

NOTICE OF THE SWORD-BELT OF THE SWORD OF STATE OF SCOTLAND, RESTORED IN 1892 TO THE SCOTTISH REGALIA BY THE REV. SAMUEL OGILVY BAKER. BY ALEXANDER J. S. BROOK, F.S.A. SCOT. (PLATES I., II.)

[Read December 12, 1892.]

The immunity from destruction which has so marvellously followed the Regalia of Scotland is one of the most noteworthy features in their history. They were for centuries exposed to so many dangers arising from internal dissensions, civil wars, and foreign invasion, and were so often contended for by factions and by foes, that their survival is indeed remarkable; and it is all the more so when contrasted with the fate of the English Regalia, whose safety had seldom been menaced, and which yet perished utterly by the hands of the same power which so vainly sought to capture the Honours of Scotland.

There was a tradition long believed in that there existed in the anointing spoon at least one relic of the old English Regalia; but even in regard to this the researches of recent years have dealt more hardly than with the Regalia of Scotland, for whereas the advance of archæological knowledge has swept away that long-cherished tradition, the same knowledge has given an increased antiquity, and the restoration of the minor jewels an added glory, to the Honours of Scotland. And now restoration and completion, as far as we may ever hope to see it, is the happy lot of our Regalia through the generosity and public spirit of the Rev. Samuel Ogilvy Baker,<sup>1</sup> a descendant of the soldier to whom we owe the preservation of

<sup>1</sup> The belt was returned in November 1892 by the Rev. Samuel Ogilvy Baker, Vicar of Muchelney in Somersetshire, to Mr Reginald Macleod, Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, and was formally deposited, with military honours, in the Crown Room at the Castle on the 29th May 1893 by the Marquis of Breadalbane, Her Majesty's Lord High Commissioner, in the presence of Lord Kingsburgh, representing the Commissioners for the custody of the Regalia of Scotland, Mr Reginald Macleod, the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Mr J. R. Findlay, representing the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Sir James A. Russell, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Lieut.-General Lyon Freemantle, commanding the Forces in Scotland, Colonel Vernor Chater, commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, which furnished the guard of honour, and a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen.

the Honours during the troubles of the Commonwealth, in restoring to its proper place the Belt belonging to the Sword of State, from which it had been separated for upwards of two centuries.

The Sword and Belt, along with a consecrated hat, were the gift, in 1507, of Pope Julius II.<sup>1</sup> to King James IV., to whom they were delivered with great solemnity in the Church of Holyrood by the Papal Legate and the Abbot of Dunfermline. By this gift the Pope hoped to enlist the sympathy and obtain the aid of the Scottish King in checking the military power of the French in Italy, but the endeavour proved fruitless. James, indeed, with due grace and reverence, received the papal ambassador and accepted the consecrated hat and sword; he bestowed on the legate and his suite many costly presents, as may be gathered from the Lord Treasurer's accounts for 1507, in which are recorded payments to the "Papis embassat quhilk brocht the sword and hat," and also to a singer he brought with him, apparently from Italy, as well as to an attendant; but so little thought had he of deserting his ancient ally that scarcely had the ambassador left than he offered to send Louis a body of 4000 auxiliaries to serve in the Italian wars.

Before further discussing the history and other matters connected with the belt, a detailed description of it may now be given.

The Belt of the Sword of State (Pl. I.) consists of two distinct portions—the woven lace belt and the silver-gilt clasp or buckle. The belt proper measures 6 feet  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and 2 inches in width. It is a magnificent specimen of woven lace work, and must, when new, have presented a gorgeous appearance. The warp of the belt is apparently silk, and the figure and decoration have been worked out in gold and silver thread and coloured silks by what I am informed is known as the "High Laces" or Harness Loom.

Originally there have been at least five colours in the belt—viz., gold, silver, blue, crimson, and brown. The lace is so much worn, and the

<sup>1</sup> Julius the Second, Paip for the tyme, send ane ambassadour to the King, declaring him to be Protectour and Defendour of Christen faythe, and in signe thair of send unto him ane purpoure diademe, wrocht with flouris of gold, with ane sword, having the hiltis and skabert of gold, sett with precious stains (Bishop Lesley's *History of Scotland*, p. 75. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xxiv. p. 112).



SECTION OF SWORD BELT, WITH BUCKLE, BELONGING TO THE SWORD OF STATE PRESENTED BY POPE JULIUS II. TO KING JAMES IV. OF SCOTLAND IN 1507. (Actual size.)

colours of the silk so much faded, that it is almost impossible to note the different colours of all the details of the pattern. But this much is now easily seen:—that the field of the cartouch containing the Pope's arms is of blue silk; that one of the keys of St Peter surmounting the shield is of silver thread, while the other is gold thread (which is as it should be); that the edging of the belt is of crimson silk, and that the lining of that portion which encircles the waist is of brown silk.

One peculiarity may be noted in which this belt differs from most of the woven lace work now commonly seen, *i.e.*, that this lace has not a front and a back reversed in the pattern, as we usually see, but that, with the exception of the portion lined with brown silk, it consists of two fronts in all particulars the same, with a body of silk between, all of which are woven together in one piece.

The portion nearest the buckle which encircles the waist measures 26 inches in length, and is woven with the same pattern on the front as the rest of the belt, but has a plain brown silk back. In this case the shuttle has merely moved backwards and forwards with one motion above the belt; but when this section was completed, and the end or sling of the belt was commenced, the producing of the pattern has been accomplished by "overshooting," which is by first passing the shuttle over and then continuing it round under the belt.

