

Dress in medieval Perth: the evidence from the site

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Of the 411 fabrics excavated from the High Street, a large number seem to have served in garments to clothe the inhabitants of the burgh. They exist as small offcuts of new cloth or as larger pieces that were worn, reused in the recycling of garments and finally discarded. The different processes used to make the fabrics and textiles, which have been studied in the sections above, indicate that the labour involved was considerable. The purpose of this section is to consider the High Street fabrics in the light of how people might have worn them. A comparative approach is adopted to examine other finds from the site that actually depict clothed persons, and to make further comparisons with other materials from countries with which Perth was in contact in the Middle Ages.

Despite the large number of samples of textiles and other fabrics recovered from the site, many difficulties hinder an adequate study of the clothing worn by the inhabitants of the medieval burgh. Detailed evidence for clothing in Scotland from the 12th to mid-14th centuries is rare due to the dearth of sculpture, painting and the like resulting from the campaigns of iconoclasm wrought by Reformers and Covenanters. Therefore visual representations produced by medieval Scots of themselves are often lacking and there is little with which to compare the fragmentary evidence from Perth. Where a greater abundance of iconographic evidence has survived, dress historians still encounter problems. In a study of European medieval clothing, Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane (1995, 117–18) noted that there appears to be a relative lack of change through time in the dress of peasants, while the more abundant iconographic and documentary references available regarding the clothing of the wealthy reveal greater variation in style amongst the rich.

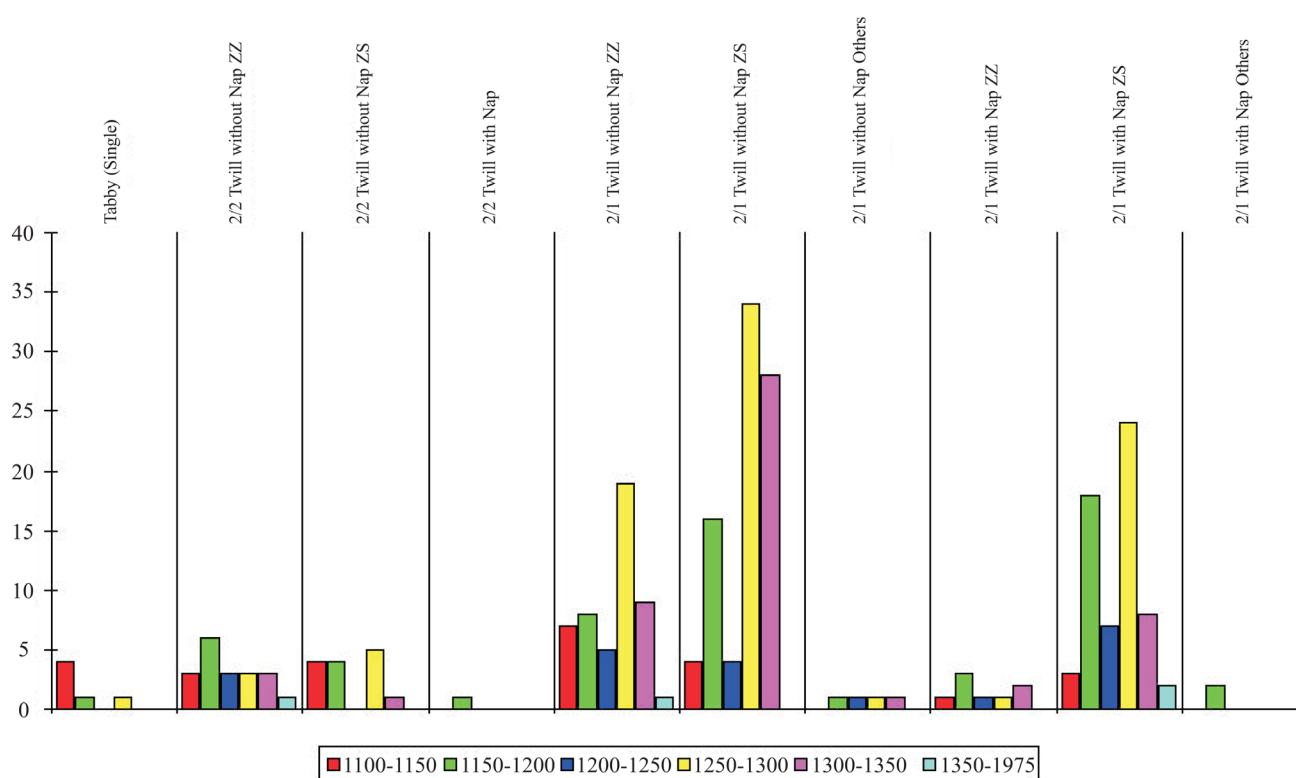
The Perth textiles, however, provide a special insight into a particular aspect of dress because they provide information on the qualities of the fabrics with which the inhabitants of Perth clothed themselves across different social categories. Therefore this section is proposed as a preliminary study for research should more finds become available in the future. The procedure adopted here is to examine the properties of the different categories of cloth used in medieval Perth and to consider their suitability as changes took place in the cut of the garments, which may be observed in surviving iconographic and documentary evidence from western European countries. The first step will be to address the relative cost of clothing in medieval times. Establishing that this cost would have been far higher for most of the inhabitants of the medieval burgh of Perth than for its 21st-century inhabitants provides a context for examining dress as an expression of social

distinctions as well as helping to understand how dress contributed to an articulation of those differences. The following discussion considers the weaves and draping qualities of cloth as well as the evidence from the site for pins, buttons and badges that formed part of the means by which those social identities were articulated.

Relative economic values in cloth and clothing

Economic historians have examined the monetary values of textiles relative to the purchasing power of individuals in different income groups. Louise Buenger Robbert's (1983) study of an inventory of the personal effects of a murdered Venetian, Gratiano Gradenigo, provided a basis for analysing prices for food and clothing in 12th-century Pisa and Venice. A set of clothing owned by Gradenigo would have represented 15 days' work for the Pisan notary who inscribed the inventory and 25 days' work for the cashier. Robbert (*ibid*, 390) asked her readers to reflect whether contemporary readers would spend a month's wages on a suit of clothing, including shoes. For the couriers, guards and porters who were appointed to oversee the sale of Gradenigo's possessions, his high quality garments would have been unattainable. She calculated that a guard who was paid 2d a day would have had to have worked 24 weeks to pay for an inexpensive set of garments (*ibid*, 390).

Since the publication of Robbert's article in the early 1980s, the relative cost of mass produced clothing to consumers declined, especially in the 1990s. Therefore it is of interest to examine John Munro's (2009) study of the changing values of cloth produced in the Low Countries. One of the main products of looms in Flanders and Artois were the Hondschoote *says* or serges. Some of these cloths might well be counted amongst the category 2/1 Twill without nap, ZS, which was particularly well represented in the High Street textiles in Periods IV and V (that is, in the second half of the 13th and first half of the 14th centuries; see Illus 74). The peak in this category, coinciding with Period IV, occurred when serges were predominant in 13th-century textile production in the Low Countries (*ibid*, 8). There was competition in this trade from other countries, including Italy and England, because these textiles were relatively cheap and they did not undergo complex finishing processes. The political and economic situation changed in the Low Countries from the 1290s, with the outbreak of warfare, combined with a demographic fall in the 14th century brought about by the Black Death. These changes resulted in a restructuring of Flemish textile



Illus 74 Textiles suitable for clothing.

production that increasingly focused on the weaving of 'heavy-weight luxury woollens', which were marketed in northern Europe, including the Baltic (ibid, 2). In the light of fluctuations in the cost of different qualities of cloth, Munro examined the monetary values of textiles relative to the purchasing power of a master mason in Antwerp during the first half of the 16th century. He concluded (ibid, 52) that 'For the 13.725 days' wages required for that master mason's purchase of the supposedly 'cheap' Hondshoote single say (1538–44), the same Toronto [Canada] carpenter today would also earn a very considerable sum: \$3,631 (or about €2,269). Instead, today's Toronto carpenter would need to spend only a very few days' wage income to purchase a very fine wool-based suit.'

Both Robbert (1983) and Munro (2009) recognise the difficulties in studying the relative values of cloth and differences in the purchasing power between people in the past and present. However, these examples from 12th-century northern Italy and 16th-century Antwerp demonstrate the high cost of garments before the 21st century. If they can be used analogically for the situation in Perth, they help to provide a context for understanding the implications of a clause in the medieval Forest Laws of Scotland, in which the penalty included the confiscation of the cloak or outermost garment from a person found trespassing in a royal forest (Gilbert 1979, 305):

If any stranger be found in the forest on any forbidden route [and] if he swears on the cross that he did not know that the road was forbidden nor that he knew

the right road, the forester shall lead him to [continue to] traverse [the forest] without harm. But if the man is not ignorant he ought to be taken and led to the king's castle and there, outside the gate, when witnesses have been brought, the forester shall take his outermost garment and whatever is in his purse which he needed and let him hand over his person to the porter of the castle to be kept during the king's pleasure.

Therefore infringement of the Forest Laws incurred a very steep penalty which included the confiscation of the offender's outer garment. This penalty would have fallen more harshly on the poorer offenders than the rich.

Cutting one's cloak according to one's cloth

Suitability of the High Street textiles for clothing

If the decorative hair-coverings (see Net, above) are the only pieces recognisable as more-or-less complete garments amongst the High Street textiles, and the pieces of felt in Cat No 406/A9821 (see Felt, above) formed the lining of a boot, how suitable were the other fabrics for clothing? The very coarse plain weave tabbies can be discounted as they might have been used as packaging, unless shrouds are counted as garments (see Tabby weaves from two ply yarns, above). It seems reasonable, however, to assume that many of the textiles considered in this report were originally destined for clothing. A similar conclusion was reached by Bennett (1987, 166) concerning the textiles from the

nearby excavations at Kirk Close, Perth, where most of the 29 fabrics were considered to be 'of suitable weights for clothing or blankets or other light furnishings'. One of the textiles excavated from 80–86 High Street, Perth was a sleeve assembled from three panels of 2/1 twill, ZZ, probably dyed with madder (Harrison and Janaway 1997, 758 No 137). Another indicator to support the notion that many of the textiles in this report once served to clothe people is that napped surfaces have been considered a characteristic of garments (Möller-Wiering 2011, 127).

The evidence found for tailoring activities on the High Street site, including shears, scissors and needles (see Textile tools, above), also lends support to this idea. Indeed, some of the textiles themselves have the appearance of being discarded offcuts. While the finished garments were removed from the site, small and apparently unwanted scraps remained and eventually formed part of the archaeological record. Cat Nos 277/A09–0049a and 138/A9326 fall into this category. Both are 2/1 Twills with nap, ZS, and both have cut edges. The latter is an example of an extremely high quality dyed cloth and, unsurprisingly, only a small fragment was allowed to go to waste. Other textiles take the form of long strips, such as Cat Nos 309/A6653a and 114/A8863b, which latter is cut in a slight curve. At least some of the silks were used as bindings or tapes, including Cat Nos 6/A9500 and 46/A7323, which are narrow lengths of samitum. The worn piece of tabby, cut on the bias, Cat No 362/A6149, might also have bound the edge of a garment. One would expect to find such shapes on the site as by-products of the fitting of garments made from new or reworked cloth. Yet other textiles are irregular in outline, with rectangular pieces removed (for example Cat Nos 82/A12553b, Illus 31 and 290/A09–0093, Illus 41; these bear witness to the cutting of fabric which undoubtedly took place in the High Street in medieval times. It is significant that the trade name of *taillur* occurs in a document dating from the first half of the 13th century relating to the burgesses of Perth and their property (Duncan 1975, 489). In addition, a tailor was listed among about 80 burgesses and artisans named in submissions made to Edward I of England in 1291 (ibid, 487). The relationship between the tailoring or cut of a garment and the type of weave in which the cloth is woven will be discussed further below, after a description of the garment types that are likely to have been worn in medieval Perth.

