

Tudor Life

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THE HABSBURGS AND THE TUDORS

The Rise of the
Habsburgs

Maximilian I -
The Triumphs of a
White King

Medieval Food Myths

PLUS

The Marriage of Mary I
and Philip of Spain

AND MUCH MORE



Places to Visit in Scotland

By Emma Casson & Merel de Klerk



THE BOLEYN OF HEVER CASTLE

OUT
1 AUGUST
2021

OWEN EMMERSON
CLAIRE RIDGWAY

Hever Castle is a picture-postcard fortified manor house nestled in the Kent countryside. It is, of course, famous for its links with the Boleyns, an East Anglian gentry family who rose and fell dramatically at the court of King Henry VIII.

In *The Boleyns of Hever Castle*, historians Owen Emmerson and Claire Ridgway invite you into the home of this notorious family. Travel back in time to those 77 years of Boleyn ownership. Tour each room just as it was when Anne Boleyn retreated from court to escape the advances of Henry VIII or when she fought off the dreaded 'sweat'.

See the 16th century Hever Castle come to life with room reconstructions and read the story of the Boleyns, who, in just five generations, rose from petty crime to a castle, from Hever to the throne of England...



THE HABSBURGS AND THE TUDORS

According to Archduke Eduard, a current member of Austria's former imperial dynasty who now serves as Hungary's ambassador to the Vatican, the family's name can be spelled Habsburg or Hapsburg. While the spelling may be debated, there's no question of how important the "House of Austria" was in the history of world politics and this dynastic colossus really burst into English diplomacy in the Tudor era. Henry VIII's first queen, Katherine of Aragon, was the habsburg Emperor's aunt; Mary I married a habsburg king, while Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots both considered marrying habsburg princes. habsburg politics helped give England Anne of Cleves, briefly, as its queen and I'm delighted to welcome Anne's modern biographer, Heather Darsie, to discuss the rise to prominence of this legendary family. A habsburg state visit to Tudor England forms the inspiration for a chapter in my own forthcoming book, so I was very happy to share some of my research for it in an exclusive for this issue of Tudor Life about how the rose of the Tudors and the eagles of the habsburgs interacted - were they allies or enemies?

FRONT: Portrait of Charles V
ABOVE: Portrait of the Habsburg Family

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

Tudor Life



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THE DRAGON AND THE EAGLE: THE TUDORS' RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG

BY GARETH RUSSELL

The Habsburgs came to power long before the Tudors and held onto it for centuries after the last Tudor had been buried in her grave at Westminster. Dynastically, however, the Tudors' descendants in the House of Windsor still reign over the British Isles, while the Habsburgs lost their Spanish empire in 1700 and their central European territories in 1918. There has been no Habsburg monarch since Emperor Karl's disastrous attempt to regain his Hungarian kingdom in the failed coup of 1921 although, interestingly, his son Crown Prince Otto - the man who might have been emperor had fate played differently - helped found the European Union.

But those are musings of time and space far ahead of the 16th century, a time when the House of Habsburg was framed by anything but ambiguities or hypotheticals. There was a story wrought in certainty, in splendour, and in the hard actualities of power. There is a prevailing view that England at the time was a provincial backwater, a second-rate diplomatic power when compared to France or to the Habsburgs' vast empire. This, however, perhaps tells us more about the prejudices or predilections of those repeating this interpretation, because it bears almost no relation to the reality which was founded on Tudor England's wealth. Put simply, what she lacked in people or square footage, England more than made up for in coin.

Charles V, Habsburg emperor from his grandfather's death in 1519 until his own abdication in 1555-6, visited England twice - on both occasions, in the early 1520s. The young Emperor's visits were ostensibly to finalise anti-French treaties between his monarchy and Henry VIII's, although by the time of his second English trip in the summer of 1522 it is telling that the treaty contained a financial clause whereby the English king would lend his Habsburg nephew vast sums of money. This was partly achieved thanks to the lobbying of Charles V's aunt, Katherine of Aragon,

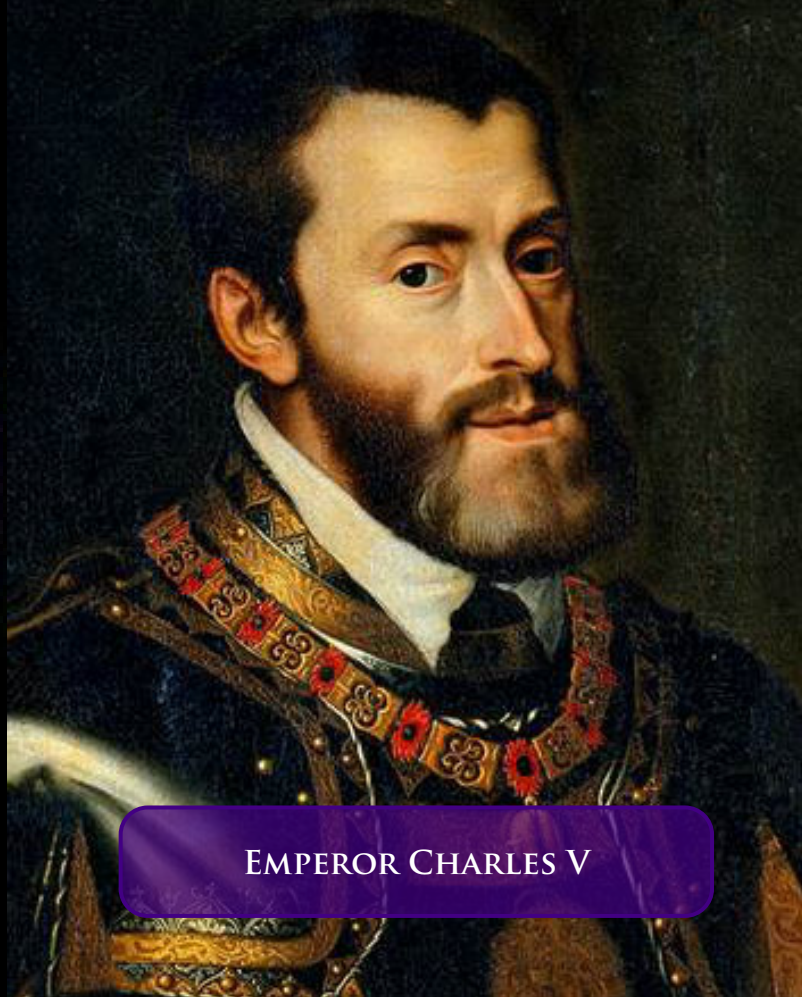
and it was necessary because of the haemorrhaging finances of the Habsburg empire.