The length of the figure is about 9 inches, and the belt has been woven in repeated sections or tyres to fetch it out to the length required. The pattern or figure consists of the arms of Pope Julius II., *on a cartouch azure an oak tree eradicated and fructuated or*, and immediately above the cartouch the papal ensign, *two keys in saltire adossee*, one of silver and the other of gold; surmounting the keys is the papal tiara environed with three ducal coronets. The cartouch is repeated ten times and the complete arms nine times in the length of the belt. Between the figures of the arms is an ornament consisting of two branches of an oak—shown as if torn from the trunk—which are crossed and designed into conventional scrolls with terminations of acorns.

In the belt are fifteen pairs of holes, equally spaced from each other, for the tongues of the buckle to pass through. Those allow the belt to be fastened to a length varying from 28 inches to 59 inches.

In none of the holes are there any metal mountings, and it may be further observed that the two pairs nearest the buckle have been punctured at a later period, and by less skilful hands than the others. This may be inferred from the way in which they are cut; from the fact that they are not placed exactly in the centre of the belt; and further, because they impinge upon the silk lining of the first portion of the belt.

This belt has been submitted to some who have a practical knowledge of lace-weaving, and they pronounce it a magnificent specimen of such work, which must have taken a considerable time to make, and must have been very costly. It is as firm as a strip of leather; and considering that it has undergone the wear and tear of nearly four centuries, it is still in fairly good preservation.

No one who has examined the sword and scabbard in the Crown Room can entertain a shadow of doubt that this is the belt which was given to James IV. with that sword. The arms of Pope Julius II. are treated in exactly the same way in both the scabbard and the belt; and the ornament of oak leaves and acorns, which was peculiarly appropriate in a gift from that pontiff, as they formed part of his blazon, is of similar design in both.

The buckle and plate of the belt are, however, of different design, and suggest several interesting speculations. This portion measures five inches in length, and may be divided into two divisions: (1), the plate or socket into which the belt is riveted; and (2), the buckle proper which fastens the belt.

The former is oblong in form, and is divided into four compartments by bars, two of which extend right across the plate, the other two being within the first, and so placed as to form a square compartment in the centre. The central square is further subdivided by quarter-circle spandrils at the corners, forming in the actual centre a shield in the form of a kind of Maltese cross, whose arms are connected by quarter-circles instead of being cut in the usual manner. This shield is enamelled blue; and although it is much chipped, it is evident that it has always been plain, and that it has had no surface markings.

The compartments already referred to are filled with leaf ornament in

graceful scrolls, embossed in high relief, and carved on the surface, betraying in their treatment considerable Gothic feeling. The astragal members dividing the plate into compartments consist of a double fillet with a torus bead in the centre—the latter being ornamented with a design resembling a rope. The sides of the oblong are decorated with what may be described as spiral beading, or a twisted rope pattern.

The buckle proper is of shaped oval form, and is hinged to the plate. It is decorated with leaf ornament and an edging of miniature twisted wire. The two tongues are jointed to the same hinge as the plate. For the purpose of strength, they have apparently been broadened out into scroll form at their base, and are richly decorated and carved.

This buckle is attached to the belt by two silver rivets, which have evidently been inserted at a date subsequent to its manufacture; and from the unfinished edge at the point of attachment to the belt, it might be inferred to be incomplete.

The first observation that occurs to one after examining the belt and its buckle is, that the plate has been intended originally for a belt half an inch wider than that to which it is now attached. This is evident from the fact that at each side of the point of attachment the edges of the plate have been rudely pressed together to conceal the cavity of the socket. Further, it may also be readily noticed that the belt itself has been originally longer than it is at present, for the pattern commences with the cartouch, and not with the papal tiara, as the design suggests it should. Moreover, the design and the quality of the workmanship in the buckle is very different from that in the sword and scabbard.

The details of the pattern, with their elaborate twisted and screwed wire mouldings, and the magnificent carved *repoussé* work of the panels, are not only immensely superior to any portion of the work on either the sword or its scabbard, but they are produced by an entirely different method of workmanship. The metal-work in the latter is also distinctly Renaissance, while in the former it is as manifestly Gothic. There is, moreover, an entire lack of the distinctive emblems of Pope Julius II.—the oak tree and acorns—with which the other portions of the gift are so plentifully adorned. It might also be noted that the

initials of Pope Julius II. are not to be found scratched on the enamel of the plate, although they appear on all the enamels of the scabbard.

The observance of these features in the buckle was so suggestive, that an examination of the evidence relating to all the swords and belts known to have been in the possession of the Scottish Crown was thought desirable, and the following account of them may now be given.

There are preserved, principally in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, payments relating to a number of swords which came into the possession of James IV. and James V., either by purchase or gift, but we know nothing of the appearance of any of them except that one now in the Crown Room.

In August 1489 there was brought to James IV., by ambassadors from Spain,<sup>1</sup> a present of a sword and knife. There is no mention of a belt, and it is improbable that this was a sword of honour.

In 1491 there was paid *iiij lib.* for "ane elne of crammyse veluus to cover the suord of honour."<sup>2</sup>

In 1502 there was paid *vij lib.* to "Robert Selkyrk, cutlar, for the gret sword of honour."<sup>3</sup> This was evidently a new sword that was obtained at this time. It is described as the great sword of honour, and from a previous payment in 1474 we know that there was also a little sword of honour,<sup>4</sup> for at that date there was paid *xx s.* to "Isabel Williamsoune for j quarter of rede crammasy vellus for the couering of the litil bering sword."

In the same year, 1502, there was also made for the king a gilt sword,<sup>5</sup> which was delivered to him at Falkland, and in 1503 we find a payment for purple velvet<sup>6</sup> "to bind the hand of the sword of honour, and to the scheith of the same."

<sup>1</sup> *Lord Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. i. p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> 1502. Item, the xv day of Januar payit to Robert Selkyrk, cutlar, in the first, for the gret sword of honour vij lib.

