the spectacles for the double celebration of the baptism of the king's son, Henry II, and the marriage of Madeleine and Lorenzo. Albany is referred to in these accounts.
- 96 Hannay 1954: 68–9. During Albany's visit to Rome in 1520 he not only secured a papal bull confirming his position as Governor of Scotland, but also took the time to attend to some private business and gain permission for himself and his wife to construct the Sainte-Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte (Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, CH7/46; Paris, Archives Nationales, J/1130, no. 25).
- 97 Fletcher 2015: 75; 'ex gratia papae quia eius affinis', BAV MS Vat Lat 12276 f 32r–32v. (20v).
- 98 Bergenroth 1866, II: 700.
- 99 This disappointing episode in Albany's career has led to his condemnation by military historians, perhaps none more so than Charles Oman who said of this episode that it was a 'queer choice' to entrust this delicate mission to Albany who had 'twice shown himself unable to manage an army in Scotland'. Oman's damning opinion of Albany is evident throughout this work. He describes him as a 'fickle and in-consequent person, who succeeded in disgusting the Scottish nobility', and describes his military career as 'contemptible'. He notes that at the invasion of Lombardy in 1513 'we are surprised to find on this expedition the wandering Scottish prince John, Duke of Albany, as leader of a compaignie d'ordonnance'. Oman further notes that Albany had a talent for self-promotion not quite met by the reality of his achievements (Oman 1937: 153, 192, 323).
- 100 Brewer 1920, IV: 1010, 1045–6, 1054, 1085, 1102. Knecht notes that he had moved at snail's pace, allowing himself to become embroiled in

- Sieneſe politics. His expedition did, however, help to win the pope over to the French ſide (Knecht 1994: 216–18).
- 101 It was probably during this period that Albany approached Clement VII with a propoſal that Catherine de Medici ſhould marry James V.
- 102 Brewer 1920, IV: no. 1085. They were eventually able to ſail for France from Civitavecchia, diſembarking at Marseilles in April 1525.
- 103 Bapſt 1889: 118; Fletcher 2015: 48. ‘The King is informed that William Steward, a ſervant of the French king, has lately arrived in Scotland with letters to the Scotch king, to whom he brings horſes, and ſwords from Albany, and he has hired maſons to repair the caſtle of Dunbar’ (Brewer 1920, IV: no. 3252).
- 104 Brewer 1920, IV: no. 3704. Similar ſto-ries alſo circulated which James V reported to Francis I ſhortly afterwards, telling how Albany and his kinsman Robert Stuart, ſeigneur d’Aubigny, had been hiring ſhips and ſending them to Scotland without leave of James (Brewer 1920, IV: no. 3791).
- 105 On 23 September 1530, John Stokesley, Engliſh ambaffador in France, reported to Henry VIII from Lyons how he had recently ‘met the duke of Albany going with threſcore horſe to fetch his niece from Florence, to be married in France, as is pretended’ (Brewer 1920, IV: no. 6633).
- 106 Fletcher 2015: 75; BAV MS Vat Lat 12276 f 151v. (297).
- 107 Fletcher 2015: 75; BAV MS Vat Lat 12276 f 151v–152v. (298 and 300). His ducal ſtatus trumped imperial ambaffadors, which would have been pleaſing to the French king.
- 108 Catherine and her attendants arrived on 6 September at La Spezia. There Catherine and her train waited while Albany picked up Clement VII, accompanied by 13 cardinals and numerous prelates and officials, before returning to Villefranche on 6 October. On 9 October the entire party ſet ſail for Marseilles. Finally on 27 October the marriage contract was ſigned by Clement and Francis I. The next day the young couple were married by the pope in a ceremony followed by feſtivities.
- 109 Albany gifted Pope Clement VII an illuminated genealogical manuſcript with the aim of promoting the Boulogne and d’Auvergne line, and alſo ſerving to ſtrengthen ties and encourage loyalty (BnF fr 5227). Later during the negotiations ſurrounding the betrothal of Catherine de Medici, on whoſe behalf Albany was employed, a ſeries of genealogical manuſcripts were produced in order to promote this lineage. In 1531, for example, three copies of a text attributed to Geoffrey Tory were used in relation to the marriage negotiations. It is noteworthy that this text has been attributed to Tory on the grounds of a poetic device at the end ‘*NE PLUS NE MOINS*’, a device very ſimilar to that used by Villebrefme in BnF fr 12406, ſee n 83 (Coombs 2015: n 18; Coombs 2018: 29).
- 110 Hale 1983a: 9. Their report was printed by Beltrami 1902.
- 111 Frommel & Adams 1994, I: 62–3. As Pepper and Adams (1994) note ‘under theſe conditions it became eſſential to preſerve drawings, to keep copies of drawings ſent out to members of the family working on different ſites, and to archive the ſurvey data brought or ſent back from numerous tours of inſpection’. The drawing is dated to 1530–3 in Frommel & Adams 1994, I: 193. Certainly the drawing does not predate the construction of the blockhouse at Dunbar. It remains a poſſibility that Albany himſelf may have taken notes and ſketched details of fortifications, although we have no ſurviving evidence for this. A fellow Franco-Scottiſh commander, Bérault Stuart d’Aubigny, noted the importance of drawing and painting in the ſervice of military reconnoiſſance at this time (ſee Coombs 2017: 110–15).
- 112 ‘*El quadro de l’Abram vedeti d’Andreino del Sarto ſi vendé al ducha d’Albania ¶125. Andrane in. Francia per aventura*’ (Magliabechiana, National Library in Florence. Cl xxxvii N. 303). The letter is published in Gaye 1840, II: 230–1, no. clxix. Mini was the uncle of Michelangelo’s pupil, Antonio Mini. Andreino del Sarto is more commonly known as Andrea del Sarto, as he ſhall be referred to hereafter.
- 113 Vasari 1900, VIII: 291. Vasari uses the word *bozza* meaning either ſketch or underpainting.
- 114 Numerous copies and ſtudies relating to this composition ſurvive.
- 115 The *pentimenti* in the Cleveland version of the painting are exceptionally interesting and demonstrate the precedence of this version. Brooks dates this painting to c 1528 (Brooks 2015: 185–95). Shearman dates this version