Put simply, by 1522, their empire was too big, by a long shot - a sprawling inchoate conglomeration that was never intended to co-exist with a shared monarch. It was an accidental empire, created by a series of dynastic improbabilities that saw it all tumble at the feet (or, more accurately, onto the shoulders) of Charles V. His father's premature death, his mother's mental breakdown, the fusing of the Netherlands with the Austrian patrimony through his grandparents' marriage, the unification of Spain by his other set of grandparents, and the death of their childless son conspired to leave Charles as ruler of an empire that stretched from the ruins of the Aztec to the peak of the Alps. From America to Austria sounded glorious, as future generations of the Habsburgs would endlessly stress in their art and historiographies, but given how slow contemporary travel was, trying to rule them all while respecting their contrasting - and often conflicting - constitutions was a nightmare that eventually drove Charles V to the edge of a nervous breakdown after, at least twice, kicking him into the dark misery of depression. The 1522 loan from England was necessary to stabilise the Habsburgs' finances after the eye-watering cost of safeguarding their German supporters from French interference not long before much of Spain rose in rebellion against their Emperor or, as Charles V was there, King Carlos I.

Those treaties might also have given history a Tudor-born Habsburg empress in the person of Mary Tudor, Henry VIII's eldest daughter. A marriage between her and her cousin the Emperor was part of the 1522 pact, but the clause was eventually abandoned to allow Charles to marry Princess Isabella of Portugal, since his subjects were concerned that Princess Mary was so young (six at the time of the betrothal) that it would be years before the imperial wedding and a resultant heir to safeguard the polity.



THE HABSBURG DOUBLE-HEADED EAGLE, A SYMBOL OF CONSTANT VIGILANCE OVER DISPARATE TERRITORIES



EMPEROR CHARLES V



THE 3RD DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM



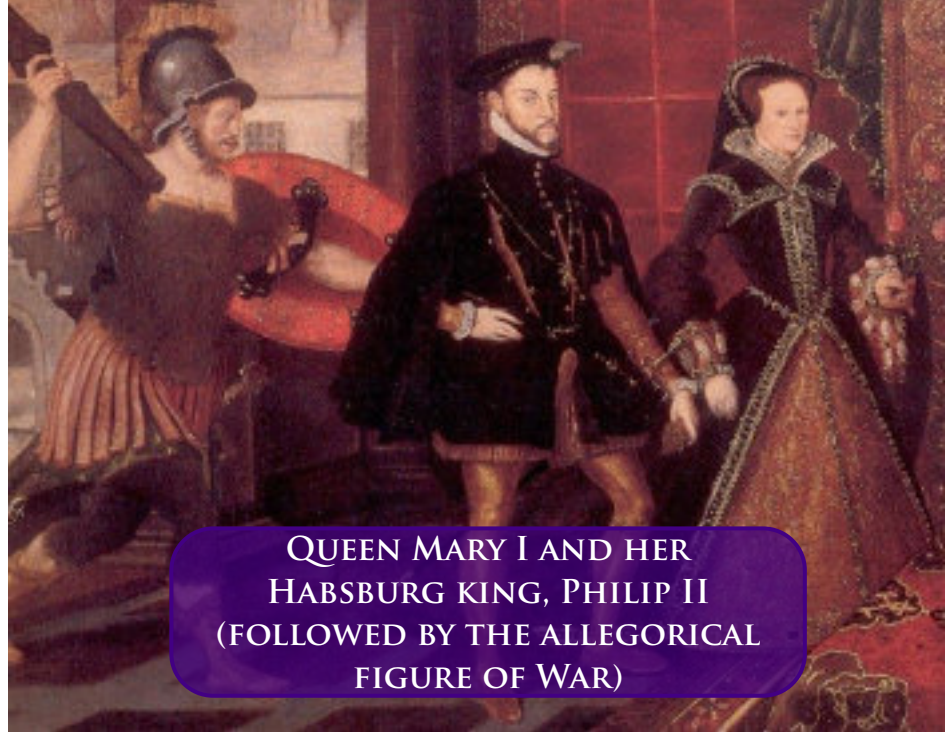
THE 3RD DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

There had been discussions of marrying a Tudor to a Habsburg before, as there would be after. As an infant, Charles V had been betrothed to another Mary Tudor, Henry VII's youngest daughter, while Henry VIII had very nearly been affianced to Charles's sister, the Archduchess Eleanora, a match which an ailing Henry VII seemed to prefer for his son to the proposed union with Katherine of Aragon. These matches came to nothing, spinning off into the diplomatic ether as did so many contemporary royal betrothals. After his third wife's death, Henry VIII

was seemingly very keen on marrying Princess Christina of Denmark, Dowager Duchess of Milan, Charles V's niece on her mother's side. The Danish princess who had lived in exile since her father was overthrown was half-Habsburg by blood and wholly Habsburg by sentiment, being raised by her mother's sisters and in particular by her aunt Maria, Dowager Queen of Hungary. Christina, famously, had to struggle to hide her giggles when English diplomats told her that Henry VIII was "the most gentle gentleman".

Christina of Denmark would see England, years later, when her cousin, Prince Philip of Spain, married Queen Mary I. Christina was one of those who visited the kingdom, where she was impressed by the splendour of the palaces, if perturbed by the relatively easy-going interactions between the genders. It was a fraught moment for the Habsburg entourage, in light of the fact that the reigning queen's marriage to Prince Philip had provoked an uprising in Kent led by Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger. The fallout from that rebellion had been significant, with the Queen ordering the imprisonment of her sister Elizabeth and the execution of their teenaged cousin, Jane Grey. The Habsburg-Tudor marriage was, however, popular in some parts of England, particularly with London merchants as trade between England and the Netherlands - part of the Habsburg empire - was one of the staples of the English economy.