<sup>4</sup> *Lord Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. i. p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> 1502. Item, for ane gilt sword delivered to the King in Faukland, in October bipast, quhen the King passit to the Month, xl s.

<sup>6</sup> 1503. Item, the x day of July, for ane quarter and ane nail of purpur vellus, to bind the hand of the sword of honour, and to the scheith of the same, xxvij s. j d. ob'.

In 1507 the sword and belt, with the consecrated hat, were received from Pope Julius II., and in 1512 there is an entry for "ane pund of caddes to turse the sword of honour in."<sup>1</sup> In 1516 another entry records the repairing and gilding of the hilt of the sword<sup>2</sup> at a cost of iij lib. xij d. (and this and the subsequent entries evidently refer to the sword of Pope Julius II., for some of the repairs can be identified). In 1526 a case was made for it,<sup>3</sup> which seemed to have been so badly constructed that in 1533 there is an entry of xx d.<sup>4</sup> for "polis to hald the caise of the Sward of honour togidder." The sword appears to have been again repaired in 1536,<sup>5</sup> and to have had another case made for it in 1538.<sup>6</sup>

In the beginning of 1537 there was received the gift of a sword and consecrated hat from Pope Paul III.,<sup>7</sup> and in the inventories

<sup>1</sup> 1512. March.—Item, for ane pund of caddes to turse the swerd of honour in till, vj s.

<sup>2</sup> 1516. Item, the xvij day of August deliverit to Mathew Auchinlek, goldsmyth, to mend the hiltis of the Kingis swerd of honour, twa uncis of silver, price of ilk unce fourtene schillingis, ane ducat of wecht of the gilding of the samyn hiltis, and anelycht Franehe crowne for his laubouris iij lib. xij d.

<sup>3</sup> 1526. Item, the xxix day of November gevin to Hary Rudeman, for ane caise to the swerd of honour, iij lib.

<sup>4</sup> 1533. Item, for polis to hald the caise of the swerd of the honour togidder, xx d.

<sup>5</sup> 1536. Item, to Adam Leis, goldsmyth, to mend the sword of honour, thre unce of Inglis grotis, xlvi s.

<sup>6</sup> 1538. Item, deliverit to Johne Patersone, for the making of ane caise to the Kingis grace swerd of honour, at Johne Tennandis command, iij lib.

<sup>7</sup> While James V. had no favour for the Reformed doctrines, he had little liking for the priests of the old faith, and it was probably with the view of enlisting his sympathies and aid for the latter that Pope Paul III. sent him his most precious gifts, the sword and the mystic cap, blessed by the Pope on Christmas night, and proffered him the title of Defender of the Christian Faith. These gifts were accompanied by a letter dated 19th January 1537. [Paulus Episcopus servus servorum Dei . . . ] Regi Scotorum . . . Consueverunt Romani Pontifices in sacratissima Nativitatis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi nocte quotannis ensem cum pileo solemnii caeremonia benedicere, et alicui Christianorum Principum dono mittere, quem hoc sacro munere ornent et spirituali virtute adversus Sanctae Ecclesiae et Catholicae fidei hostes muniant, quod si quando antea, fili charissime, nunc maxime, cum tot haereses Sanctam Ecclesiam lacerant, pernecessarium est. Cum vero nos exemplum nostrorum praedecessorum sequuti, ipsum ensem cum pileo in proxima Natalis



of 1539 and 1542<sup>1</sup> two swords of honour with two belts are mentioned.

It may be observed that the belts are here mentioned specifically for the first time. They were apparently regarded, like the scabbard, so much as an appendage of the sword, that they are seldom separately referred to. Even in the accounts recording the gift of Pope Julius II. the belt is never mentioned, nor is there any reference to it in the gift of Pope Paul III. But if we assume that a belt formed part of the gift of the latter, as it unquestionably did of the former, then the entry in the inventory of 1539 which mentions the two swords and the two belts refers to the gifts of these two Popes. In the inventory one belt is entered as the "auld belt," and is described as wanting "four stuthis,"

Dominici nocte benedixissemus, et ad quem potissimum mitteremus eos animo voveremus, tua in primis Majestas nobis occurrit quae dignissima eo munere nobis videretur: id enim aetati et virtuti congruit tuae, tum religioni animi tui debitum est, et hoc tempore aptissimum, cum multum gaudentibus nobis Christianissimi Regis pietati tua pietas etiam affinitate conjuncta est, et vicini tibi Regis impietas divina ultione concutitur. Ad te igitur, quem Catholicum Principem et hujus Sanctae Sedis devotissimum filium habemus, hunc ensem cum pileo, per dilectum filium Joannem Antonium comitem de Campeggio camerarium nostrum praesentium latorem mittimus, Deum suppliciter deprecantes, ut tibi qui tuum regnum venenis vicinarum haeresium, quamvis saepius sollicitatus, nunquam inquinari passus es, foelicitatem concedat, dextram ense firmet caputque tuum hoc pileo vi Spiritus Sancti per Columbam figurati protegat ad tutelam Sanctae Ecclesiae et Catholicae fidei adversus eos in quos Dei justitia atque judicium nunc praeparantur. Tu igitur pro tua pietate hoc munus nostrum Christiano affectu et devota veneratione suscipies, nec tam muneris qualitatem quam mysterium et vim spiritualem ejus perpendes, ob quae maximi quique Principes semper se hoc munere a Sede Apostolica valde honestatos putaverunt, sicuti et te pro nostra in te benevolentia, tuaque in nos observantia, nunc existimaturum speramus. Ut autem ipsum debita cum caeremonia, sicut a nobis benedictum est, etiam tuae Serenitati tradatur, mandamus venerabili fratri Archiepiscopo Glasguensi, vel cuivis alteri Catholico antistiti per te eligendo, ut solemnem Missa in aliqua ecclesia per te pariter eligenda, ab eo in tua praesentia celebrata post eius solemniam, dictum ensem cum pileo tuae Majestati et ex parte nostra assignet. Datum Romae xix. Januarii MDXXXVII. anno [pontificatus nostri] III.—Raynald. *Annal. Eccles.* ann. 1537, § xl. xiii. p. 453. *Statuta Ecclesiae Scotticanae*, vol. i., preface, p. cxxxviii.