Clothing as a vestimentary code

The high relative cost of garments for many of the inhabitants of Perth suggests that if dress served to mark statuses, such as gender, age and ethnicity, those identities were not easily changed. Some groups of people probably wore the livery of their employer; their dress would have denoted their occupation and rank. Although some of these distinctions would

have been pronounced, others may have been more subtle, especially as most of the Perth textiles have a monochrome appearance. This study rests on the premise that dress constituted a vestimentary system, to borrow a phrase adopted by Piponnier and Mane (1995, 6), which contributed to the articulation of social life in medieval Perth. Attending to the modes of dress in a social system in this manner draws on a semiotic analysis of the clothing worn by different groups of people constituting the society being studied; see also Adorno 1981. The identities considered here do not convey the sense of uniqueness and individuality that make one person different from others; rather they refer to membership of group categories, emphasising statuses related to ethnicity, gender, occupation and rank. Therefore different categories of people adopted or were compelled to wear certain garments, or specific combinations of garments, thereby contributing to the maintenance of the identity of those categories as social groups.

During the centuries represented by finds from the High Street, Normans and Flemings settled in Scotland whether from England or directly from Normandy and other parts of France, Artois and the Low Countries (Barrow 1973, 316–17). The process of Normanisation of Scotland is popularly associated with Margaret, second wife of Malcolm III. The daughter of a Hungarian mother and Edward Atheling of England, she acquired a reputation for piety. Nevertheless, her confessor Thurgot wrote a hagiography in which he described her fondness for rich clothing alongside Norman tastes and preferences (cited in Barrow 1973, 315):

She caused merchants to come by land and sea from various regions and to bring very many precious wares that were still unknown in Scotland. The Scots were compelled by the queen to buy clothing of different colours and various ornaments of dress.

Members of the Royal Court evidently distinguished themselves by wearing rich dress because *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reported for the year 1075 that King Malcolm and Queen Margaret received Edgar Atheling, presenting him with 'skins covered with purple cloth and robes of marten's skin and of grey fur and ermine and costly robes and golden vessels of silver'. As Edgar lost nearly all these gifts in a shipwreck, the Scottish monarchs gave him more 'immense treasure' as he set off to King William's court in Normandy (ibid, 316). This presentation of sumptuous clothing as part of a careful cultivation and propagation of Norman tastes, which Margaret allegedly fostered among the ruling classes, formed part of the background to changing attitudes towards dress as the burgh of Perth gained in importance from the 11th century.

The priest and chronicler, John of Fordun (*Chron Fordun*, ii, 237), said of David I (reigned 1124–1153) that he brought to his kingdom the luxuries of foreign nations, changing its coarse stuffs for precious vestments, and covering its ancient nakedness with purple and fine



Illus 75 Seal of John I (Balliol), portrayed dressed as a knight.



Illus 76 Seal of John I (Balliol), portrayed seated on his throne and dressed as a civilian.

linen. While the High Street has provided evidence for the importing of luxury goods in the form of silk, the equation of non-Norman dress with 'nakedness' is a perception examined more fully below.

If dress served as a metaphor to denote status and ethnic belonging, the derisory title by which King John Balliol is known to scholars and school children alike is significant. Following his surrender to the English in 1296 and the stripping of the red and gold emblems of the kings of Scotland from his clothing, he became known as Toom Tabard; he was found wanting at a time when military leadership was required. Humiliated by Edward I of England, John Balliol failed to match up to the image of the warrior presented on his own seal, where he is depicted wearing a hauberk and hose of mail, a helm and a sleeveless tabard (Illus 75; cf Illus 76). At the time of his surrender, English invading forces occupied Perth. The loyalties of the inhabitants of Perth must have been severely tested during the War of Independence (see Fascicule 1, Historical background). The adoption or rejection of Norman standards of dress throughout this period was not merely a question of fashion since complex political issues and concerns regarding ethnic identity were involved in addition to the relative costs of replacing one's clothing.

The piety embodied in the perceived Norman identity of Saint Margaret was complemented by a strong military ethos. A 'mail-clad, cone-helmeted *chiualer* or knight' (Barrow 1973, 316) is a particularly persuasive image of Norman identity. Dress historians have noted the influence that military clothing exerted over civilian dress (Evans 1952, 14). A tunic known as the *cotte*, worn by women and men, is said to have evolved from a men's garment worn over the *haubert* (hauberk), a tunic of chain mail, during the early 13th century in France. Throughout that century, military garb continued to have an effect on civilian clothing. Before proceeding to examine how the Perth textiles might have been used in garments, it is proposed to present a brief survey of what people wore in countries with which medieval Perth was in contact.

Clothing in 12th- to 14th-century Europe

Manuscript illustrations, sculpture and seals provide the basis for this description of dress. The depiction of high status individuals on seal matrices is one of the few sources of figurative imagery for high status Scots, especially women. What follows is a summary based on a study by Joan Evans (1952) of French medieval dress, a description of English medieval dress (Cunnington and Cunnington 1952) and on an inspection of Romanesque sculpture, ivories and manuscript illuminations published in Zarnecki (1971). It should be mentioned that the Cunningtons' book relies fairly heavily on French pictorial sources in constructing a history of English medieval dress.

Twelfth century

Women wore a long kirtle or gown over a smock or chemise. After the first quarter of the 12th century, the bodice of this gown became close fitting, expanding to a series of soft folds to the ground below the level of the hips. The neck might be cut into a V shape, to reveal the top of the smock. Sleeves were close fitting at the wrists but later in the century they widened from the elbow to form long hanging cuffs. Characteristic of high status women, this new cut is attested in the dress of a Scot by the seal of Margaret, Duchess of Brittany (died 1171), sister of William the Lion. The seal shows her narrow-waisted gown, pleated at the hem, while extravagant cuffs trailed to the ground (Laing 1866, 24) (Illus 77).

A thick cord of wool, linen or silk formed a girdle tied round the waist or hips. Evans (1952, 6) reported that in France married women wore a belt over the uppermost *bliaut*, or super-tunic, pulling up the fabric in folds to hide it; only girls went without a belt. A female column figure on the West front of Chartres Cathedral, c1140–50 (Zarnecki 1971, Plate 95), wears a girdle in one of the methods described by the Cunningtons (1952, 38): 'passed round the front of the waist and knotted or crossed over



Illus 77 Margaret, Duchess of Brittany (after Laing 1866).

the small of the back, then brought forward and downward and tied in front, the ends hanging in middle almost to the ankles'. A long, loose super-tunic was worn over the gown. It also became closer fitting round the upper part of the body and developed exaggerated sleeve cuffs. Particularly elaborate trimmings at the hem and the wide cuffs of a super-tunic are shown in an ivory of the Virgin by Zarnecki (1971, Plate 158). This kind of super-tunic was not suited to a gown with pendant cuffs. Women wore a ground length cloak, tied at the front, usually with loose cords.

Underneath the main garments women wore cloth stockings or hose, held in place by woollen garters above or below the knees. Shoes were pointed in shape and were without raised heels.

Often the hair was covered by a veil and noble women wore gold bands or diadems to keep the veil in place. From c1130 to 1170, when pendant cuffs were fashionable, a long narrow band with streaming ends might be tied over the veil and knotted on one side. A wimple or neck covering of fine white linen or silk became common from the middle of the century until c1340. Tucked into the neck of the gown, its ends were drawn up to frame the face, and a veil was usually worn over the top of the head. Alternatively, from the late 12th to the 14th centuries, women wore a barrette, a linen band passing from under the chin to the temples, and a fillet, also of linen, encircling the head.

Hair is sometimes shown plaited in two very long braids with a veil on top of the head (ibid, Plate 95). According to the Cunningtons (1952, 40), these tresses were bulked out with false hair or tow and were either tipped with ornaments or encased in silk *fouriaux* (see Tabby weaves of silk, above).

The main garments for men corresponded to those of women: tunic, super-tunic, cloak, legwear and shoes. However, the length of men's tunics varied, reaching to the knee, mid- calf or ankle. As with women's tunics and super-tunics, sleeves became wider (Zarnecki 1971, Plate 158). In contrast with women's clothing,

the tunic skirt was sometimes slit up the front to thigh level. A bronze tomb plate dated shortly after 1080 in Merseburg Cathedral shows Anti-King Rudolf of Swabia in a mid-calf length tunic with close fitting bodice, tight cuffs at the wrists and full skirt. His cloak is fastened at the right shoulder (ibid, Plate 104). This form of cloak is also featured in a psalter from St Albans Abbey, dated c1120–30, depicting the return of the Magi (ibid, Plate 195).

According to the Cunningtons (1952, 11), the 12th-century cloak or mantle was cut 'on the square and not on a circle'. It was clasped on the right shoulder, leaving the right arm free, or on the left shoulder. Alternatively, it was fastened in front beneath the chin. The Cunningtons (ibid, 31) also note that noble men had mantles lined with fur, while peasants had hooded skin cloaks with the hair surface outside.

Although not always depicted in illuminations, men of all classes wore breeches tied at the waist, reaching above or below the knee. During the course of the 12th century, these breeches became shorter, assuming the form of undergarments. Apparently, linen was the preferred material (ibid, 31). Men's hose were either short or long, in which case they overlapped the breeches. A variety of shoes or boots were worn, for instance the granite relief carving of King David as a musician at Santiago de Compostela, dated c1120, has high shoes tied at the ankle (Zarnecki 1971, Plate 124).

A variety of hoods, closed capes and caps were worn by men, one of the most distinctive being the pointed Phrygian cap, worn in England from the 10th to the end of the 12th centuries, but lingering into the 13th century (Cunnington and Cunnington 1952, 33). The coif was to continue into the next century and beyond. It was a plain linen bonnet which covered the ears and was tied under the chin (ibid, 34). Another type of cap which lasted into the 13th century was round in shape with a stalk on top (Zarnecki 1971, Plate 197). Men wore their hair short or shoulder length; beards and moustaches were common, although young men were often clean shaven.

Thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries

Women and men continued to wear the same basic garments throughout the 13th century and into the first part of the 14th century. However, the streamers and pendant cuffs characteristic of the 12th century were no longer fashionable. The characteristic crimped folds and sometimes fluttering garments of the Romanesque were replaced by heavier draped fabrics of the Gothic style (Evans 1952, 10). This change is a significant one and, as discussed below, it is related to changes in cloth production. The drapery was to become even more voluminous in the 15th and 16th centuries. Necklines became lower or were cut into a V opening, which was fastened with a brooch. Round and ring brooches were excavated from the High Street (see Fascicule 2, The metalwork), and a carved boss from Elgin, dated to the late 13th or early 14th century, demonstrates how

such brooches were used (Illus 78; NMAS 1982, C2). Sleeves could be close fitting or loose. This more robust style of dress is shown in a Scottish context on the seal of Dervorgilla, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway and Margaret, daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon. She was the mother of King John Balliol (Illus 79) Laing 1866, 14).

In France, both women and men wore a *cotte* (tunic) and an over-coat, the *surcot*, which was sometimes sleeved and split at the sides, or was sleeveless with deep armholes (Evans 1952, 14). Characteristic of this period was the width of the armholes in sleeved garments, sloping up from the waist (ibid, 15).