Long after she had traded prison for palace and threat for throne, Elizabeth I received several marriage proposals from Habsburgs -



QUEEN MARY I AND HER
HABSBURG KING, PHILIP II
(FOLLOWED BY THE ALLEGORICAL
FIGURE OF WAR)

including her former brother-in-law, by then Spain's king, Philip II, and his Austrian cousin, the Archduke Charles. That distinction mattered, because Charles V could not bring himself to saddle his successors with the unwieldy imperial burden that had broken him. Accepting that the empire he ruled had never been intended to fit together, at his abdication he split the land into Austrian and Spanish empires. The former, Charles left to his younger brother, who became Emperor Ferdinand I. The latter was passed to Charles's son Philip, who missed out on the title as emperor but certainly not the reality given the sheer size of the Spanish empire, even when truncated by the abdication.

Given English wealth and Habsburg reach in the sixteenth century, it was of course inevitable that the two monarchies should prove mutually beneficial to one another. Equally inevitable were the occasional moments of friction - some a teasing diplomatic dance, others more dangerous provocation. Emperor Maximilian I's support for Perkin Warbeck, the pretender claiming to be Henry VII's missing brother-in-law ("Richard IV," to his supporters), riled and worried the English king, until Maximilian abandoned Warbeck's unravelling pretensions to eventually re-ally himself with Henry VII. Warbeck had been a useful bargaining tool for Maximilian. His son, Philip the Handsome, later visited Henry VII's court, although his looks left a far more favourable interpretation than his personality, since the English king privately thought that Philip's treatment of his Spanish wife, Queen

Juana, was cruelly designed to make the unfortunate queen seem more mentally imbalanced than she was. On several occasions under Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, the Habsburgs provided secret funding to aristocratic Irish rebels, much to London's resentment, which did nothing to stop Elizabeth funding Protestant Dutch insurrectionists against the Habsburgs. There were other moments of frisson, too, as unavoidable tensions between two countries - the Habsburgs' industrious ambassador to England for most of Henry VIII's reign was Eustace Chapuys, whose accounts reveal that there were long running debates about trade tariffs between England and the Habsburg Netherlands.

More serious and more unique fractures erupted between the Tudors and the Habsburgs on three occasions. The first, in the late 1520s and early 1530s, was over Henry VIII's attempts to end his marriage to Charles V's aunt Katherine of Aragon. Initially, the Emperor firmly if incorrectly blamed Henry's chief minister, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, for dreaming up the "Great Divorce" or "the Great Matter" in order to replace Queen Katherine with a French princess. The new queen of England was, of course, native-born rather than French and Anne Boleyn was eventually to show herself perfectly willingly to see better relations between her country and the Emperor's. Under normal circumstances, she might have been an even earlier ally for the Habsburg interest for, although we frequently discuss Anne Boleyn's education in France, her childhood education abroad began in a Habsburg household, following her father's diplomatic mission to Charles's aunt Margaret, Governor of the Netherlands. Of course, circumstances played out differently and the Emperor's support for his demoted aunt Katherine was so unsettling to the English that many - the King included - feared it would lead to war, up until the moment of Katherine's death from cancer in January 1536.

Ironically, the feared invasion came far closer to bloody reality after the ex-queen's death. By 1539, Henry VIII had been excommunicated by Pope Paul III, who was encouraging the Habsburgs to ally with the French to then invade England together to depose and punish Henry for his heresy. Realpolitik even-

tually stopped this plan, but the Reformation had created deep dividing trenches between the devoutly Catholic Habsburgs and the ultimately Protestant Tudors. As mentioned earlier, the sectarian divisions saw Protestant rebels in Habsburg dominions, like the Netherlands, appeal to Protestant England for support and help, as Catholic rebels, in Ireland and the north of England, did to Philip II's Spain. Where his father had pragmatically bowed out of invading England, Philip II allowed resentment to master his sense when, in 1588, he dispatched the Armada against England. Poor planning in Spain, buccaneer bravery in England, and weather that scattered the Spanish fleet, ended Philip II's invasion before it began, burying with it not just many ships and sailors but also Philip's dream of uprooting the Tudor rose to instead make England, Ireland, and Wales part of the Habsburg family tree by installing his daughter, Isabella-Clara-Eugenia, as their new monarch.

The Tudors, first represented by a mythical dragon, and the Habsburgs, by a fantastical double-headed eagle, inspired legends in their lifetimes, but the reality of their interactions is one of eddying friendship mixed with bitter rivalry, mundane disputes interacting with pragmatism and piety, failed invasions as well as failed engagements. All of which seems, like so much of the past, vanished without a trace now. There is, in fact, however, one piece of the British Isles that does still bear its name in unintended tribute to Habsburg hegemony. It is the county of Offaly in the very heart of the Irish republic. During Queen Mary I's time, Offaly was re-named King's County in honour of her marriage to Philip, while its neighbouring sister-county of Laois became Queen's County. Laois's name has long since, in practice and in law, been turned back to its original, but somehow Offaly slipped through the cracks. While Offaly came back into common parlance as the county's name under Elizabeth I, it was never formally repealed and so, even today, despite the fact that the council and local government do of course use Offaly, land transferrals still have to be filled out with the name of King's County, a century after Irish independence and 467 years since a Habsburg married a Tudor.

GARETH RUSSELL

Henry VII 'Entertains' Philip of Burgundy.

Gayle Hulme will examine early 1506 when King Henry VII and the Habsburg Archduke Philip of Burgundy signed the Treaty of Windsor, which was highly favourable to the English.

The Treaty signed by both men would lead to Philip handing over the recalcitrant Yorkist noble Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. In this article, we will uncover the circumstances that gave Henry VII the whip hand in these negotiations and why removing Suffolk's Habsburg protection was so crucial for the peace of Tudor England.

By the time of the Treaty in 1506, the Yorkist de la Pole family and the Habsburgs had long been a thorn in the side of Henry VII's Tudor dynasty. Firstly, in 1487, Maximilian, The Roman Emperor colluded with John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, to back the Yorkist pretender Lambert Simnel in his attempted coup. Years later, Maximilian's son the Archduke Philip of Burgundy, supported Perkin Warbeck's claim that he was, in fact, one of the missing Princes in Tower, Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York.