- to c 1526–9. He dates the Dresden version to c 1529 and the Prado version to c 1529–30 (see Shearman 1965: 269–70, 280–2).
- 116 If this identification is correct, Vasari must have been mistaken in stating that it was sent to Naples.
- 117 There was after all another version of the painting originally commissioned for the King of France by della Palla (the Dresden version).
- 118 ‘Douze ymages de terre cuyte des douze apostres Nostre Seigneur’ (Archives Nationales, Minutier Centrale, CXXII, 15; 1529, 23 August). This document is transcribed in Leproux 2004: 80.
- 119 For an illustration of the sculptures, see Coombs 2018: 187.
- 120 See Coombs 2018. Leproux attributes the sculptures to Rustici (Leproux 2004). This is repeated by Noblet 2009: 280. Doubt has been cast on this attribution by Sénéchal (Sénéchal 2007: 245–8). However, he concedes that they were likely executed in Paris by a workshop run by an Italian. An attribution to Rustici, he notes, is feasible if we factor in rapid execution and the participation of assistants. It seems likely, given the great expense incurred in transporting the sculptures, that Albany would have commissioned them from an eminent artist like Rustici, even if they were hurried and aided by assistants in their final execution. The sculptures have undergone extensive restoration over the years. This is detailed by Leproux 2004: 75–91. Rustici left for France to work in the service of Francis I in 1528.
- 121 Transporting these figures almost 300 miles from Paris to Vic-le-Comte was an enormous undertaking for the period.
- 122 No early description, or inventory, of the Sainte-Chapelle survives to prove if the del Sarto painting was originally displayed there.
- 123 This painting is now held in the Louvre: Paris (Musée du Louvre, dép des Peintures, RF 1766). A painting of *The Nativity* by Ghirlandaio is also still held in the Sainte-Chapelle at Aigueperse (Aigueperse, Eglise Notre-Dame, IM63001643).
- 124 Coombs 2013; Coombs 2015; Coombs 2018.
- 125 Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, *Chronique d’Écosse & généalogie des rois d’Écosse*. MS 936 (Paris Manuscript); Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, *Généalogie de Madame Anne de la Tour, princesse de l’Écosse*. KB, 74 G 11 (Hague Manuscript). For these two manuscripts, see Coombs 2015; Coombs 2018.
- 126 ‘L’an mil, iiiii<sup>c</sup> iiiii<sup>xx</sup> et deux en julhet, Le huictiesme nas quict sur terre, D’albanie enfant joliet, Le quel tra par mer conquerre, Escoce aussi angleterre, Et les mectra en subjection, Par force d’armes et de guerre, Il en prandra pcession’ (The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f 52v. Bremond Domat 1518).
- 127 Venus is likely described as the ‘principal planet’ because the commission was an affectionate commission for his wife, Anne de la Tour. ‘La prognostication de la nativite du ... prince Jehan duc dalbanye esperulee sur Les planectes, VENVS. planecte principale, Gouvernant sa nativite, Luy promet puissance papalle, Venant de la divinite, Absolue auctorite, Double couronne deux foys Roy, Mars le menace d’aversite, Aver ung peu de desarroy, SOL. planecte tresmagnifique, Qui gouverne le cueur des princes, Comme uoix digne et angelique, Luy donne royaulmes et provinces, Juppiter ses ennemys mynces, Tiendra et luy donna puissance, Lheur et le don des douze nymphes, Dont parmendra a ex..., SATURNE luy est mel gracieux, Et engendrera quelque noyse, Mais mercure le gratieux, Des fera tout plaise ou nom plaise, Luna fera tout a sonaise, Luy prometant bonne fortune, Mais qua mynerve ne des plaise, Contradiction navra aulrune’ (The Hague, KB, 74 G 11: f 53r. Bremond Domat 1518).
- 128 This section of the text is badly worn and difficult to make out.
- 129 The Hague Manuscript dates to 1518, one year earlier than Paris Manuscript.
- 130 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, *Chronique d’Écosse & généalogie des rois d’Écosse*, MS 936, f 2v. Bremond Domat 1519.
- 131 Efforts to retrieve Dunbar Castle from Albany’s possession persisted. Only in 1536, on Albany’s death, did control pass to the Scottish Crown. One of the clauses of James V’s marriage treaty with Marie de Vendome stipulated that the French garrison relinquish Dunbar (Stuart 1940: 188, 208–9, 211, 255, 260, 276, 278–9; MacIvor 1981: 122, 128; Merriman 1999: 241).
- 132 See note 93.



133 See note 64.

134 MacIvor 1981: 113. MacIvor notes that a photogrammetric survey may facilitate a better understanding of the true profile of the blockhouse.

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