In 13th-century England, women wore a large garment known as the surcote on top of the gown. It had wide sleeves or was sleeveless (Cunnington and Cunnington 1952, 48). Men wore a variety of super-tunics or surcotes, including a sleeveless tabard of mid-calf length or longer. It was worn without a belt and was sometimes slit up the front to the level of the waist (ibid, 42). Cloaks, mantles and legwear tended to resemble those of the preceding century. However, c1200, noble men wore criss-crossed bindings on the legs. Boots or buskins were loose with coloured tops (ibid, 44–7).

During the second quarter of the 14th century changes occurred in both female and male garments (ibid, 55). Clothes were cut more closely, and men's tunics were shorter, revealing long tight-fitting hose worn on the legs. While some types of headgear for both women and men continued from the 13th century, hoods developed 'an extension of the point of the cowl into a hanging tail' known as the liripipe (ibid 62–5). Buttons, which were previously decorative, became more functional as fastenings, and cloaks were cut on a circle. Since most of the High Street textiles predate c1350, these changes will not be considered here. The adoption of the shaped *pourpoint* (doublet) by young French warriors in the mid-14th century and contemporary reactions to it has been discussed by Piponnier (1989), while the response by the authors of moralising tracts to the new garment styles, which emphasised sexual difference (tightly hosed legs in men's dress and narrow bodices in women's), has been discussed by Blanc (1989). What the ensuing discussion attempts to do is to consider these changes in relation to the types of weaves used in the different categories of cloth known from the Perth excavations.

The qualities of surface finish

Given that garments similar to those described in the preceding section were worn across wide parts of Europe, including Scandinavia (Østergård 1982), it is likely that such forms were donned by Perth's burghesses, too. There would have been variations, however, in qualities such as the weaves, dyestuffs and finishing techniques used in producing the cloth. The



Illus 78 Boss from Elgin Cathedral.



Illus 79 Dervorgilla de Balliol (after Laing 1866).

analysis of a 2/1 twill dating from the 13th century (Cat No 283/A09–0077b, Illus 42 indicates that weft-striped textiles were present in clothing worn in Perth. However, most of the garments were probably more subtly distinctive. A reference to striped garments in the 13th-century Statutes of the Church of Aberdeen disapproved of the wearing by ecclesiastics of 'brightly coloured and striped clothing' (Scarlett 1987, 67). The striped cloth, *panni de radiato*, and coloured cloth, *panni coloris*, mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls for the fourteenth century (see The textiles: General discussion) may have been beyond the reach of many people in Perth.

The dye analysis reported above indicates that red was the most frequently used dye colour, but blue and yellow were also detected, and there is a possibility that red and blue were combined to produce either purple or black. An unusual tabby fabric from medieval excavations in Scotland is striped in one system with brown and pink yarns. It was found, unstratified, in a workman's trench in the old Council Chambers, High Street, Perth (Bennett 1987, 171 Catalogue No 32). However, it may well date from the late 14th century and it might not be contemporary with the High Street textiles. It is likely that most people wore plain clothing in the period considered here and that brightly coloured and striped garments were still rare.

Although plain, self-coloured fabrics were probably the norm in medieval Perth, it should not be understood that the textiles used to make items of dress were uniform. Illus 74 is a bar diagram displaying the frequencies of the different cloth categories, excluding the coarse two ply tabby weaves. The inference to be drawn from Illus 74 is that few garments would have been made from tabby weave. Many were made from 2/2 twills, or 2/1 twills with or without nap. Some of these cloths were fulled, obscuring the weave in the finished garment.

Anni Albers (1965, 59) pointed out that the character of the raw material and that of the weave employed in the construction of a textile are interrelated. The main advantage of wool is its capacity to insulate, and this characteristic is diminished in a tabby weave, which is somewhat open and rigid unless it is subjected to some form of finishing treatment. Albers observed that twill textiles form a more pliable cloth than tabby weaves, thereby accentuating the softness of the wool. In addition, warp and weft yarns may be set more closely in twill, providing more warmth in a heavier fabric (ibid, 60). The insulating properties of wool were presumably of utmost importance to the inhabitants of medieval Perth. However, the potential for twill woven fabrics to drape well was perhaps also appreciated.

During the 11th and 12th centuries, the draped human figure provided European artists working in various media (stone, paint, metal and ivory) with one of their most important sources of visual inspiration. The folds in garments were usually depicted with great clarity, and often in a highly exaggerated fashion. One of the stylistic devices employed by European artists was Byzantine 'damp-fold' drapery which showed clothing moulded to the human body as though it were wet, in order to emphasise the human form (Zarnecki 1971, 117). Evidence for this curvilinear damp-fold tradition in Scotland is provided by a fragmentary sculpture from Jedburgh (Thurlby 1981). In France, high status women and men wore a long tunic (*chainse*) of goffered or pleated linen under a shorter over-tunic (*bliaut*); the king was reported as having a natural silk *bliaut* laced at the side with gold (Evans 1952, 5). However, it is perhaps more likely that the woollen twills worn by the inhabitants of Perth were used in garments comparable with those of Scandinavians, for which there is some iconographic evidence.

The chess pieces found on the south shore of Uig Bay on the west of the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides provide evidence for the dress of queens, kings, bishops, knights and foot soldiers or warders (or rooks). Stylistically they have been dated to c1135–1170, with the mitres worn by the bishops suggesting a time frame after c1150 (Taylor 1978, 14–15). They are considered to be the product of a Scandinavian workshop. Of special interest are the soft folds in the long garments worn by the seated queens and standing warriors (Illus 80–4).

A large fold is represented at the hem of the tunic worn by queens and warders alike. This fullness may have been achieved by inserting gores (triangular inserts) into a central seam cut into the front and back of the garment.



Illus 80 Lewis chess piece: King (front and rear).
(© Trustees National Museums Scotland)



Illus 81 Lewis chess piece: King (after NMAS 1892).



Illus 82 Lewis chess piece: Queen (front and rear).
(© Trustees National Museums Scotland)



Illus 83 *Lewis chess piece: Bishop (front and rear).*
(© Trustees National Museums Scotland)



Illus 84 *Lewis chess piece: warder or footsoldier (front and rear).* (© Trustees National Museums Scotland)

This practice was both widespread and long-lived since it appears in a linen tunic from the Treasury of Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris, said to have belonged to St Louis (Louis IX), who died in 1270. The long sleeves of the garment were cut from trapezoidal shapes of fabric, the wider end being sewn to the armhole and narrower end forming the cuff. If two such shapes are cut from a length of cloth, fully occupying the width, four long triangles are left along the side selvages. In the St Louis tunic, such offcuts were inserted as gores into slits cut into the front and back of the tunic (Burnham 1980; Crowfoot et al 1992, 176–7). This shaping is also clearly visible in a tunic depicted on a stained glass window in Bourges Cathedral (Illus 85). Presumably there were differences in the quality of the cloth represented in the tunics on Lewis chess pieces; the central fold of the queen's tunic in Illus 82) is draped in a sequence of five subsidiary U-shaped undulations, while that of the warder hangs rigidly, falling from the chest level of the wearer (Illus 84). The tunics of some of the other chess queens were depicted with equally fine robes falling in folds in different formations (Robinson 2004, 16–18).

Kings from the Lewis chess sets are shown wearing a semicircular cloak which is open at the right and pinned at the right shoulder (Illus 80, 81). Another such cloak is worn by Malcolm IV (the Maiden) in the large initial M on the charter granted to Kelso Abbey (NMAS 1892, 18). Dated to 1159 or shortly thereafter, it is of a similar period as the Lewis figures.

The garments of a man found buried in peat from Bocksten, in the southern Swedish province of Halland, provide actual examples of tunic and cloak with these characteristics, albeit from a later estimated date, c1350–1360. He wore a cloak, tunic, hose, footwraps and leather shoes; all the garments were woven in 2/1 twill using wool yarns (Nockert 1982, 278). His tunic had a round neck opening in the middle of the cloth, and four gores were inserted in the front, back, and side seams. Although damaged, the cloak was thought to be semicircular with a circle cut out for the head and an opening at the right (ibid, 278).



Illus 85 *The Mother of the Prodigal Son holding a tunic. Stained glass window at Bourges Cathedral.* (After Kraus 1967)

How common was the wearing of garments with a napped surface in Perth?

During the 13th and early 14th centuries on the High Street, 2/1 twill without nap outstripped other weaves at a period when 2/1 twill with nap was more unevenly represented. Textile specialists have noted that, elsewhere in Europe, 2/1 twill rose in proportion to other weaves from the late tenth century onwards (Kamínska and Nahlik 1960, Fig 20; Crowfoot 1979b, 38). It virtually replaced 2/2 twills at the 16–22 Coppergate site in York (Walton 1989, 383). The choice of Z spun warp and S spun weft in such textiles seems to have been linked with the process of fulling and the subsequent mechanisation of the process, introduced on the Continent by the late 11th century and by the end of the 12th century in England (Carus-Wilson 1954, 189–90, 210). In Scotland, the earliest record of a fulling mill dates from c1260 (see Finishing, above).

In twill cloths with an even, Z spun warp and a softer, less even, S spun weft, the weft face lends itself to being raised into a napped surface. Such textiles might have been worn with the raised surface on the outside, to provide protection against wind and rain, as suggested by Kamínska and Nahlik (1960) in Polish textiles from Gdansk. Alternatively, the fluffy weft face might have been turned to the inside, with the smooth warp yarn providing the outer surface of the garment as suggested by coarse 2/2 twills from Bergen studied by Ellen Schjølberg (1998, 209) or, on the basis of the seams, by fragments from Baynard's Castle, London examined by Crowfoot (1979b, 38).

At Perth, good quality cloths with a raised nap on both surfaces, cloths with a nap on one surface only, and cloths with a lower thread count and slight nap on both surfaces are all present in the archaeological deposits (see 2/1 Twill with nap, ZS above). Therefore people must have worn garments variously with napped and unnapped surfaces outermost. However, the category 2/1 twill without nap, ZS contains a larger sample (87 textiles) than the corresponding category with nap. These cloths were evidently left without nap on purpose, since the category of 2/1 twills without nap, ZZ is also fairly well represented, with 19 samples from the second half of the 13th century alone, and 49 samples overall. A twill cloth woven from Z spun warp and Z spun weft throws the diagonal ridges of the weave into greater relief (ibid, 38). These twill weaves must have been valued for their visual characteristics in medieval Perth, in addition to the draping qualities of the cloth. It is likely that most of the burgh's inhabitants wore garments made from such twill weaves without nap.

While such weaves were frequently worn in Perth, notable changes in women's and men's clothing were occurring in France and the Low Countries. Flanders had pioneered technological developments in the weaving of luxury woollens from the early or mid-11th century, and was exporting broadcloth of uniform width (Duncan 1975, 464). Broadcloth

was a tabby weave with mixed spinning (ZS); it was dyed, fullled, teasled and sheared (Munro 2009). This finishing treatment was important since the relatively open binding of the tabby meant that the warp and weft yarns would have been less densely set compared with twill weaves. If it were not for the fulling and the raising of the nap in the finishing process, the resulting cloth would have had fewer insulating properties than a twill fabric.

Textiles excavated from Baynard's Castle in London (dating from the second quarter to late 14th century) provide direct evidence for an increase in the use of broadcloth. The main London sequence only has a significant degree of overlap with the High Street textile assemblage in the first half of the 14th century. It is interesting to note that most of the published London textiles are tabby weaves, the shift from twill to tabby being very marked in this period (Crowfoot et al 1992, 26–7, 43). Evidence for this shift has also been noted in the Netherlands and at the north German towns of Lübeck and Hameln (ibid, 44).