The threat posed by Lincoln, who was once generally accepted as King Richard III's heir, was nullified by his death at the Battle of Stoke Field in 1487. However, his 'brash [and] hot tempered' (2013) younger brother, Suffolk, was very much alive. In the years between the failed Simnel rebellion and the challenge of

Perkin Warbeck, he seemed to have accepted his reduced position at court. Although as a nephew of King Edward IV, King Richard III and Margaret of Burgundy, Suffolk together with his de la Pole relations were perhaps biding their time until a successful campaign removed the Lancastrian Henry VII. With a constant miasma of rebellion backed by powerful European leaders, it was understandable that Henry VII always viewed Suffolk with suspicion. Therefore after the death of Suffolk's elder brother at Stoke Field, Henry VII employed a series of shrewd political manoeuvres that restricted Suffolk's potential to invoke rebellion. He was denied his hereditary dukedom and consequently had a severally curtailed income and diminished influence. Now Henry was in a better position to stop Suffolk from following in his brother's traitorous footsteps.

Tired of being overshadowed by the young and glamorous Duke of Buckingham and by the military efficiency of the Earl of Surrey, Suffolk's affectation as a loyal courtier began to slip. The final tipping point came in 1498 when he flew into a fury after being charged with murder on what he considered trumped-up charges. In 1499 as the legal proceedings gathered pace, Suffolk skipped the

Henry VII



Archduke
Philip of
Burgundy



country without royal permission, although after a brief period away, he was convinced to come back. On his return, cordial relations did not last long. By August 1501, sensing danger and the king's mounting mistrust, he left once more, making his way to the Low Countries, where under the protection of Philip of Burgundy and his father, he began accumulating support for his grievances surrounding the Tudor usurper. In December 1502, Suffolk was officially declared an outlaw. Over the next few years, all diplomatic efforts to repatriate Suffolk failed. Out of the king's authority as an exile in Europe, it would take an act of God to get him out from behind the shield of his Habsburg friends and back onto English soil. Luckily for Henry VII, one such act materialised in the English Channel in January 1506.

On 10 January 1506, Suffolk's protector Philip of Burgundy had set off from Arnemuiden in the Netherlands, bound for Spain, where he planned to assert his rights as King of Castile. It would be some time before Philip and his wife Juana (Catherine of Aragon's sister) would reach their destination. By the 15th, their ship had been ravaged by the gales across the Atlantic. They had no choice but to seek refuge along the English coast at Melcombe Regis, as the alternative was to be dragged to their deaths by the raging storms. When the message reached the king's ears at Richmond, the situation was crystal clear 'Philip would be the most honoured guest – but he was also a prisoner until Henry had Suffolk firmly in his grasp' (2013).

As well as using the Archduke's liberty as a bargaining chip to regain physical possession of the traitorous Suffolk, this was also a chance for Henry to emphasise the glory of England to the heir of the

largest empire in Europe. The years since Suffolk had absconded had not been happy ones. Prince Arthur had died months after his wedding to a now deeply unhappy Catherine of Aragon, and then Queen Elizabeth had lost her life-giving birth to a daughter who did not survive long. The king was not in the best of health himself, and his only remaining son was the 14-year-old Prince Henry. If the dynasty was to survive beyond Henry VII's lifetime, two things needed to happen; Prince Henry would have to be seen as a strong, robust, healthy boy, capable of reaching maturity. Suffolk would have to be secured.

To this end, a richly dressed Prince Henry accompanied Philip on several occasions, and to his credit, the young prince showed no outward signs of being overwhelmed or nervous in any way. Henry VII spared no expense or courtesy while entertaining his guests and took every opportunity to have his court dress in their finest clothes and jewels. Neither was the king averse to flattering Philip with statements of great joy. On one occasion, he stated that Philip was "as dear to him as his own son."

However, underneath all the show and flummery, Henry VII was firmly fixed on instructing his negotiators to write a peace treaty, which would exploit his guest's enforced residency to England's advantage. The surreptitiously achieved signing of the treaty occurred in a short break between Philip receiving the Order of the Garter and Prince Henry receiving the Order of the Golden Fleece within the magnificent surrounding of St George's Chapel. Both sitting in their stalls, they were presented with the draft treaty and 'signed the writings with their own hands' (Spain: January 1506).

Both Archduke Philip and King Henry bound themselves to the clause that '[their] [...] heirs and successors, [will] not...assist the rebels, fugitives, and exiles [...]; but, on the contrary, to treat them as he would treat his own rebels, &c.'. In this clause lay the agreement for the return of Suffolk to England. Although to save face Archduke Philip was heard to seemingly spontaneously say a few days later that he would hand over the Earl of Suffolk to King Henry on the grounds that he would be imprisoned but not harmed in any way. Also included in the Treaty was an agreement that King Henry should marry Philip's sister Margaret of Savoy. However, a far more glittering betrothal was also agreed between Henry's youngest daughter Princess Mary and the future Emperor Charles V.

As the business of the Treaty was now complete, Archduke Philip and his retinue were free to leave on their onward journey. That was, of course, once Henry's emissaries in Calais had satisfied him that Suffolk had been taken prisoner. Escorted into Calais under armed guard, he had surrendered himself first to Sir John Wiltshire, secondly to the custody of Sir Henry Wyatt for the crossing and, finally, to Sir Thomas Lovell, who conducted him to the Tower. Suffolk's abandonment and incarceration was the price of Archduke Philip's freedom, and he left England on 16 April 1506.

As with many peace accords and treaties, the Treaty of Windsor was not adhered to. Archduke Philip arrived safely in Spain, where he was worn down by the animosity of his wife's father Ferdinand of Aragon. The latter was locked in a bitter battle with Henry VII over Catherine's dowry payments. Philip died in Spain a few months later of a mystery illness and his widow, who was already

struggling with mental illness, refused to have him buried. She spent the rest of her days ghoulishly having his corpse moved around with her.

Neither marriage detailed in the Treaty of Windsor happened. With Margaret of Savoy refusing to abide by the marriage terms and Henry VII's declining health, it was always unlikely that this couple would make it to the altar. Princess Mary did not marry within her father's lifetime, and she did not marry a Habsburg. Instead, she married the elderly King Louis of France in 1514 on the orders of her brother, Henry VIII.