<sup>1</sup> 25th March 1539. Item, twa swerdis of honour, with twa beltis, the auld belt wantand foure stuthis.—*Thomson's Inventories*, p. 49. 28th November 1542. Item, twa swordis of honour, with twa beltis, wantand four stuthis.—*Thomson's Inventories*, p. 76.

while the new belt was apparently perfect. The former may therefore have been the Julius belt, and the latter that given less than three years previously by Pope Paul III.

The supposition does not seem unwarranted, that if as little care was taken of the belt as was manifestly taken of the sword, it would accurately correspond with the description "the auld belt," not only in respect to its age as compared with the newer belt, but also in appearance.

If we assume these facts in regard to the two belts, the question at once arises, what were the four studs recorded as amissing? Neither the buckle nor the belt now have anything that could be described as studs, and, although the supposition might be hazarded that they referred to mountings in metal for the holes in the belt, that was purely conjectural. No help in determining the matter could be obtained from any Scottish source, and the problem was regarded as insoluble until it was discovered that an exactly similar belt, also the gift of Pope Julius II., was still preserved at Zurich.<sup>1</sup>

The same purpose that led to the Scottish gift also prompted that to the Pope's allies in Switzerland;<sup>2</sup> but there was this difference, that

<sup>1</sup> The Society is much indebted to Henry Angst, Esq., British Consul at Zurich, for his good offices in obtaining photographs of the Sword, Belt, Hat, and Hat-box presented by Pope Julius II. to the Swiss. It is also a great pleasure to acknowledge his unflinching courtesy, and the great readiness with which he answered the many inquiries addressed to him with the view of accurately comparing the two belts.

<sup>2</sup> A brief statement of the peculiar circumstances which led to the Papal gifts ultimately finding their resting-place in Zurich may not be uninteresting, nor out of place. In 1511, Pope Julius II. formed an alliance with Venice, Naples, Arragon, and England against France—the Pope proclaiming that it was for the defence of the Church, while history said it was for the extension of Church property and secular power. Some small campaigns followed, which seem to have ended chiefly in favour of France. To quiet the demands of the Continental allies for payment of their troops, Cardinal Schinner, the Pope's chief adviser, was sent as Legate to Venice. He promised payment, and, as an earnest of the Pope's good intentions, showed them a costly sword, valued at 500 ducats, and a splendid ducal hat, as gifts ultimately intended for them—this being the first mention of these presents from Pope Julius II. The allies sustained an overwhelming defeat at Ravenna, and envoys were sent to seek assistance at Zurich, where great enthusiasm for the Pope was aroused, and substantial offers of assistance offered. By the help of the Swiss allies, in a short and brilliant campaign the French were driven out of North Italy, back over the Alps.

whereas the former was presented as a bribe to obtain the aid of the Scottish King, the latter was offered to the Swiss as a reward which was only to be given after they had rendered the aid they promised.

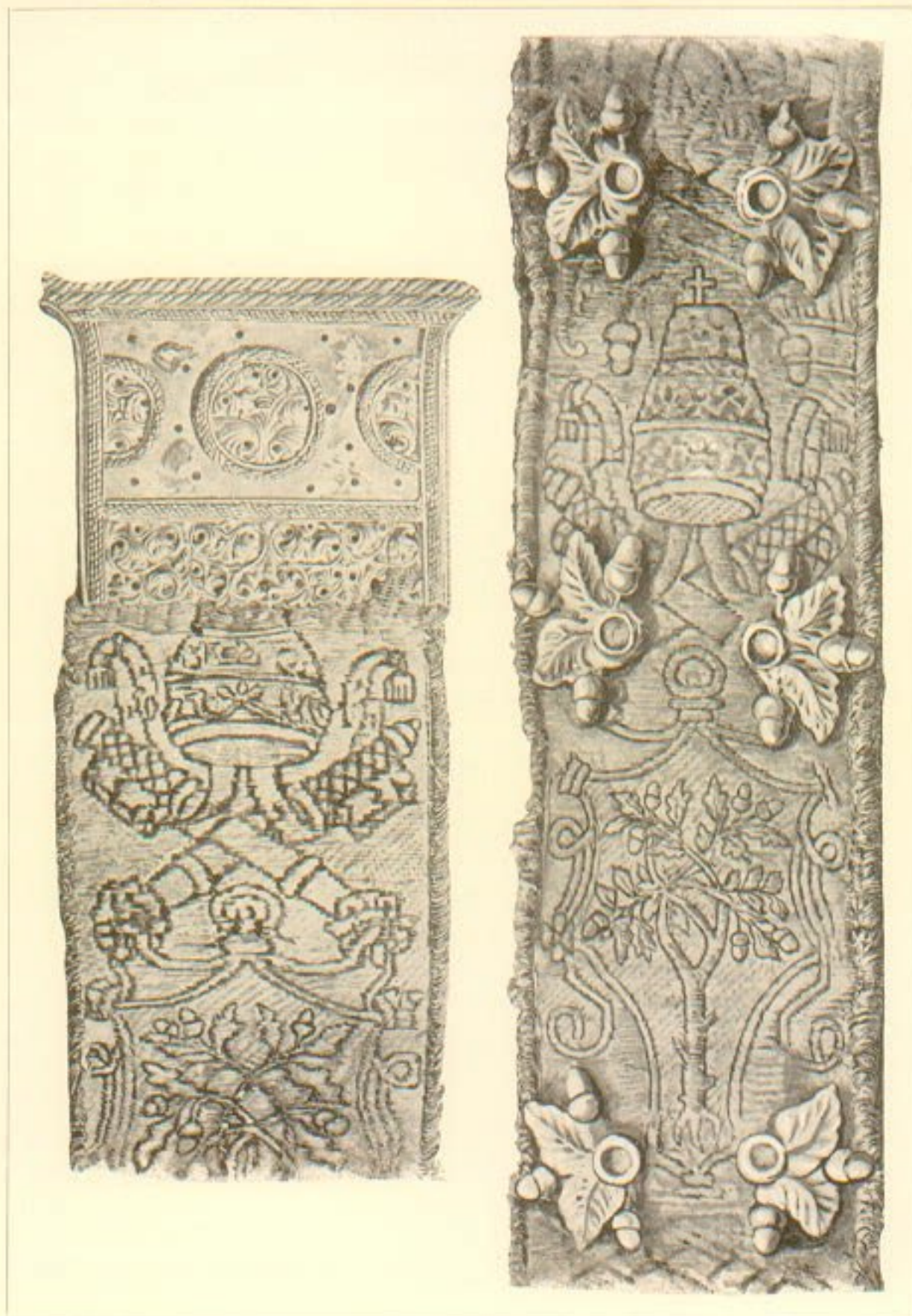
The sword at Zurich (fig. 1) may be said to be, with one or two trifling exceptions, almost a fac-simile of that now in our Crown Room. One of the quillons of the transverse guard and the two acanthus leaves which overlap the mouth of the scabbard are amissing, but otherwise it is in excellent condition, and has sustained nothing like the damage which has befallen the Scottish sword. It is figured in fig. 1, and a minute description of it is unnecessary. But it is desirable to describe in detail the Zurich belt and its buckle (Plate. II.).