The contrast between the Perth and London textiles may be exemplified by Perth Cat No 19/A12340b, a 2/1 twill with nap, ZS, dyed with kermes, dating from the first half of the 12th century, and Cat No 50 from Baynard's Castle in London, a wool tabby, ZS, dyed with kermes and dating from the second quarter of the 14th century. Unfortunately, Crowfoot et al (ibid, 45) do not provide full technical details for this textile, but they do mention that there are a few pieces of tabby cloth which are designated as 'medium to fine grade' and that six such samples from the late 14th-century deposits 'are finer than those from the earlier part of the century'.

Broadcloth was so called because of its standard width. As woven, it measured about 100 inches wide before fulling. According to Kenneth Ponting (1987, 78), in Scotland a loom width of 50 inches was more normal, fullled to a width of 40 inches. The extra width which imported broadcloth afforded may have helped to provoke changes in the way garments were cut. Fullled tabby woven cloth did not have the same draping qualities as twill weaves and these factors seem to have given scope for tailors to develop garment styles using more gores combined with more complicated cutting and stitching. The tailoring of the garment compensated for the loss in the draping qualities characteristic of twills.

Such garments fitted the body more closely than the clothes with long loose folds of the 12th and 13th centuries, which meant that openings became necessary to enable the wearer to put on the garment. Tightly fitted sleeves were buttoned at the cuff, using more buttons than were necessary to achieve a decorative effect. Fragments from sleeves and edges of garments with small cloth buttons are known from Baynard's Castle in London, dating from the 14th century. One of the pieces had at least 42 cloth buttons in a length measuring 315mm (Crowfoot et al 1992, 168–72, No 216).

Complete garments are extremely rare in the archaeological record, although a considerable number are known from Herjolfsnæs, a Norse site in Greenland. Excavation of 110–120 relatively intact burials yielded evidence for interment of the dead in wooden coffins or, presumably when wood was in scarce supply, wrapped in shrouds consisting of garments (Østergård 1982, 271; 2009, 23–4). Under the direction of Poul Nørlund in 1921, about 23 tunics or robes, 16 hoods, four hats/caps and four single stockings were recovered in a more or less complete condition (Østergård 2009, 26). One main garment type was worn by both women and men; it had shoulder seams and was slipped over the head. A long slit was cut into the back and front of the tunic, into which one or two gores were inserted. One, two or four gores were also set into the side seams. These lateral gores extended from the hem right up to the armhole, but the front and back gores reached only to the level of the waist (Hald 1980, 340 and Figure 408). At the level of the waist, the gores were narrow but they increased in width at the level of the hips down to the hem. The overall effect was of a wide, flaring skirt flowing from a narrower bodice, without the need for seaming at the waist. One tunic measured more than four metres at the hem (Østergård 1982, 272; 2009, 168). A comparable use of gores occurred in a tunic from Moselund, Denmark, but the central slit cut to accommodate the gores in the front and back seams was left open up to waist level (Hald 1980, Fig 409).

The cut of these garments had something in common with the new styles found in other European countries, but the Greenland and Moselund tunics were made from twill fabrics, not broadcloth. Another distinctive characteristic is that the same basic garment type was worn by women and men. The Norse inhabitants of Herjolfsnæs wore hoods with liripipes, as did the French in the 14th century (Wahlgren 1986, Figs 93–101; Østergård 2009, 203–18), but iconographic evidence demonstrates that a high degree of gender differentiation in clothing was taking place in France and England, especially among young people. Nothing could be further removed from the mid-calf length, wide skirted tunics worn by Norse men than the short and tightly fitted *pourpoint* of Charles de Blois (d 1364), with padded bust, seamed waistline and buttoned front (Piponnier 1989, Fig 1).

Although the High Street textiles are fragmentary, they demonstrate the importance of twill weaves for clothing people. Luxury broadcloth was beyond the reach of many, but the continued use of twill weaves would not have prevented tailors and seamstresses from adapting the cut of the garments to the cloth available to their clients. The colouring of the clothing would have been fairly homogeneous and largely restricted to the natural browns of undyed wool. Variations between different garments would have been largely based on the choice of twill employed (2/2 or 2/1), or whether the surface was napped or not. Hence characteristics such as the 2/2 diamond twill of Cat No 18/A12340a, woven in smooth and lustrous yarn, would have contrasted

greatly with Cat No 22/A12340e, a 2/1 twill with a napped and mottled surface achieved by interspersing three natural brown colours in what was probably the weft.

The dress of the elite

The double effigy of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith and his countess, Mary, at Inchmahome Priory on an island in the Lake of Menteith (Illus 86) provides a glimpse of the dress standards probably adopted by the wealthier inhabitants of 13th-century Perth. Walter is said to have died in c1295 (Fawcett 1986, 22), although the effigy may have been prepared before that date. Mary wears a long tunic and super-tunic which trail along the ground. The upper garment is slit at the sides and has deep, dolman-like sleeves, which were popular in the 13th century. Round her waist she wears a narrow belt or girdle. A long cloak is attached by a cord across her chest, and she holds the lowermost corner in her right hand.



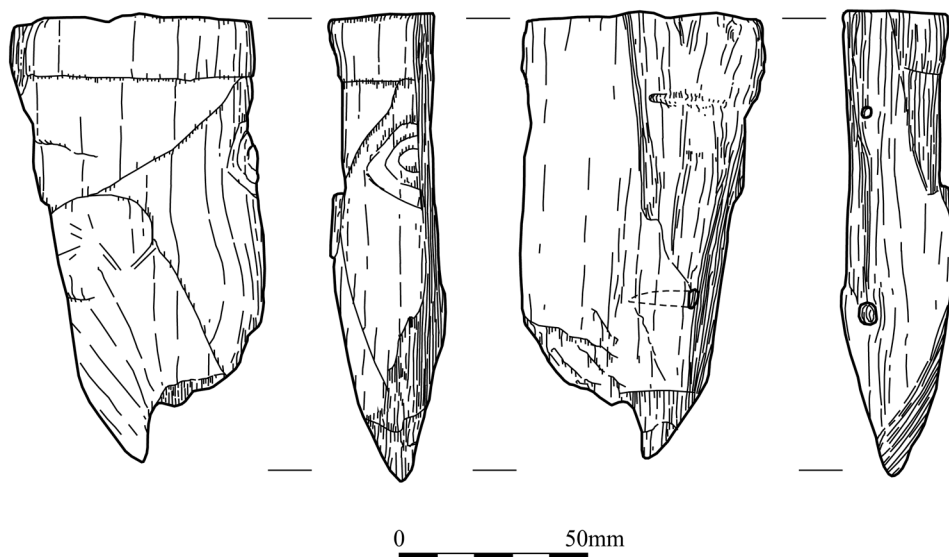
Illus 86 Effigies of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith and his countess, Mary.

Her veil is held in place by a fillet or band, which passes round the head. An alternative form of headgear dating from the late 12th to 14th centuries involved the use of a barbette and fillet, as depicted on an otherwise weathered effigy in the parish church of Bourtie, Aberdeenshire (Brydall 1895, Figure 4). Possible evidence for a similar arrangement is visible on a fragmentary wooden carving from the High Street (see Fascicule 2, The wood, Cat No 650/A11092), although it is not clear whether the lower item is a barbette partially obscured by a veil, or whether it is the corner of a wimple, covering the ear of the wearer (Illus 87–9).

The Earl of Menteith is attired in a super-tunic, which presumably covers a tunic of chain mail. Like that of the countess, it is split at the sides, but it is much shorter, reaching only to the knee. The details of the sleeves are not clear, because his left arm is covered by a long shield, and his right arm lies underneath the countess. In addition to a belt at his waist, he wears

another belt diagonally across the hips. This would presumably have held his sword in place, but it is now missing. In symmetry with the countess, he wears a cloak, the lower left hand corner of which is brought across his left hip; although longer than his super-tunic, it is shorter than that of his wife. Evidently Scottish nobles kept abreast of Continental fashions. During the 13th century in France the *surcot* (the super-tunic), as worn over the *haubert* or hauberk, became shorter with the introduction of hose and shoes of mail. At the end of the first quarter of the 13th century, the *surcot* was approximately mid-calf length, and it had shortened to just below the knee by the middle of the century (Evans 1952, 12 and Plate 9).

Effigies of Scottish knights dating from the 13th and early 14th centuries, like the Earl of Menteith, display belts worn around the waist or hips. According to Brydall (1895, 336), the belt was an integral part of knightly attire, it was ‘worn upon all occasions, in the hall, at the banquet-table, and on the field of battle’ and was ‘often exceedingly rich’.



Illus 87 Carved wooden head from Perth High Street. Wood Cat No 650/A11092 (Scale 1:2).



Illus 88 Adapted from MS 2397 Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.



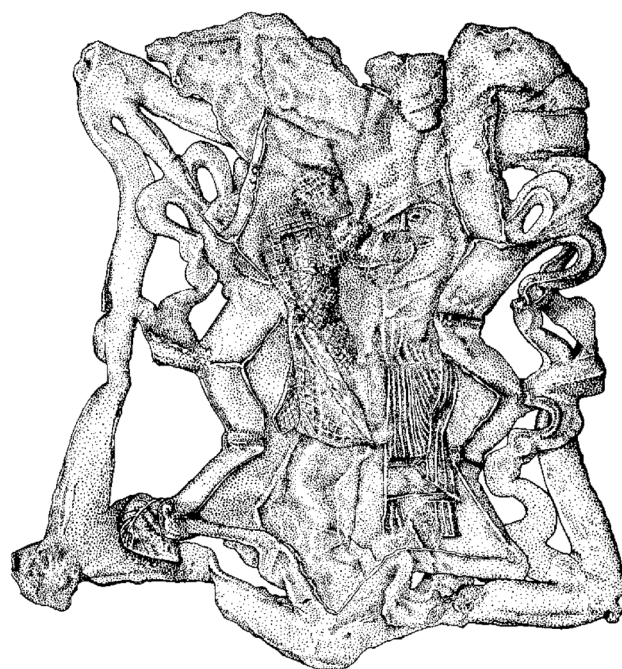
Illus 89 After Strutt BM (now British Library), Ms Sloane 3983 (in Cunnington and Cunnington 1952).

Military garb

Late in the 12th century, a pilgrim seems to have returned to Perth from Canterbury with an ampulla, possibly wearing it, as described by Brian Spencer (1975, 245), suspended from a cord round the neck and prominently displayed on the wearer's chest. It was eventually discarded in a midden in the first half of the 13th century (see Fascicule 2, The metalwork, Devotional objects, Cat No 1/A9264). The reverse depicts the martyrdom of Thomas Becket with one of the assassins wearing a knee-length hauberk and scabbard at his right side (Illus 90). Cross-hatched lines are used to represent the texture of the chain mail and, from the absence of these lines on his legs, it would seem that he wore cloth hose. He also lacks the super-tunic seen on 13th-century depictions of knights, including the Menteith effigy. His head is protected by a helmet.

As an idealised depiction of a Norman knight dressed for combat, it probably represented an earlier standard of garb. In France, high status men wore the hauberk until the mid-12th century, after which it became more widespread (Evans 1952, 3–4). Hooded, to protect the neck, its sleeves sometimes also had pocket-like ends to cover the hands. The 11th-century form of conical helmet with nose-flap continued in use, with the addition of an added flap of fringed leather over the nape of the neck and two or four bands of metal to strengthen the crown. Early in the 13th century, the closed helm was adopted, with rounded top and an angular front provided with eye slits and breathing holes (Illus 75). By the 14th century, it had become flattened, slightly conical in shape, and it was lengthened by overlapping bands of metal at the neck (*ibid*, 12). With the adoption of the closed helm, the identity of the wearer was obscured and heraldic devices were applied to the super-tunic (*ibid*, 12). Following the Eighth Crusade, towards the end of the 13th century, rectangular metal plates were introduced to shield the shoulders, and this protective coating was made progressively more elaborate with the addition of leather or plates of steel (*ibid*, 13). However, surviving effigies of knights in Scotland indicate that certain standard fittings were either rare (such as *mamelières*, placed over the pectorals on a 15th century effigy) or absent, for instance thigh-pieces termed *tuilles* (Brydall 1895, 336).