Regarding Suffolk, we know that he was questioned extensively within the Tower of London. Nobles were officially not subjected to torture. There is no evidence to support that he was. However, we know that Henry VIII did not abide by the terms of the Treaty of Windsor and had Suffolk executed in April 1513.

The relationship between the Tudors and the Habsburgs was undoubtedly a tricky one. Although most historians agree that the last battle of the Wars of the Roses took place at Stoke Field in 1487, we see through the Habsburg's involvement and protection of first Lincoln and then Suffolk, how far the ramifications of English politics could reach in the 15/16th century.

'Spain: January 1506', in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 1, 1485-1509*, ed. G A Bergenroth (London, 1862), p. 379. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/calendar-papers/spain/vol1/p379> [accessed 18 May 2021].

Penn, T (2013) *Winter King*: Published by Simon & Schuster

GAYLE HULME

The Two Annes of Hever Castle

An expert
talk from
Dr. Owen Emmerson



THE RISE OF THE HABSBURGS

By Heather R. Darsie

The Habsburg family had inauspicious beginnings in the late 10th century. It was at this time that Count Radbot von Klettgau was born. He built Habsburg Castle in Habsburg, County Aargau, Switzerland, in the early 11th century. The precise source for the name "Habsburg" is unknown; it seems to have come from the German word for ford because the castle was near the Aar river. The more romantic version is that Radbot of Klettgau saw a hawk perched on one of the castle walls and decided to name it "hawk palace", or Habsburg, in German.

Radbot von Klettgau's grandson Otto, born a century after the building of Habsburg Castle, decided to adopt the last name of "von Habsburg" instead of "von Klettgau". Although more research is needed, it is generally believed that Otto is the first person to be titled "Count of Habsburg". The family was still based at Habsburg Castle in Switzerland. It should be noted that this part of Switzerland was considered part of the Duchy of Swabia until the early 15th century.

The first Habsburg to achieve meaningful power within the Holy Roman Empire was Count Rudolf I. He was later elected King of the Germans-Romans (there is no distinction between King of the Romans and King of the Germans. The titles are used interchangeably and eventually came to mean the Holy Roman Emperor-elect). Born in 1218, Rudolf gained control of the duchies of Styria and Austria over his lifetime by defeating King Ottokar II of Bohemia in 1278. Despite the initial rejection of his rule by the Austrian and Styrian princes, Rudolf maintained control of the duchies. His family held power over Austria and Styria for more than 600 years.

Upon Rudolf's death in 1291, Adolf of Nassau became King of the Germans. The German Elec-

tors were afraid of Rudolf trying to establish the title King of the Germans as a hereditary one. Rudolf's eldest son Albrecht was eventually elected King of Germany in 1298 anyway. Albrecht also shared the duchies of Styria and Austria with his younger brother Rudolf II until 1283, when Rudolf II was required to give Styria and Austria to Albrecht in exchange for Rudolf II becoming Albrecht's successor to the title King of the Germans.

Rudolf II married in 1289 and had one son, Johann. Unfortunately, Rudolf died either shortly before or shortly after Johann's birth. Johann was insultingly nicknamed "Johann, Duke Lackland" due to his father Rudolf's failure to secure any sort of meaningful inheritance for any of his future heirs back in 1283. Johann, very displeased with this unfair situation, set upon his uncle Albrecht, King of the Germans, on 1 May 1308. Johann cleaved Albrecht's head in two before fleeing to Italy. The title King of the Germans then passed out of Habsburg hands until 1438, when Albrecht the Magnanimous, a Knight of the Garter, regained the title.

After Albrecht's death, his cousin Frederick was elected King of the Germans in 1440. Frederick went on to become Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, ruling in that capacity from 1452 to 1493. Frederick's election to the Imperial throne paved the way for the title Holy Roman Emperor to become a hereditary one held by the Habsburgs.

The next Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I, was elected King of the Germans in 1486. His father, Frederick, had not given up the title, so the two shared it until Frederick's death in 1493. Maximilian greatly expanded the landholdings and power base of the Habsburgs through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477. Mary was her father's only heir, giving Maximilian the right to rule Burgundy and the

Low Countries *jure uxoris*, or by right of his marriage to Mary.

Mary and Maximilian were reportedly quite happy together. Mary was two years older than Maximilian. The couple wed on 19 August 1477, and their first child, Philip the Handsome, was born less than a year later, on 22 July 1478. The couple's second child, Margaret, was born on 10 January 1480. Sadly, Mary died in early 1482 from injuries sustained during a hunting accident.

Tragedy struck Maximilian again in 1506, when his only son, Philip, died. Thankfully, Philip had six children with his wife Juana of Castile: four girls and two boys. Both boys, Charles and Ferdinand, went on to become Holy Roman Emperor.

Maximilian never quite made his way to Rome to be formally crowned Holy Roman Emperor and instead was granted the title of "Elected Roman Emperor" by the Pope in 1508. This move ended the centuries-old tradition of Holy Roman Emperors being crowned by the Pope in Rome.

Maximilian died in January 1519, leaving the election of the next Holy Roman Emperor somewhat up in the air. Maximilian's grandson Charles was a natural candidate, although the fear was that Charles' election would lead to the position of Holy Roman Emperor becoming hereditary. Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England were candidates in 1519, too. It seemed a real possibility that Francis I could have become Emperor, as well as Charles, which was not palatable to the electors because both men were regarded as foreigners. Neither spoke German. Elector Friedrich III of Saxony was briefly offered the position, but he declined. Charles eventually won after bribing several of the electors and became Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

Charles ruled a massive amount of territory between his assuming the throne of Castile, Aragon, and Leon (his mother Juana remained queen in name only of Castile and Leon; her story is a sad one). He also held the hereditary Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, and Lord of the Netherlands. His property covered most of western Europe. Through clever marriage arrangements for himself, his sisters, and his

brother, Charles maintained control over most of his territories.

Charles did face the German Reformation, which was a serious challenge to his authority. On top of that, Charles spent a portion of his career combating the Turkish threat to the east. He met with varying degrees of success.