The belt proper measures 6 feet 7 inches in length and 2 inches in width. The figure or pattern, with the papal arms and the ornament of oak branches, is similar to that in the Scottish belt, and is eleven times repeated. There are seven pairs of holes for fastening the belt, and at the extreme end of the belt there is an eighth pair. These are all mounted with silver-gilt studs in the form of acorns and oak-leaves displayed.

The colours of the silk with the gold and silver thread, as well as the brown silk lining in the inside of the first portion of the belt, are exactly similar to those details in the Scottish belt.

But the buckle or clasp of the belt is different both in size and design from the Scottish one. It is  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inches long and 2 inches wide (exactly the width of the belt), and is carried out at the top by a series of wire mouldings to a width of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It is mounted at each side by a decorated wire moulding, and is divided into two portions by a bar

Schinner met the allies at Verona, on their way home, and formally handed over to them the Papal gifts. At a diet held subsequently in Baden, amidst representatives from all the powers, the gifts were finally disposed of. The Sword and Hat were handed over to Zurich; the two new Banners to the church at Einsiedeln; and the Pope's own Banners, which had been lost at Ravenna, but recovered again, were given to Berne and Lucerne. Shortly afterwards an engraving was made of the gifts to bring the knowledge of them to the public. (This illustration has been of considerable value in this investigation. From it can be ascertained the fact that the buckle of the Zurich belt was damaged apparently when it was presented, and it has also been possible from the details shown in this engraving to fill in the portions now amissing in the consecrated hat.)



SECTION OF SWORD BELT, WITH BUCKLE, BELONGING TO THE SWORD OF STATE PRESENTED BY POPE JULIUS II. TO THE CONFEDERATED STATES OF SWITZERLAND IN 1512. (Scale  $\frac{1}{3}$  linear.)