Copper alloy and pewter links from chain mail occur on archaeological sites (for example at Threave Castle, Kirkcudbrightshire; Caldwell 1981, 107–11). From the High Street, chain mail (see Fascicule 2, The metalwork, Iron Cat No 708/A04–0555a) and spurs, including a gilded example (Cat No 703/A04–0551), were recovered from deposits associated with the second phase of Building 18, an impressively sized hall (see Fascicule 1, 172–8). These finds come from deposits dated to the second half of the 13th century, from a level prior to the English occupation of Perth at the end of the century. Gilded spurs were only used



Illus 90 *The assassination of St Thomas Becket. Ampulla from Perth High Street. Devotional Cat No 1/A9264.*

by knights during this period, confirming the high status of some of the finds from this archaeological context (see Fascicule 2, The metalwork). One might wonder why military gear was encountered in a burgess's house. From a documentary source dated 1296, however, it is known that the Earl of Warenne remitted a charge in which 'master Thomas the doctor' accused Thomas Brun of stealing 'a coat of mail, value 20s., [and] a tabard, value half a mark' from his house in Perth. In this case 'a little sack with boxes of ointment' had a far greater monetary value than the coat of mail and tabard (the sack and its contents were stated to be worth 100s.) and, in the absence of the plaintiff, the case was dismissed (CDS, ii, 191). In the light of the present discussion, one should note the combination of the hauberk and the tabard, or super tunic.

It is likely, however, that not all men drafted into military service owned complete military garb. The chronicler Jean Froissart, who was born at Valenciennes c1337, described knights and squires wearing armour and being mounted on rounseys and coursers during a Scottish invasion of Northumberland in 1327. He explained that the greater number of Scots 'commoners', whom he seems to have admired for their military prowess, were 'armed each in his own fashion' and riding small ponies (Froissart 1979, 47).

Even if the chain mail found at Perth was worn by a knight, its use was not the prerogative of the Normans alone. There was a long tradition for its use in Celtic regions, dating back to the Iron Age. Effigy slabs in the West Highlands frequently depict warriors in a quilted or padded tunic, known as the *aketon*, and a cape of chain mail with a *bascinet* on the head (Brydall 1895,

Fig 2; Dunbar 1989, 169). In 1521, the historian John Major mentioned that Scots covered 'the whole body with a coat of mail, made of iron rings' (cited in Dunbar 1989, 23). However, he added that 'common folk among the Wild Scots' donned a patched linen garment daubed with pitch, over which they wore an overcoat of deerskin. There was a long tradition for distinguishing Highland Scots because, from a Norman perspective, their battle-dress differed radically from Norman ideals. Major used the epithet 'Wild Scots' in reference to Gaelic speakers and the next section examines what evidence there is for the expression of ethnic diversity in dress in Perth.

Clothing and ethnic identity in Perth

The identities of Gaelic speakers

The discussion thus far has considered the Perth finds in the light of the Normanisation of Scotland and in reference to trading contacts with areas such as the Baltic, the Low Countries and Artois. Despite the complimentary terms with which Froissart regarded Scottish military achievements, foreign authors of literary sources from at least the 12th century tended to make a strong distinction between themselves and the Scots, about whom they wrote in pejorative terms on the basis of different standards of dress. A disparaging speech (cited in Anderson 1908, 197) was attributed to the Norman Walter Espec by Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx (d 1166):

Who then would not laugh, rather than fear, when to fight against such men runs the worthless Scot with half-bare buttocks? . . . now (the Scots) challenge to war their conquerors, their masters; they oppose their naked hide to our lances, our swords and our arrows, using calf-skin for a shield, inspired by irrational contempt of death rather than by strength.

In a similar vein, Henry of Huntingdon (d c1155) put the following words into the mouth of Ralph Nowel, Bishop of Orkney: 'Why do we hesitate then to advance against unarmed and naked men?' (ibid, 197–8 n 6). A more specific reference was made by Ralph de Diceto to the army which William I (the Lion) raised in 1173, when he characterised the men as 'an endless host of Galwegians ... men agile, unclothed, remarkable for much baldness' (ibid, 247). Difference in dress standards focusing on the perceived 'nakedness' of the Scots soldiers is highlighted by these Norman chroniclers in connection with military activities. For the Normans, military prowess was given visual expression in the chain mail, helm, tabard, belts and other accoutrements necessary for making war; their masculinity was marked by their military dress. These material items provided them with the necessary means for social domination and for assuming the rights and privileges of overlordship. Geoffrey Barrow (1973, Chapter 10) demonstrated how Scottish monarchs

granted lands to individual subjects in a system of military feudal tenure with knight service. This process became more sustained during the second half of the 12th century in Gaelic-speaking areas beyond the Forth and Tay (ibid, 284–5). The brothers who were kings in succession, Malcolm IV (the Maiden) and William I (the Lion), received the military service of companies of trained knights in a social climate paralleled in other countries, such as France, Flanders, Brittany and England. According to Barrow (ibid, 286), it was more practicable to grant enfeoffments of land to people than to pay wages to professional soldiers.

Participation in the Crusades brought Scots soldiers to the attention of writers abroad. The authors of contemporary 12th-century accounts recognised a '*Scotorum more*' or a particularly Scottish custom in dress style in the bare-legged soldiers who passed through their countries. In a history of the first crusade written before 1112, Guibert de Nogent provided sketches of the groups of men who travelled through France on their way to the Holy Land. He characterised the Scots as being 'bare-legged, with their shaggy cloaks' (Duncan 1950, 211). A pilgrim to Compostela in Spain compared the Navarrese to the Scots, saying that the former 'wear dark clothes, short, to the knees only, in the manner of the Scots' (Galbreath 1949, 198). The pilgrim token from Rig VII at High Street might have held special significance for the Gaelic-speaking community (see Fascicule 2, The metalwork, Devotional objects, Cat No 6/A04–0505) because it shows the crucified figure of St Andrew wearing a short tunic, belted and with a fringe or band at the hem (Illus 91). It had a ring at each corner, although only one now survives, for stitching to the wearer's hat, which Spencer (1975, 244–5) says was the normal place for displaying the evidence of having gone on a pilgrimage after the 13th century. However, the dress of the saint is different from that



Illus 91 Pilgrim token of St Andrew.
Devotional Cat 6/A04–0505.

delineated on a stone mould found in North Berwick, where he wears a long tunic (Richardson 1907, 431).

It is not clear whether outsiders were able to distinguish the Scots from the Irish (Duncan 1950, 211). Irish men also went abroad without leggings. The small, stylised figures attached to the 12th-century Lemanaghan shrine, illustrated by Henry (1970, Plates 44 and 45), wear knee-length garments and are bare-footed. Although produced in the same century as the Lewis chess pieces, it depicts different garment types. There is, however, a curious point of correspondence shared by the Lewis kings and the Lemanaghan figures in the elaborate styling of the hair and beards. In addition, the long tunic sleeves of the shrine figures fall in corrugated folds round the wrists and arms, like the cuffs of the Lewis queens. These characteristic folds also appear at the wrists of a man and woman, probably representing Christ and Ecclesia, on a stone baptismal font in Tryde church, Sweden (Zarnecki 1971, Plate 130). The stylisation at work here did not prevent artists from expressing regional differences in dress that provoked commentators to draw ethnic distinctions.

The shaggy mantle (presumably worn above a short undergarment by the Scots travellers whom Guibert de Nogent saw) had a long history. Fragments of textiles with a pile imitating sheepskin are known from several archaeological sites of the Migration, Viking and medieval periods in north-west Europe (Hedges 1982, 114). An example of a fragment of a tabby with a pile made by inserting sections of yarn is known from Kildonan, Isle of Eigg (Henshall 1952, 15). Elsewhere other examples with a ground weave of tabby, 2/2 diamond twill or 2/1 twill and a pile that was either spun or left unspun have been reported from Cronk Moar, Isle of Man (Bersu and Wilson 1966, 80–3), from sites in York (Hedges 1982, 122; Walton 1989, 434 and 442), from Heynes, Iceland (Guðjónsson 1962) and from Lund, Sweden (Lindström 1982, 182).

An untailored garment, the shaggy mantle was wrapped round the body of the wearer. On an eighth-century Pictish stone at Hilton of Cadboll, a high status horsewoman riding side saddle is depicted wearing a capacious mantle gathered in folds round her body, pinned at the chest by a pennanular brooch (Allen 1903, Figure 59). This form of dress is in contrast with the high status tunics and flowing garments of men on Pictish stones with their iconographic references to classical garments and Sassanian imagery, inspired by textiles and metalwork (Henderson 1998, 134–40). In Ireland, a shaggy cloak was associated with the miracles of St Brigit. A large part of what is called the ‘mantle of St Brigit’, mentioned in an inventory dated 1347, survives in the treasury of St Salvator’s Cathedral, Bruges (McClintock 1936; Dransart 2007, 176–7).

Amongst the surviving Perth textiles, Cat No 84/A12553d is unusual for its light shaggy surface. It has an unusual selvedge, which is likely to have been a starting edge for weaving on a vertical loom (Illus 15). Deposited in the mid-12th century in a backland courtyard, this textile possibly indicates a dress standard

associated with a rural inhabitant, who might have been a Gaelic-speaker, the language being current in the area of Perth during the 12th and 13th centuries. A distortion in the threads of the weave suggests that it was once pinned, perhaps by a brooch or a bone pin to keep the cloth in place on the wearer.

On the basis of literary and iconographic evidence, it is evident that shaggy mantles were worn by people in different stations of life and that, increasingly, outsiders saw them as indicating a Gaelic-speaking ethnic identity. It has been suggested that a drawing made by Albrecht Dürer in 1521 of soldiers (one of whom wears a shaggy mantle), often understood to be Irish, were perhaps galloglasses, or Hebridean mercenaries participating in an Irish war party (Dunbar 1989, 26). Fragments, with a spun pile and dyed with kermes, have been excavated from a 16th-century context at Drogheda, Ireland (Heckett 1992, 158–9), the dyesource indicating that the owner would have been a person of rank. It may also be suggested that ‘Ane hieland mantill of black freis pasmentit with gold and lynit with blak taffetie’ recorded in an inventory dated 1578 of items in Edinburgh Castle belonging to James VI and Mary Queen of Scots was a high status garment (Dunbar 1989, 24–5).

Yet the poet Spenser vilified the ‘Irish’ mantle as ‘a fitt house for an outlaw, a meete bedd for a rebell, and an apt cloke for a theif’ (cited in Carus-Wilson 1954, 26). Paradoxically, such mantles proved to be a popular export item to England, via the port of Bristol, in the 15th century. As Carus-Wilson (*ibid.*, 26) comments, these ‘capacious’ mantles ‘could serve as garment, bed, or even tent when necessary’.

Drawings of a man and a woman wearing shaggy mantles were included in a compendium entitled *Recueil de la Diversité des Habits* and published in Paris in 1562. However there are differences in the manner in which they are treated – the portrayal of the woman is far more pejorative in its associations than that of the captain, who wears a stylised rendition of a fringed shaggy cloak (Illus 92). In contrast, the woman is wrapped in a large skin cloak, with the hair or fleece inside, and wears skin shoes (Dunbar 1989, 27). The captions to these illustrations, ‘the wild woman of Scotland’ and ‘the wild captain’, demonstrate that such dress was no longer seen as civilised, a point stressed by Heckett (1992, 162). Although these drawings appear to be fanciful, the personages they depicted reappeared in the margin of Speed’s 1610 map of Ireland (*ibid.*, 165). The woman and man are shown as one of the three types of couples representing different social classes within Irish society. It is important to note that on Speed’s map, the women and men are depicted clearly wearing typically European clothing, according to their respective ranks, but the shaggy mantle, as an ethnic marker, is the outermost garment (Dransart 2007, 162).