Charles' younger brother, Ferdinand, became King of Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia in 1526 after his brother-in-law twice over (through Ferdinand's wife and Ferdinand's sister Mary) died in battle. Five years later, Ferdinand was elected King of the Romans-Germans. Ferdinand frequently represented Charles V's interests at Imperial Diets throughout Charles' reign. From 1555 to 1556, Charles briefly considered making his son Philip King of the Romans-Germans, but Ferdinand was heavily opposed to this for personal and pragmatic reasons. Philip was raised at the Spanish court, preferred Spain, and did not speak German. On the other hand, Ferdinand spoke German and was already well-known as an Imperial authority within the Holy Roman Empire. Thus, Ferdinand remained King of the Romans-Germans, and Philip was granted the Low Countries in early 1556.

Charles V abdicated the Imperial throne in 1556, after which Ferdinand called himself the "Emperor Elect". However, Ferdinand was not recognized as Holy Roman Emperor until May 1558. Charles died in September of that year.

Ferdinand I, wishing to continue the title of Emperor for his son, held an election in 1562. His son Maximilian became King of the Romans-Germans until Ferdinand died in 1564. Maximilian then became Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II. The Habsburgs continued as Holy Roman Emperors until 1742.

HEATHER R. DARSIE

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The Persecuted Poles

Reginald Pole was the son of Sir Richard Pole, who had been chamberlain to Prince Arthur, and Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury and was the grandson of Edward IV's younger brother, George, 1st Duke of Clarence

Pole had been supported in his career in the church by the king who had also paid for his education. He left England in 1532 to continue his theological studies in Italy but angered the king while he was there by writing *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione* (Defence of the Unity of the Church) which refuted Henry's supremacy and urged him to return to the Catholic Church and the pope's authority. The newly ordained cardinal had initially supported Henry in his divorce but when Henry asked for his support in confirming that marrying his dead brother's wife had been wrong, Pole's response was his *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione* in which he lambasted Henry in the strongest terms.

'You have squandered a huge treasure; you have

made a laughing stock of the nobility; you have never loved the people; you have pestered and robbed the clergy in every possible way; and lately you have destroyed the best men in your kingdom, not like a human being, but a wild beast'. Pole put down in words what many people were thinking but were too scared to say.

His mother Margaret was forced to say that 'she took her said son for a traitor and for no son, and that she would never take him otherwise'. Reginald was far from the king's grasp in Rome. Henry had sent assassins to kill him but he had evaded them. The king however could reach the Pole family in England.

The Exeter conspiracy started in the summer of 1538 when Gervase Tyndall informed Cromwell of some information he had

gleaned concerning the Countess of Salisbury's household. Tyndall had been staying at the house of Richard Ayer, a surgeon, close to one of Margaret's homes at Warblington, ostensibly for a cure for his ill health but more probably sent by Cromwell to find out all he could. Ayer had a loose tongue and much to say on the state of the Countess' household but the most incriminating piece of evidence he had to share was that Henry Holland, a servant of Geoffrey Pole's, was taking messages to his brother Reginald by which 'all the secrets of the realm of England is known to the bishop of Rome'.

Geoffrey Pole was arrested on 29 August and interrogated 26 October. Under interrogation he implicated the marquess and marchioness of Exeter and his own brother Henry



Pole, Lord Montague amongst others as wanting ‘a change in this world without meaning any hurt to the king’. This was treasonous talk and hinted of a plot and his interrogators wanted to know more. He was threatened with torture and not long after this first interrogation Geoffrey tried to kill himself. Husee reported to Lord Lisle that Geoffrey was ‘so in despair that he would have murdered himself and, as it was told me, hurt himself sore’.

Geoffrey was interrogated again on 2 and 3 November 1538. The next day Henry Pole, Lord Montague and Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter were arrested. Geoffrey was questioned again and again over the coming days and the more he said, the more he implicated his brother. He didn’t like the king he said and was disgusted at how he had handled the Pilgrimage of Grace. He said his brother had mentioned the king’s sore leg and how he thought it would kill him and ‘then we shall have jolly stirring’. Montague was purported to have said things like ‘The king is not dead, but he will die one day suddenly’ and ‘I

like well the doings of my brother the Cardinal’. But again this was all just talk. There was no actual evidence of a plot, rebellion or any action taken to rob the king of his throne. When Montague was questioned he answered with a resigned air and did his best to alleviate any suspicion against him but he knew where this would all end.

Although she had not been implicated in any wrong-doing, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was questioned on 12 November 1538 by Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, and Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely and three days later she was taken to Cowdray Castle, Sir William Fitzwilliam’s home, under house arrest. Her interrogators reported:

Albeit for all we could do, though we used her diversely, she would utter and convess little or nothing more than the first day, and that she utterly denied all that is objected unto her; and that with most stiff and earnest words

On 3rd December Thomas Warley wrote that the marquess of Exeter was at Westminster for his trial. ‘It is a heavy case

that they should be false to the King, which is so gracious to his loving and true subjects. God send them what they deserve’ and on 9 December 1538 Henry Pole, Lord Montague, Henry Courtenay, 1st Marquess of Exeter and Sir Edward Neville, Henry Pole’s brother-in-law, who was reported to have said ‘his highness was a beast and worse than a beast’ were beheaded at the Tower of London.

But the destruction of the Pole family was not yet done. Geoffrey would be pardoned early the following year. As Chapuys caustically commented ‘I am told his life is granted to him, but he must remain in perpetual prison; also ... he tried to suffocate himself with a cushion.’ But his mother’s fate was yet to come.

Margaret would be sent to the Tower in November 1539 where she would stay for the next two years. She is thought to have written on her prison wall:

*For traitors on the block
should die;
I am no traitor, no, not I!
My faithfulness stands
fast and so,
towards the block I shall
not go!
Nor make one step, as you
shall see;
Christ in Thy Mercy, save
Thou me!*

It was a letter to Lord Lisle in Calais from John Worth that tells us of the physical evidence – although probably fabricated – for the Countess’ fall.