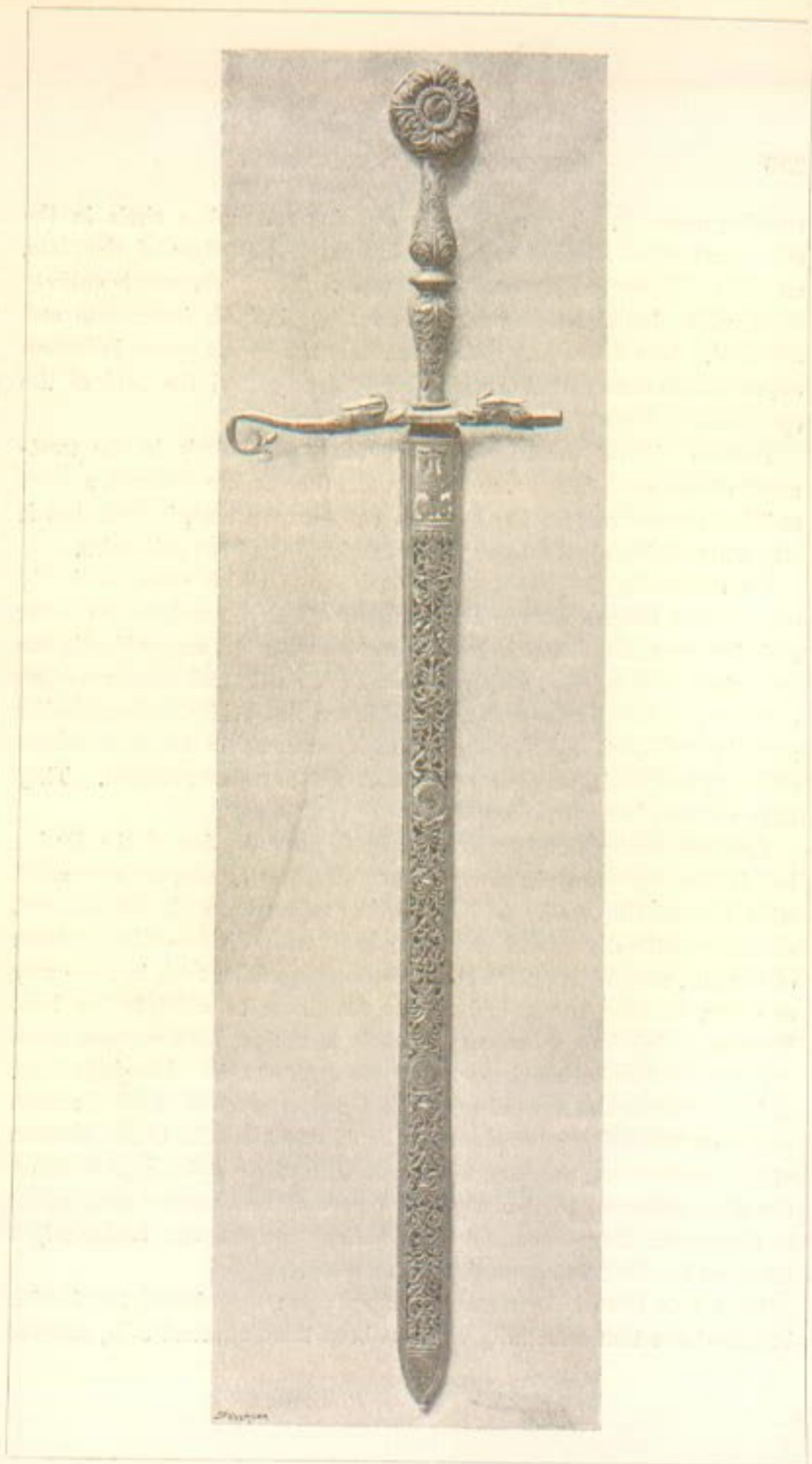


Fig. 1. Sword presented by Julius II., preserved at Zurich.

running across it. The upper part contains a complete circle in the centre and a half circle at each side abutting on the edges of the plate, all filled with carved *repoussé* scroll work. The lower part is entirely filled with similar scroll work. The clasp is both incomplete and damaged. The upper part which has borne the buckle proper is broken off, and some ornamentation which has evidently filled the field of the compartment containing the circles is amissing.

In the design of the wire mouldings, and particularly in the treatment of the carved *repoussé* scroll work, this buckle presents a most striking resemblance to the Scottish one,—so much so, indeed, that it might almost be taken for the workmanship of the same goldsmith.

On comparing the two belts, several points which were previously obscure now become clear. The studs specifically mentioned as being amissing from the Scottish belt in 1539 and 1542 are evidently the mountings of the holes, which in the Zurich belt took the form of an ornament of oak leaves and acorns. There had evidently been similar studs in the Scottish belt, and most of them must in 1539 have been still attached to it, or their loss would not have been noticed. They have all now, however, disappeared.

Another point which is cleared up by the examination of the Zurich belt is the discrepancy in the width of the Scottish buckle contrasted with that of the band. This, taken in conjunction with the different character of the design and workmanship from that in the other portions of the gift, might have given rise to the supposition that, in some way or other, another buckle had at one time been attached to the belt. But the Zurich belt shows us that this is not so, for the resemblance between the two buckles is so striking as to render this idea incredible. It is not merely the resemblance to be found between work of the same period or nationality ; but down to the minutest details, to the patterns of the ornament on the bars, to the character of the spiral rope work on the sides, and most particularly to the embossed and carved scroll work in the panels, the workmanship is identical, and the one buckle might be taken for the missing portion of the other.

That this is so is by no means improbable: the edge of the Zurich buckle shows that something else has been there attached to it, and the

lower edge of the Scottish buckle looks incomplete. If the two are placed together, the one will be found to be the exact size required for the other.

It might be urged that by joining them the result would be a buckle too large and unwieldy for a waist belt. But from Zurich we also learn that their sword belt was not a waist belt, but was hung over the shoulder. Consequently the plate in size and form would be eminently suitable.

How it was worn in Scotland we have no means of knowing further than an examination of the holes reveals to us. As has been already stated, the length of the belt ranged, when buckled, from 28 inches to 59 inches. The latter is manifestly too large for an average waist, but might be suitable for hanging over the shoulder. The former, on the other hand, is too small for an average shoulder belt; but from the fact that the two pairs of holes at this point have been purposely made afterwards, the inference may be drawn that it was for use on the slender figure of Queen Mary, or possibly for the infant coronation of King James V.

It is a matter for congratulation that this belt has survived to our times with evidently so little mutilation or change, and it is also remarkable that it should have escaped alteration at the hands of King James V., whose proclivities for altering and remaking the Regalia amounted almost to a craze.

The chief use of the Regalia was unquestionably the coronation of each new monarch; and at successive coronations, from that of James V. till that of Charles II., this belt has probably been used to gird the sovereign.

The accounts of Scottish coronations are not very detailed until we come to that of Charles I. at Holyrood. The investing of the sovereign with the Regalia took place during the second part of the proceedings. After the anointing, the coronation proper began by investing the King with the "Rob Royall." The Gentleman Usher then handed the sword to the Lyon King and he delivered it to the Archbishop, who, having laid it on the altar and offered up a prayer, gave it to the King, on whom it was girded by the Great Constable. At this time also the

spurs were put on by the Earl Marischall. Taking the crown in his hands and holding it, the Archbishop pronounced a short prayer, and then placed it on the King's head. After the peers had taken the oath of fealty, the sword of state was ungirt by the Great Chamberlain and placed upon the communion table by the Archbishop, who then placed the sceptre in the King's right hand and enthroned him.