References to the shaggy mantle continued late into the 17th century (*ibid.*, 178). New standards of dress, however, were already emerging from the 16th century onwards that distinguished Scottish and Irish speakers



Illus 92 'La sauvaige d'Écosse' ('wild woman of Scotland') and 'Le capitaine sauvage' ('wild captain'). Fanciful depictions of a Scots woman and man from *Recueil de la diversité des habits* (1562). (By courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Tours, Rés 3540, Fonds Marcel)

of Gaelic. In Ireland, the increasing availability of linen was used by women in headgear consisting of great rolls of cloth. Men donned thickly folded shirts with 30 or more yards of material in a saffron colour (Carus-Wilson 1954, 25). During the reign of Henry VIII, the English attempted to suppress this expression of ethnic identity by forbidding the use of saffron dye and by setting an upper limit of seven yards per shirt (Heckett 1992, 163). Their attempts met with little success. Meanwhile, in Scotland men were already beginning to adopt the belted plaid which, in time, became the kilt (Dunbar 1989, 29–30).

Sumptuary laws

In addition to the dress codes instituted by the authorities of different religions, sumptuary laws were enacted in various European states in relation to dress standards and feasting. Such legislation was aimed at regulating extravagant clothing and jewellery, and over-indulgence in the consumption of food (Marcus 1975, 193; Shaw 1979, 81). It has been interpreted as ostensibly serving to protect poor people from unnecessary expenditure, but it also maintained social distinctions (Amt 1993, 74).

The earliest surviving sumptuary law in Scotland is dated March 1430 (Shaw 1979, 81). It outlines the standards of dress allowed to members of broad social classes. No restrictions were specified for men classified as knight or lord with an annual income of

at least 200 merks and their heirs. Persons of lesser rank were not allowed to wear clothes of silk or certain furs, nor were embroidery of pearls or precious metal permissible. Other items, such as belts, brooches and chains were allowed. From the High Street, there is ample evidence for such items, including decorated buckles, round brooches and copper pins, as well as plain ring-brooches (see Fascicule 2, The metalwork). Moulds used in casting indicate that brooches were made in the burgh (see Fascicule 4, The stone objects, 135–7). The richer furs were denied to burgesses, apart from aldermen (that is, provosts), bailies and members of the town council. Among rural dwellers, yeomen and commoners were not to wear 'hewyt' (coloured) clothing below knee length, nor were 'ragyt' garments allowed (probably referring to slashed items of dress). According to the terms of the act, wives were to wear clothing appropriate to the status of their husbands. The restrictions on the wives and servants of commoners were treated in greatest detail; they were not to wear long trains, long-necked hoods, full sleeves or expensive kerchiefs. This legislation sought to control the colour, trimming and yardage used in the clothing of commoners (Shaw 1979, 82; online Records of the Parliaments of Scotland [RPS] at www.rps.ac.uk, legislation 1430/12–14).

Subsequent sumptuary laws passed in Scotland were more explicitly worded and they also maintained differential standards on the basis of social standing (Shaw 1979, 83). Implied rather than explicitly stated

in this legislation is that, in a marriage between two persons of different status, the wife had to adopt the dress worn by women in her husband's social category. In other words, there was no social encouragement for a woman to marry below her status (hypogamy) or above it (hypergamy). It is not known whether the circumstances which prompted these 15th-century laws were similar to those of previous centuries, although it may be noted that double effigies present spouses dressed as social equals (Illus 86).

It is unclear when the practice began of wealthy patrons giving their worn clothes to their servants for recycling. It presumably predated the act of 1581, which permitted servants to receive used garments from their employers. The same act also allowed women of all classes to wear previously restricted headdresses (Shaw 1979, 84; RPS, legislation 1581/10/37). The 16th-century context of this act may well not apply to Perth of the 12th to 14th centuries, but the presence of the neatly cut silk tabbies (Cat Nos 343/A09-0046 and 344/A09-0047a) does suggest that high status fabric was recycled in the burgh, perhaps from headdresses, as suggested above (see Tabby weaves of silk, above).

Because sumptuary legislation was frequently re-enacted in different countries, people must repeatedly have flouted the law. Shaw (1979, 81) pointed out that Scottish parliamentary records are fragmentary up to 1466 and it is possible that earlier legislation existed. A particularly detailed law from Venice, dated 1299, has survived (Amt 1993, 74). It stipulated the numbers of women who might accompany a bride at her wedding and restricted the number of new dresses to four in her trousseau. There was a strict prohibition on the use of pearls (ibid, 75):

6. Item, that henceforth no man or woman or lady may wear borders of pearls, under penalty of 20 *soldi di grossi*, except that brides, if they wish, may have borders of pearls on their wedding dress a single time, and similarly one headpiece of pearls; and they may not place the aforesaid borders on any gown other than the wedding gown. And the aforesaid borders, which are placed on the wedding dress and cloak, may not be worth more than 20 *soldi di grossi* altogether, under the aforesaid penalty.

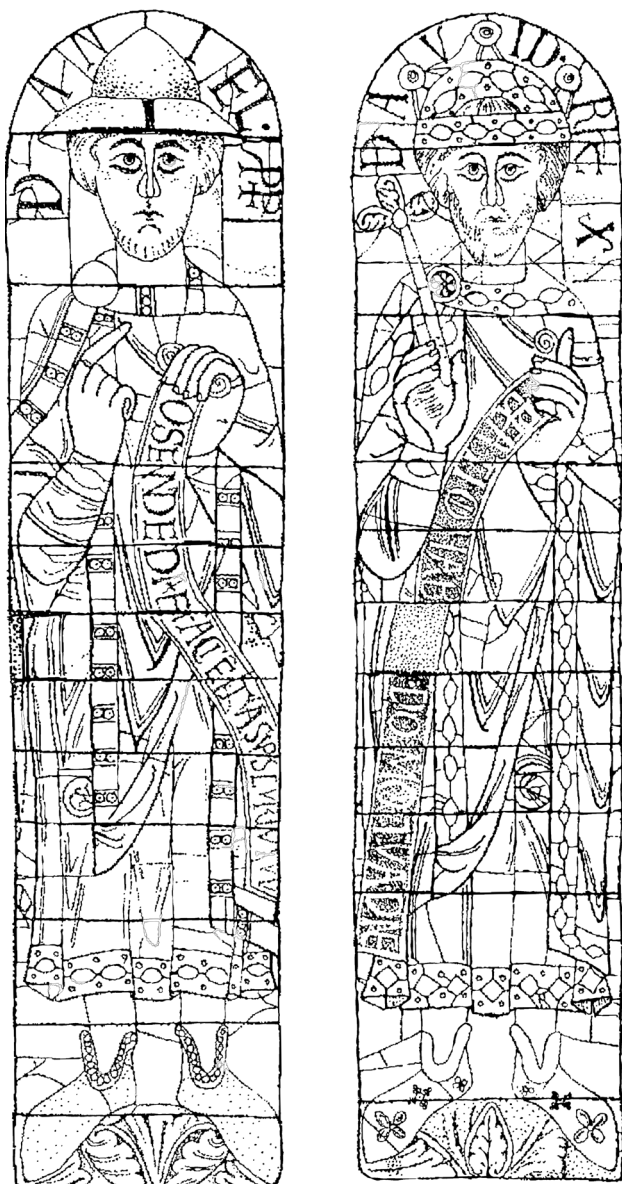
7. And that no person may wear an embroidered border beyond the value of five *lire de piccoli*; and no person may place any embroidered border on a cloak or on fur. Strings of pearls for the hair are totally forbidden and prohibited, so that no woman or lady may wear them henceforth, under penalty of 100 *soldi* for each time she is found contravening this law. And also she may not have more than one row of gold or amber buttons worth more than 10 *soldi di grossi*, under the aforesaid penalty of 100 *soldi*, nor any hair ornament of pearls worth more than 100 *soldi*, under the aforesaid penalty.

This stringent legislation made exemption only for ladies visiting the court, when travelling to or returning from the palace itself. Seed pearls were used in the medieval period in embroideries to embellish both religious and secular dress. They were combined with larger pearls or other costly items, as in an embroidered cuff on a deep purple silk dalmatic with the insignia of the Holy Roman Empire, dated 1130–1140, from the royal workshops of Roger II, King of Sicily, in Palermo (Staniland 1991, Fig 53). Scotland was a source for large pearls, which were exported to England and probably further afield. Commercial pearl fishing survived into the 20th century in the vicinity of Perth (Woodward 1994, 82–6). No pearls were recovered during the excavation, but bivalves of the pearl mussel were recovered (see Fascicule 4, The mollusca, 61). It would not be surprising if pearls were employed in the costliest of garments worn during the 12th and 13th centuries in Perth, perhaps in the form of a border like the hem of one of the Lewis kings (Illus 80). It should be remembered that in the sumptuary law of 1430, pearls were not permitted for people below the class of knights or lords (RPS, legislation 1430/12).

Although the use of buttons goes back to at least the Bronze Age in Europe, cloth buttons are normally dated from the 14th century onwards. During the 13th century, metal buttons or brooches served instead (Crowfoot et al 1992, 168). One gold- and three copper alloy-covered buttons from High Street are circular in shape (see Fascicule 2, The metalwork, non-ferrous Cat Nos 67–70). In Cat No 68/A8070, with a diameter of 28mm, gold covers a lead base pierced to hold a now missing wire loop. It and two of the other buttons have rouletted or repoussé decoration (Cat Nos 69/A9286a and 67/A10757). Of interest is the design of the gold button, an eight-petalled flower, which resembles the seven-petalled motif on the brooch worn at the right shoulder of King David as depicted in stained glass at Augsburg Cathedral, c1135 (Illus 93). It is possible that this button was used on the type of cloak described above as worn by the Lewis chess kings and Malcolm IV on the Kelso charter.

The occurrence of gold and alloy buttons, silk hair-coverings and silk tablet woven braids bears witness to the wealth of some of the inhabitants of Perth. In particular, the hair-coverings (see Net, above) and the gold button have stylistic links with Germany, and the presence of these luxury items may reflect the trading activities undertaken by the burgesses of Perth and their north European counterparts. The success of these merchants in obtaining such goods may well have prompted the enactment of sumptuary legislation.

At the other end of the social hierarchy, people fastened their clothes with other sorts of devices. A thistle-headed bone pin (see Fascicule 4, The worked bone, 103 and 108 Cat No 9/A7079) provides a decorative example, despite the irregular cut of the head. Perforated pins made from simply worked pig fibulae were also perhaps used as dress pins, with a



Illus 93 *The Prophet Daniel and King David.*
 Stained glass window at Augsburg Cathedral, c1135.
 (After Zarnecki 1971)

yarn threaded through the perforation to secure the pin to the garment. These potentially multi-functional items had been in use down the centuries in north-western Europe (Walton Rogers 1997, 1783). The perforated pig metapodials (see Fascicule 4, *The worked bone*, 104) provide another instance of a necessary dress accessory made with great simplicity. Apart from the perforation, the bone is all but unmodified and, if they were toggles, apparently they were of a highly successful design since they were found in contexts dating from the earliest to the latest periods of the High Street site. Other toggles were fashioned from strips of rolled up leather (The leather, this fascicule).