There was a coat-armour found in the Duchess [sic] of Salisbury’s coffer, and by the one side of the coat there was the King’s Grace his arms of England, that is the lions without the flowers de lys, and about the whole arms was made pansies for Poles and marigolds for my Lady Mary... And betwixt the marigold and the pansy was made a tree to rise in the midst, and on the tree a coat of purple hanging on a bough in token of the coat of Christ, and on the other side of the coat all the Passion of Christ. Pole intended to have married my Lady Mary and betwixt them both should again arise the old doctrine of Christ. (481)



Reginald Pole

Henry could not get to Reginald Pole and he feared the cardinal’s influence. He was still a threat to the crown or so the king thought and if he could not get to him, his family was the next best thing.

Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, was executed on 27 May. Margaret had spent over two years in the Tower, now aged and frail, she was given just an hour’s notice her end was nigh. The sixty-seven year old suffered a horrendous botched execution by a

‘blundering youth’ who ‘hacked her head and shoulders to pieces.’ And it was needless. She posed no threat to Henry. Chapuys made the point that ‘there was no need or haste to bring so ignominious a death upon her’ and given her age she would not ‘in the ordinary course of nature live long.’ Henry’s wrath had claimed the last of his Pole victims. He would never capture Reginald and the cardinal far outlived him.

**SARAH-BETH
WATKINS**

THE TOWER OF LONDON

by Catherine Brooks

As England begins to open up again, I was fortunate enough to be able to return to the Tower of London on 19th May. This was the day it re-opened, on possibly it's most notable date – the anniversary of the execution of Queen Anne Boleyn in 1536.

There are so many interesting things to learn about the Tower that I could ask 1,000 questions! But here are just a few to whet your appetite:

1. In June 1381, 400 rebels stormed the fortress, a task made easier by the fact the gates had been left open! Sparked by the introduction of yet another new tax, what is the name of that event?
2. Legend has it that if the six resident ravens housed at the Tower ever leave, the kingdom and the Tower will fall. Which king was reportedly the monarch who ordered the ravens to be protected?
3. There are 8 towers along the wall walk, the building of which was ordered by which king, who spent over £5,000 on them after concluding the Tower's defences were no longer suitably effective?
4. What is the name of the tower, then called the Jewel Tower, which housed the Crown Jewels from 1669-1841?
5. Henry VIII's famous huge and unworn 1540 armour resides where?
6. What is the name of the chapel inside the White Tower, which has a distinctive Anglo-Norman interior?
7. The imposing and instantly recognisable White Tower began construction around 1075-9, by which monarch?
8. Which nobleman was imprisoned in the Beauchamp Tower from 1553-4, under sentence of death for his part in the attempted capture of Mary I?
9. Which tower is believed to have housed the Edward V and Richard of Shrewsbury, also known as The Princes in the Tower?
10. The answer to question 9 was once known as The Garden Tower, and for several years was home to which famous Elizabethan explorer?
11. The Chapel Royal – St. Peter ad Vincula – is the resting place to three Tudor queens and two saints of the Catholic Church. Can you name them?
12. Which Tower, part of Henry III's lodgings, is linked to the death (murder) of King Henry VI?
13. It is commonly believed that Anne Boleyn entered the Tower by Traitors Gate following her arrest in May 1536. This is incorrect. Can you name the location she entered in, which is unable to be opened to the public due to the fragile conditions of the medieval wall paintings inside?
14. Which tower, the second oldest after the White Tower, built in the 12th Century, contains a bell which has been rung to signal curfew for over 500 years?

The Tower of London is one of six sites under the care of Historic Royal Palaces. Find out more about the Tower, Historic Royal Palaces, and how you can visit and support them at www.hrp.org.uk



The Marriage of Mary I and Philip of Spain

King Philip and Queen Mary (by Lucas de
Heere)



Queen Mary (by Francis Deleram)

It was an astonishing victory. On 19 July 1553, Mary Tudor was declared Queen of England. As the daughter of Henry VIII and the sister of Edward VI, it would have been a given that she should succeed as Sovereign. However, Mary was almost deprived of her crown.

When King Edward lay dying of tuberculosis in the summer of 1553, he was determined to override his father's will. As Henry VIII wished it - and this was confirmed by an Act of Parliament - if Edward died childless, the throne would go to his half sister Mary. Yet as a Catholic, she was deemed unfit by her fervidly Protestant brother.¹ Instead, Edward nominated their cousin, Lady Jane Grey, who was brought up in the New Faith as

he was, as his successor. But it was Mary who was the popular choice among the people. After Edward died on 6 July and Jane was briefly made Queen, Mary - with overwhelming support - took the crown instead.

One of Mary's first priorities as ruler was her marriage. When she had been in favour as a young princess under her father Henry VIII, negotiations for her to be wed had always stalled for one reason or another. Later, when Mary was nearing the age of 30, she was prepared for spinsterhood, calling herself 'the most unhappy lady in Christendom'.² Though she had resigned herself to a single life, and may have even come to prefer it, as Queen, it was considered impossible for Mary *not* to marry. It was expected that queenship would be too great a burden for her to bear alone, and just as important, it was her duty to bear a successor. According to Henry VIII's will, the Princess Elizabeth would follow on the throne if Mary had no heir of her body. Despite some closeness between the two half sisters in earlier years, Mary did not trust Elizabeth as the girl grew older. Like Edward VI, Elizabeth was a Protestant, and if she became Queen afterwards, she would certainly rule accordingly.

In her search for a suitable husband, Mary looked to her mighty cousin, the Emperor Charles V, for counsel. He had always been a great advocate for her, especially during the troublesome times of her brother's reign, when she