In addition to coronations, the Régalia was also used at the riding of Parliament. It is not very clear if the belt was used on such occasions. It would evidently be rather an incumbrance, and might possibly be left behind in the treasure chest. At any rate, there is no specific mention of it ever having been used on these occasions.

There is a series of drawings of the Riding of Parliament in the MS. Chalmers' Collection (Advocates' Library), of about the date 1681. The Sword-bearer is shown there mounted on horseback, and holding the sword, encased in its scabbard, in his right hand (fig. 2); but there is no trace of a belt, and obviously there could be none in a ceremonial of this date, for the belt belonging to the sword was then in the possession of Ogilvy of Barras. Whether it was used on similar occasions when it was in the custody of the Crown has not been ascertained.

The most interesting episode in connection with this belt, as well as with the whole Regalia, is the romantic story of its preservation during the troubles of the Commonwealth.

The defeat at the battle of Worcester and the invasion of Scotland by an English army following closely after the coronation of Charles II. made the Scottish Parliament uneasy as to the safety of the Regalia, and on the 6th June 1651 they ordered the Earl Marischall to remove the Honours to the Castle of Dunnottar which was built on an insulated rocky promontory washed by the waves of the German Ocean.

The defence of this stronghold was entrusted to George Ogilvy of Barras, an experienced soldier, to whom the Earl Marischall, with the title of Lieutenant-Governor, committed the command of the castle and the garrison, which amounted only to about forty men.

The Committee of Estates appointed by the King and Parliament in 1651 had become so limited in their means, on account of the rapid advance of the English army, that the supplies of ammunition and



provisions for the castle had almost entirely to be provided by the private exertions of the Governor.

At this time and in these circumstances, this belt was unquestionably delivered along with the rest of the Regalia to Governor Ogilvy. Not long after their delivery to Ogilvy the castle was invested by an English

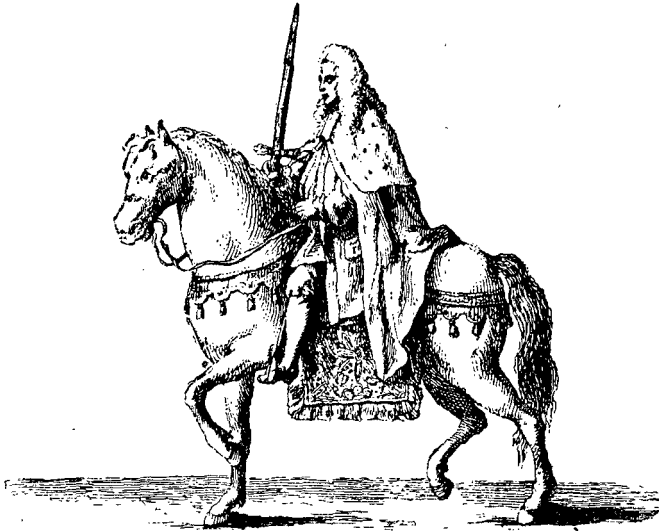


Fig. 2. The Sword-bearer in the Riding of Parliament about 1681.

army, and all means of removing them to some northern stronghold, as was at one time suggested, were cut off.

The details of the siege have frequently been narrated, and only a summary of them need be given now.

Disappointed in receiving sufficient forces and provisions for a prolonged siege, and with danger darkening on every side by the rapid advance and success of the English, Governor Ogilvy became alarmed for the safety of the Regalia. In the circumstances he consulted his wife, who suggested that she should remove them from the castle without her husband's knowledge, so that when he fell into the hands of the English,

and was probably tortured, he could honestly declare that he did not know where they were. With the assistance of Mrs Granger, wife of the minister of Kinneff, the Honours were removed from Dunnottar Castle, packed in a sack among hards of lint, and were afterwards privately buried in the Parish Church of Kinneff.<sup>1</sup> This removal was fortunately as successful as it was secret, and on the capitulation of the castle, great was the consternation and the anger of General Deane the English commander to discover that the Regalia had somehow been removed.

Both the Governor and his lady, although they surrendered on honourable terms, were imprisoned, threatened with torture, and treated with extreme severity. A party was even despatched to secure their only son, with a view to torture him in sight of his parents, to extort a confession from them, but happily he escaped.

The minister of Kinneff and his wife fell under suspicion, and it is said even endured the ordeal of torture without confessing any complicity. The Governor and his lady fared little better, and notwithstanding a prolonged imprisonment and much hardship, the secret was well kept,—in the case of Mrs Ogilvy kept to her death,—and the English were put off the scent by an ingenious story that the Honours had been carried abroad by the Earl of Kintore.

After the Restoration an acrimonious controversy commenced between Governor Ogilvy and the Countess Marischall, both of whom claimed the honour of preserving the Regalia. On the suggestion of Lord

<sup>1</sup> The receipt granted by the minister of Kinneff to the Countess Marischall specifies exactly where they were hidden. "I, Mr James Granger, minister at Kinneff, grant me to have in my custody the Honours of the Kingdom, viz., the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword. For the Crown and Sceptre, I raised the pavement-stone just before the pulpit, in the night tyme, and digged under it ane hole, and put them in there, and filled up the hole, and layed down the stone just as it was before, and removed the mould that remained, that none would have discerned the stone to have been raised at all. The sword, again, at the west end of the Church, amongst some common saits that stand there. I digged down in the ground betwixt the twa foremost of these saits, and laid it down within the case of it, and covered it up, as that removing the superfluous mould it could not be discerned by any body. And if it shall please God to call me by death before they be called for your ladyship will find them in that place."