Saints and prelates

Many of the material remains from the High Street seem to have been left as remnants of artisanal and mercantile activities. The establishment of Canons Regular of St Augustine at Scone by Alexander I, during the second decade of the 12th century (Duncan 1975, 131), would have resulted in a demand for dark cloth suitable for habits. According to Duncan (*ibid*, 470), the canons were given permission by Malcolm IV, who raised the status of the priory to that of an abbey, to retain 'a smith, skinner and tailor' under the same conditions granted to the burgesses of Perth. Malcolm's charter listed three '*ministros*', namely '*vnum fabrum* [smith] *vnum pelliparium* [skinner] *et vnum sutorem* [souter]' [RRS, i, no 243]. Duncan took the sewer [from the Latin *suere*, 'to sew'] to be a tailor rather than a cobbler. Hence it is likely that cloth for the monks' habits was acquired in Perth. Although Augustinians and Benedictines, an order which also flourished in 12th-century Scotland, are usually thought of as wearing black habits, the cloth probably was not dyed but was simply the darkest natural colour available. It is therefore possible that some of the cloth excavated from the High Street site might have been destined for a religious order. Some of the textiles in the lists of 2/2 and 2/1 twills discussed above in the section on loom-woven fabrics would have provided non-ostentatious material for habits, especially those without a nap woven using yarn spun from heavily pigmented fleece.

Another order associated with black habits is that of the Dominicans, who founded a friary in Perth in 1231. They were granted land where the castle had been situated and, after the 1240s, the Dominican Friary became the residence of the Scottish monarchs when they visited Perth (see Fascicule 1, *Historical background*, 7). Later, the Whitefriars (the Carmelites) and the Grey-friars (the Franciscans) established foundations in the environs of Perth during the period considered here, and a Carthusian monastery or Charterhouse was founded.

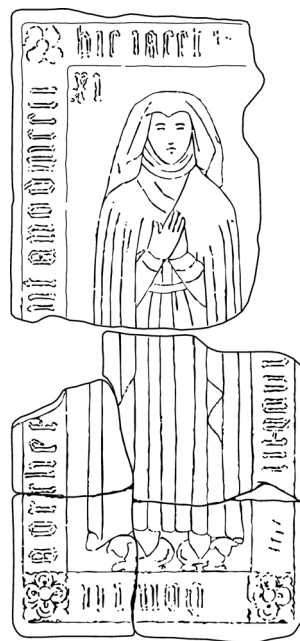
The habits of the medieval orders differed in detail, but they shared in common the principle of simplicity and an avoidance of luxury. Based on medieval dress norms, monastic vestments were subject to a far slower rate of change than lay dress (Evans 1952, 67–8). In the differing standards as to what constituted monastic life, the Augustinian Canons had a less strict monastic discipline than the Benedictines. Writing at the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century, Simeon of Durham looked back to the time, in the days of St Cuthbert, when the monastery of Coldingham, Berwickshire, housed nuns and monks. According to Simeon, the nuns had 'devoted themselves to the sewing of robes of the finest workmanship, in which they either adorned themselves like brides, thereby endangering their own estate of life and profession, or they gave them to men who were strangers, for the purpose thereby securing their friendship' (cited in Amt 1993,

232). This statement equates fine clothing with what was, to Simeon, inappropriate behaviour on the part of the nuns.

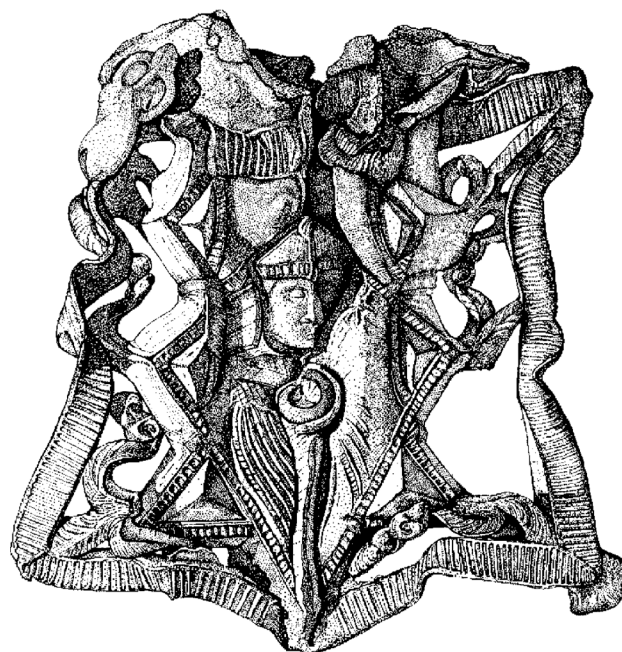
Yet it has to be admitted that priests robed in their vestments were clad in the fine linens and silks denied to other members of the various monastic communities in Christendom; the body of St Cuthbert himself was laid to rest in the most luxurious of silks (Crowfoot 1939; Battiscombe 1956). Simeon alleged that the nuns, who lived long before his time, despised 'the sanctity of their profession' in directing their handiwork to what he considered to be the wrong ends. The reporting of alleged moral misdeeds, rather than acknowledging the good practices of monastic houses, has been noted by Amt (1993, 246). This tendency may explain why the history of Elcho Priory, founded close to Perth sometime before 1247, has been described as 'obscure' (Cowan and Easson 1976, 146). It was a house of Cistercian nuns. An extremely fragmentary grave slab from the Priory, now in Perth Museum, shows the hem of the robes of a nun, presumably a prioress, with a dog at her feet. Dated to the 14th century, it perhaps had a similar format to the more complete slab from Dundrennan Abbey (Illus 94). The Dundrennan slab is thought to represent a noble benefactress, a kinswoman of the Lords of Galloway (Brydall 1895, 367). The monks of Dundrennan belonged to the Cistercian order, but Lincluden Priory, founded by Uchtred, Lord of Galloway before 1174, housed a community of black nuns of the Benedictine Order (Cowan and Easson 1976, 143).

In Scotland, precious silk cloths have been found interred with Archbishop Gavin Dunbar and in an unidentified bishop's tomb at Fortrose, as discussed above (see Twill weaves of silk, above). These remains are fragmentary, and unfortunately the 13th-century mural painting in the choir of Inchcolm Abbey of seven clerics is damaged at the level of the heads and shoulders (Paterson 1950, Plate 7). However, the fine folds of the drapery, outlined in black, red and yellow, are clearly visible. At the hem of each robe, there are panels bearing a lozenge design. The fineness of the drapery is akin to the more schematic depiction of the garments worn by the figures on the admittedly worn High Street ampulla, which presents the Virgin and Child on one side and the Coronation of the Virgin on the other (see Fascicule 2, The metalwork, Devotional objects, Cat No 3/A04–0214). Like the Thomas Becket ampulla, it would have been worn on the chest of the wearer as evidenced by the rings for suspending the cord round the neck, one of which has survived.

The bishops among the Lewis chess pieces (Illus 82) and the depiction (Illus 95) of St Thomas Becket on the ampulla from the High Street (see Fascicule 2, The metalwork, Devotional objects, Cat No 1/A9264) provide a clear idea of how clerics were robed in northern European countries. Priestly garments for celebrating mass derive from antecedents in classical Rome; they achieved a degree of formality still recognisable today from the sixth to ninth centuries AD (Hogarth 1987, 8). When robing, priests first donned an amice,



Illus 94 Effigy slab of a noblewoman at Dundrennan Abbey (after Brydall 1895).



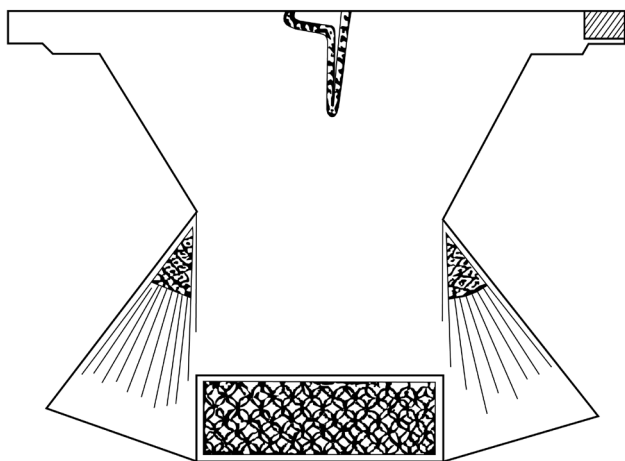
Illus 95 Thomas Becket ampulla. Devotional Cat No 1/A9264.

a rectangular neck-piece with cords crossed over the chest, which were wrapped behind (Evans 1952, 68). They then put on an alb, the basic garment for clerics, a loose tunic usually made of fine linen (Schmedding 1978, no 289). Next they donned a tunic or dalmatic. Both these garments were similar in shape, but the tunic was of a plain fabric, while the dalmatic was often of richly woven or embroidered silk. These two garments were shorter than the alb and were often fringed and slit at the sides. Deacons wore a dalmatic as the outer garment (Evans 1952, Plates 75 and 76) and subdeacons a tunic (Hogarth 1987, 9). A stole was arranged next; bishops placed it round the neck

with each end hanging straight down, priests crossed it over the chest and deacons wore it on the diagonal (Evans 1952, 71). A maniple was placed round the left wrist; originally a *sudarium* (a cloth for wiping the hands), it had now become a decorative feature which usually matched the stole (ibid, 71). Priests, bishops and archbishops wore a chasuble over the dalmatic. It was a large garment derived from the Roman circular outer robe with a hole for the head, one of the names for it being *casula*, meaning 'little house' (Hogarth 1987, 8). The chasuble was often beautifully embroidered with bands known as orphreys, as visible in the rear view on Illus 83. Bishops and archbishops wore a mitre on the head, and archbishops might be further distinguished by the pallium, a circular band worn over the chasuble with long bands hanging down front and back. The nuns of Sant' Agnese in Rome wove these bands using the white wool of dedicated lambs and they were presented to arch-bishops and some abbots of the large monasteries within three months of their consecration (Evans 1952, 74).

The 12th-century St Thomas Beckett ampulla from Perth (Illus 90) depicts the saint wearing a finely pleated alb. It does not have an apparel, that is a panel of embroidery at the front at the level of the hem, nor do the Lewis bishops display such a panel. The apparel is considered to be a 13th-century feature (ibid, 69), and an example is present on the alb in Sens Cathedral, traditionally said to have been worn by St Thomas (Illus 96). Apparels are also depicted on the albs worn by the Inchcolm Abbey clerics.