Lauderdale, an order was issued for their delivery, so that it might be ascertained in whose custody they really were. The Countess Marisshall having obtained some knowledge of their whereabouts, endeavoured to obtain them, but was forestalled by Ogilvy, who immediately removed the Sceptre to the House of Barras, and took an obligation from the minister to deliver them to no one but himself. But on the presentation of a proper receipt in October 1660, the Regalia were delivered by Ogilvy to the Earl Marisshall.

Throughout the whole narrative no mention is made of the Sword Belt; but there can be little doubt that it was removed with the rest of the Regalia from Dunnottar Castle to Kinneff church, and the belt may have been removed thence to Barras previous to their formal delivery.

The order for the delivery of the Regalia specifically mentions only the crown, the sceptre, and the sword, and it is probable that in these circumstances the belt was retained by Ogilvy, in the first place until a proper receipt for it was presented, and also as a piece of real evidence that he had had the Regalia in his possession. Ogilvy appears to have been a man of a singularly prudent and cautious disposition. This is brought out by the careful way in which he dealt with the Regalia, first declining to hand them over to Lord Balcarres without being properly authorised, and also by his obtaining receipts, which he preserved in duplicate, and afterwards registered in the books of Council and Session<sup>1</sup> on his returning the Registers and Papers of the Church of Scotland, the Monuments and Charters of the University of St Andrews, and many other documents, belonging to various parties, which were deposited at the same time as the Regalia in Dunnottar Castle.

No doubt the belt was retained to further the prosecution of his endeavour to obtain a suitable reward from the King for his services, and as an undeniable proof of his assertions; but as his suit was comparatively unsuccessful, and the royal favour was bestowed on the son of the Countess Marisshall, he does not seem to have even hinted that he had it in his possession, nor to have returned it. It does not appear to have been missed, nor was any search, as far as is known, made for

<sup>1</sup> *Register of Deeds*, Mackenzie, vol. lxxxviii.

it; and its very existence was forgotten until, in 1790, it was discovered by Sir David Ogilvy built into the garden wall of the House of Barras.

On the death of Sir David Ogilvy it passed to his son, Sir G. M. Ogilvy, and through his last surviving sister it came to her grandson, the Rev. Samuel Ogilvy Baker, who has now so gracefully restored it to its place in the Scottish Regalia.<sup>1</sup>

Although the most precious portions of the Scottish Regalia have escaped destruction at the hands of robbers and despoilers, yet "the moth which corrupts" has found its prey in one portion of them.

Along with the sword and belt from Pope Julius II. was also sent a consecrated hat, and a similar hat appears to have formed part of the gift of Pope Paul III. in 1537. Only one of these is ever mentioned in the inventories, and it only occurs in those of 1539 and 1542.<sup>2</sup> In both of them it is described in identical terms—"the hatt that came fra the paip of gray velvett with the haly gaist sett all with orient perle." This is all that was known to us regarding it until, with the discovery of the sword and belt at Zurich, the information emerged that the wreck of the hat which had formed part of that gift was still preserved.

From the remarkable identity of both the swords and the belts, the inference may fairly be drawn that the hats were also similar. At any rate, the description in the inventories of the Scottish hat answers to that of the Zurich hat. There might, however, have been some considerable difficulty in ascertaining what appearance the Zurich hat presented originally, had not access been had to an illustration which was prepared of it shortly after its presentation, further supplemented by two contemporary descriptions of it.

The hat (fig. 3) is described as being in form a ducal one, measuring

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Samuel Ogilvy Baker, in a letter to the Queen's Remembrancer, dated 13th June 1892, says:—"My grandmother, Mrs Livingston-Ogilvy, was the last surviving sister of the late Sir G. M. Ogilvy, last Bart. of Barras, and on the death of her last surviving son, George Livingston (of Countesswells, designated in Burke as -Ogilvy), in default of issue the Belt came to me, his nephew. The Belt was found, I am told, built into the garden wall of Barras, near Stonehaven, about 1790, by Sir David Ogilvy; it passed at his death to his son Sir G. M. Ogilvy, and from him as I have said."

<sup>2</sup> *Thomson's Inventories*, pp. 49, 76.

11 inches high and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. It is cylindrical, slightly tapering towards the flat top. The body is of grey felt, which has originally been covered with silk velvet. But it has been eaten by moths to such an extent that very little of the pile is left, but what



Fig. 3.

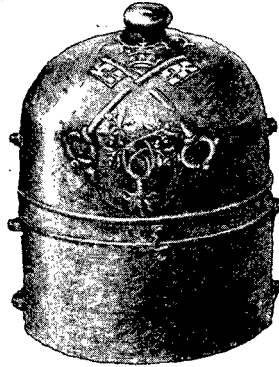


Fig. 4.

Figs. 3 and 4. Consecrated Hat and its Hatbox, preserved at Zurich.

little still exists is of a brownish colour. The lining is entirely gone. From the illustration prepared of it after its presentation, and from two contemporary descriptions, we further learn that it bore on the top a knob of gold and pearls, and on the front the image of a dove, "a descending Holy Ghost," sewed in large pearls; that the inside was of ermine turned up and showing on the outside round the bottom.

By 1574 the splendour of the Zurich hat had vanished, and in that year Bullinger writes of it, "the moths have eaten it." Before this date the Scottish hat seems to have totally disappeared, doubtless owing to a similar cause.

The box which contained the Zurich hat (fig. 4), having been made of less perishable materials, has fared much better. It is made of hammered copper, and measures 17 inches high and 13 inches in diameter at the bottom. In form it is cylindrical, with the top rounded off and

ending in a big knob, and consists of two parts, the top one, which serves as the cover, being secured to the lower part by two hooks. On each side are three iron loops for the purpose of containing a leather strap. The box is painted black inside and bright red outside, with the papal arms in colours and gold, surmounted by the date 1512 on the front part of the cover. It is even yet in a good state of preservation.