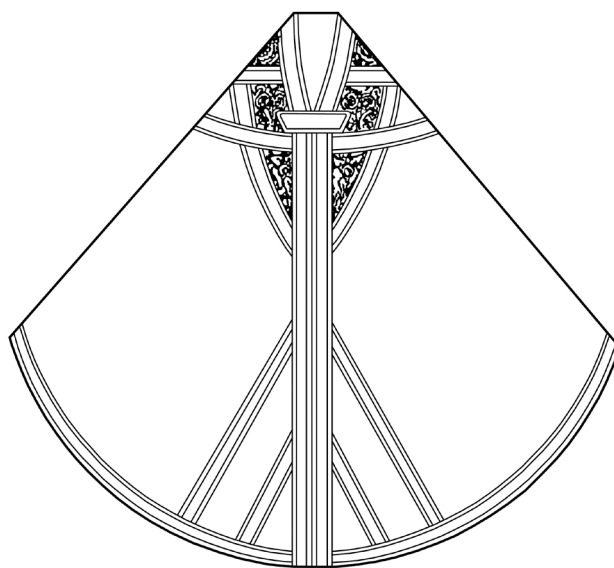
On the other side of the ampulla, Saint Thomas is robed in mass vestments, in which he was buried (Vogt 2010, 125). He is depicted wearing a mitre, amice and chasuble. In the first half of the 12th century mitres were worn with the peaks above each ear, but mid-century they were turned so that the points were placed front and back, as is the custom today. An early example in France of the new style of mitre is dated 1144 (Evans 1952, 76). Both the Lewis bishops and Saint Thomas have mitres with the points at front and behind. The



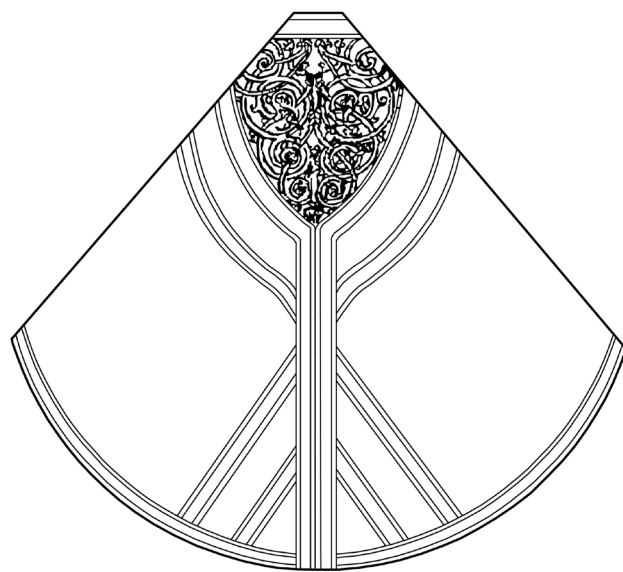
Illus 96 Alb from Sens Cathedral ascribed to St Thomas Becket. (After Evans 1952)

low sides and the shallow angle of the point also indicate a late 12th century date (Vogt 2010, 123). Afterwards, mitres became higher and more pointed. In the Lewis bishops, the amice is a relatively modest affair, but that of St Thomas is quite elaborate and the lozenges probably represent embroidery. According to Evans (1952, 69), collars of stiff embroidery date from 1144 in France.

The image of St Thomas depicts the chasuble in a series of concertina like pleats, an arrangement which has the effect of creating a point at front and back. At Sens, a dark violet silk chasuble in the cathedral treasury traditionally ascribed to Saint Thomas is embellished with gold embroidery (Illus 97, 98). The form of this



Illus 97 Front view of a chasuble from Sens Cathedral ascribed to St Thomas Becket. (After Evans 1952)



Illus 98 Rear view of a chasuble from Sens Cathedral ascribed to St Thomas Becket. (After Evans 1952)

vestment changed considerably over the years from its original circular shape. In its large form, the fabric at the sides was gathered up over the shoulders to free the arms. One of the Lewis bishops (Illus 83; NMA 1892, 375, Number NS 24) has simple, heavy folds over the arms, and the lifted chasuble reveals the dalmatic and alb beneath. An example of a voluminous chasuble arranged in a series of narrow pleats is worn by the figure of St Nicholas on the seal of the medieval burgh of Aberdeen (Laing 1866, Plate XIV.6). Although appended to a document dated 1357, the matrix from which it was impressed dates from the first half of the 12th century on stylistic grounds. More recently, chasubles were cut into a point and now they are shield shaped, front and back, making the garment lighter and less cumbersome.

The robing of priests and their acolytes for mass would have provided the inhabitants of Perth with the sight of costly linen and silk garments that were of a delicacy and vivid colour to which they were not accustomed in their daily lives. From the discussion above of the evidence for the working of silk and linen on the High Street, it is probable that fabrics supplied through Perth were used to make vestments that were in keeping with ecclesiastical standards observed elsewhere in Christendom. The everyday garb of nuns, monks and lay persons differed greatly from that of priests when robed for mass.

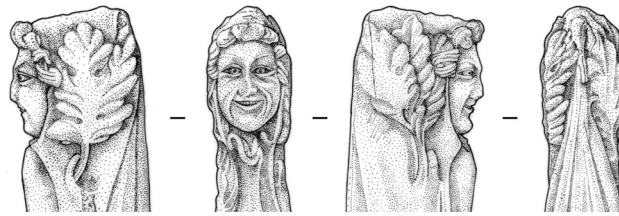
Conclusions

In the previous parts of this section, attention focused on the skills and processes involved in transforming raw fibres, whether of animal protein or plant origin, into finished cloth. Here the material presence of cloth has been examined, especially its draping qualities as worn by people of different ranks, statuses, genders and ethnicities. The chain of procedures studied in this volume demonstrates how medieval people valued different qualities in cloth, depending on the fibres and dyes used to make it and the labour required to bring out the desired characteristics, even though much of it, to modern eyes, seems to be homogeneous in colour. From the beautiful drape of the finest woollen twill weaves, the lustre of silks and the crisp handle of laundered linen, to the luxury of fluffy, napped broadcloths, Perth's inhabitants would have had an eye for such characterful fabrics even though their own garments may have been of a humbler sort. The draping qualities of the twills that enhanced the dignity of the wearer and, in the later phases of the medieval burgh, the broadcloths that provided tailors and seamstresses with scope to cut and shape garments, thereby enhancing the gender characteristics of the human form, give a tangible insight into the dress worn by the people. This study of the European-wide interconnectedness of cloth production and trade from

the herding of local sheep on the hills surrounding Perth, the tending of silk worms in Mediterranean countries and the cultivation of bast fibres in various places, the processing of all these fibres, to the making of finished garments and their subsequent recycling, demonstrates the time-consuming skills that contributed to the value with which cloth was held.

The socio-technological thread explored here was one that was sometimes frayed as communities sought to maintain their trading privileges and, on a wider political level, when they were caught up in processes of Normanisation. In seeking to understand how people clothed themselves in medieval Perth, this study has emphasised the diversity of dress and group identities. However, our conceptual views should allow for a certain degree of contrariness as far as dress is concerned. Paradoxically, some members of the 13th- and 14th-century church were among the staunchest supporters of Scotland's independence, although in office they donned the standardised vestments of western Christendom. A telling expression of the desire of the clergy for both an independent Scotland and an independent Scottish Church can be seen in the actions of Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow in 1306. Instead of excommunicating Robert I (the Bruce) for his part in the assassination of John Comyn, he produced from his episcopal store rich robes for a new king, and a banner with the arms of the previous king, 'which the indefatigable old man had been carefully hiding in his treasury for precisely this purpose and moment' (Barrow 1988, 149). In this case ceremonial garment forms were deployed in strategies that enhanced the activities of church and state.

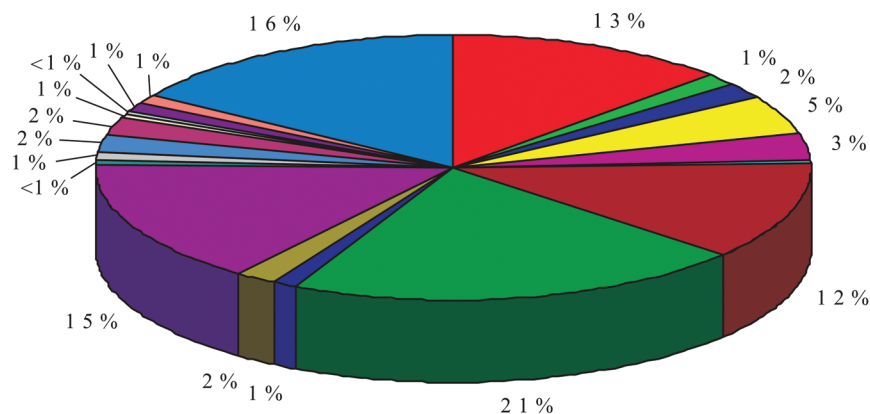
Amongst the finds from the High Street a striking image of a cloaked figure prefigured a type of decoration that was to characterise 14th- and 15th-century dress throughout Europe. An anthropomorphic carved ivory handle (see Fascicule 4, Hall, 102–3 and 113 Illus 52, Cat No 45/A11–0013; Illus 99) wears a hooded garment with leaves resembling ornamental shapes known as dagges. These ornamental cut-outs, first used in the 13th century, were of cloth and they were used in the edging of garments such as capes and hoods. The fulled tabby cloth that was becoming increasingly available during the 14th century was suitable for cutting into such complex shapes. Edges were left unhemmed, since they would not fray easily (indeed one might note that fashion designers reintroduced such cut edges at the edges of garments in the first decade of the 21st century). Examples of an oak leaf dagge and long pendant leaf are known from Baynard's Castle in London (Crowfoot et al 1992, 194 and 198, Cat Nos 70 and 253). That the Perth knife handle looks to the future in Scotland is attested by 15th- and 16th-century carvings such as the angels bearing a monstrosity on the Sacrament House at Deskford, Banffshire (Illus 100), and the sartorial extravagance which was to become typical of those centuries.



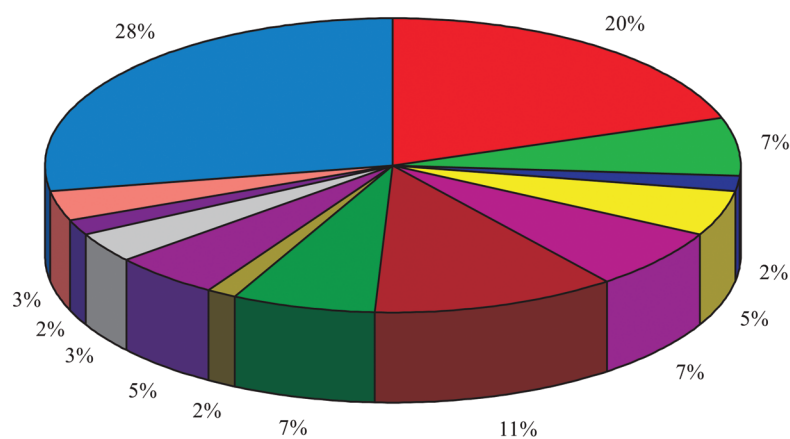
Illus 99 Detail of anthropomorphic walrus ivory handle.
Worked bone Cat No 45/A11-0013.



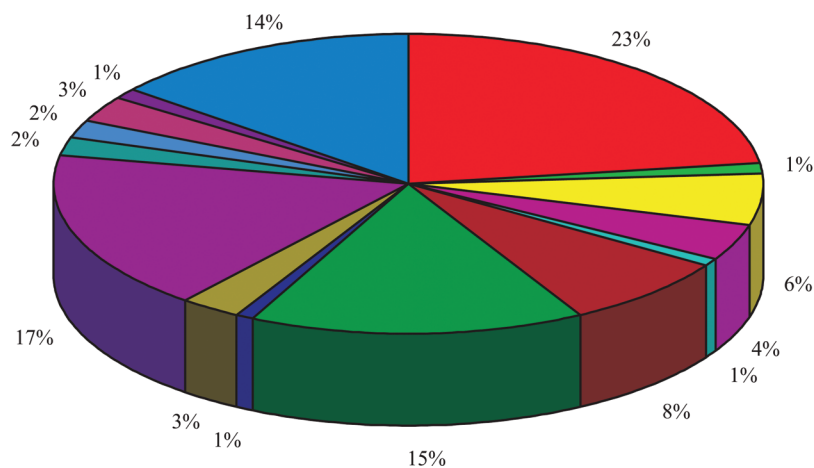
Illus 100 Elegantly clothed angels bearing a monstrance. Deskford Sacrament House, Banffshire, 15th–16th-century carving. (Courtesy Robert Gordon University)



1100-1150



1150-1200



Illus 101 Perth High Street textiles.