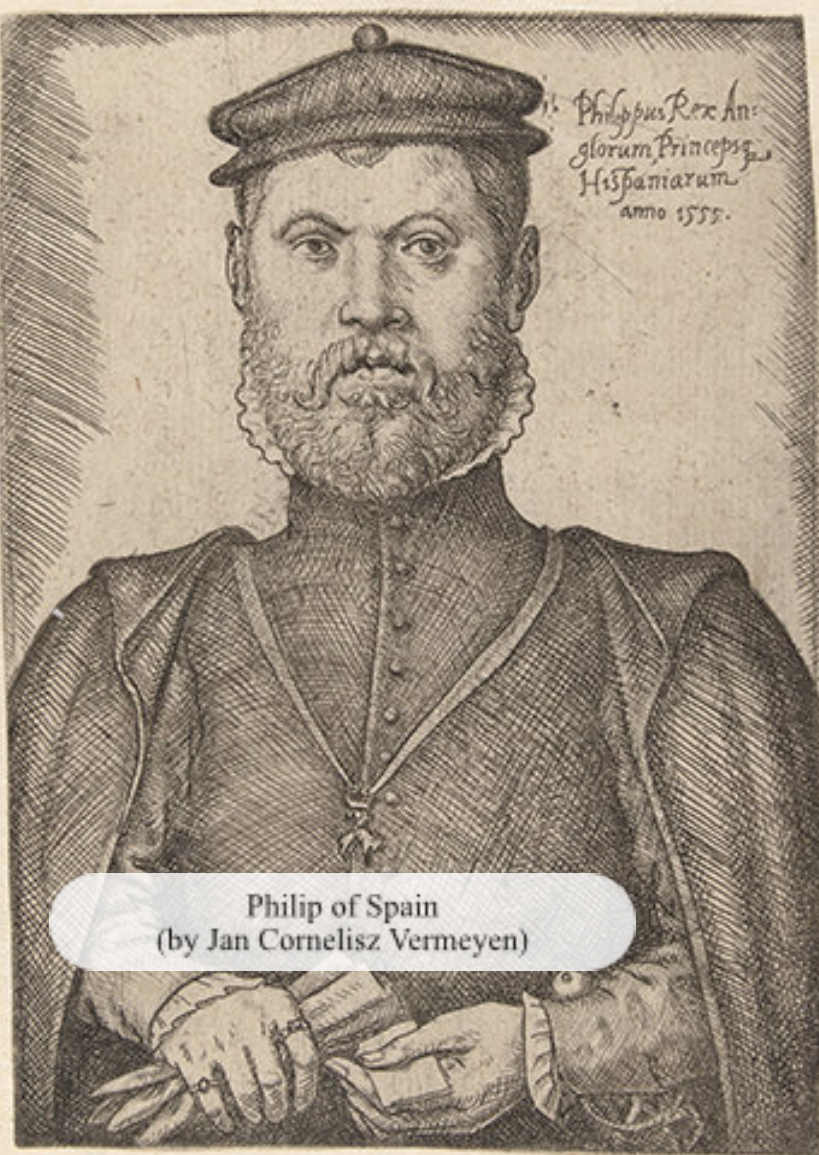
Charles V (by an Unknown Artist)

was persecuted for her religious faith. Charles threatened war upon England if Mary was denied her right to hear Catholic Mass. Now, he would be a supportive and guiding force again.

As much as he had always defended Mary's interests, Charles looked to his own first. He would join the Tudors to the Habsburgs by marrying her to one of his own. From his ambassador Simon Renard, Charles learnt that the Queen's advisors, particularly her Lord Chancellor, Bishop Gardiner, were pressuring her to accept Edward Courtney, the Earl of Devon. As a descendent of King Edward IV, he had royal blood in him, and he was suitably Catholic. However, Mary was uninterested.

The Earl was younger than her by a decade, and in spite of his good looks and charms, he was also weak and distrustful in character.

Wanting to follow the Emperor's advice, Mary kept her councillors in the dark. As she told Renard, he must not bring up the Habsburgs when it came to public discussions about her marriage, and that it would be better if they talked in secret. Mary even gave the envoy access to her through a private passage to her apartments. In the meanwhile, Parliament was insisting that the Queen take a proper husband, preferably Courtney. But with the toughness she had inherited from Henry VIII, Mary refused to give in. She



When Philip's portrait (done by the great artist Titian) was subsequently shown to her, Mary could not help herself but fall in love with him. The Prince was described as being 'slight of stature and round-faced, with pale blue eyes, somewhat prominent lip, and pink skin, but his overall appearance is very attractive'. As well, 'he dresses very tastefully, and everything that he does is courteous and gracious' - qualities which could not have failed to impress Mary.⁴ She finally committed herself on the evening of 29 October. With Renard and one of her ladies-in-waiting looking on, Mary prayed before the Blessed Sacrament set in a monstrance before her. When she finished, she rose and with joyful confidence, announced that Heaven had inspired her to accept Prince Philip.

But would the people take to the new King Consort of England? The signs were not good. In January 1554, when the Imperial envoys came to negotiate the marriage, they were met by the sullen faces of the Londoners - both Catholic and Protestant. Some boys even threw snowballs at them. To a great many of her subjects, Mary's taking of a foreign prince was repugnant to them. The hatred of the Spaniards would be so great that at the end of the month, a rebellion was raised against the Queen to prevent her marriage, and to even put the Princess Elizabeth and the Earl of Devon on the throne instead. The authorities were in great fear, but Mary rose to the occasion when she rallied the people to her. At a speech at the Guildhall, she told them, "Pluck up your hearts, and like true men stand fast against these rebels! And fear them not, for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all!"⁵

scolded a delegation hoping to win her over, telling the members they must not 'use such language to the Kings of England, nor was it suitable or respectful that it should do so'. If she was compelled to wed, she would 'not live three months and would have no children'. As to when and to whom she should marry, Mary continued, she would 'pray God to counsel and inspire her in her choice of a husband who should be beneficial to the kingdom and agreeable to herself'.³

Despite her answer to the delegates, Mary had clearly made up her mind already. As the Emperor would have it, she would wed his son Philip. At twenty-six, Philip of Habsburg was the same age as Edward Courtney, but he was of greater royal blood. Furthermore, as Prince of Spain, he invoked the memory of Mary's beloved late mother Katherine of Aragon.



Winchester Cathedral (photo by Antony McCallum, Creative Commons)

After the rebellion was put down, Mary maintained her commitment to Philip. Even though she had promised at the Guildhall to not pursue the marriage if it should not be 'for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm',⁶ this was actually not true. Mary was set on having the Prince of Spain. She was in a state of anxiety, and her sadness was noticed by one of her courtiers one day. He told her he knew what would make her happy - having Prince Philip sitting in the empty chair beside her. At this, Mary could not help but smile and laugh. She cheered up even more when Philip's engagement presents began arriving at the English court. Among them was a fabulous jewel - a 'great diamond with a fine large pearl pendant from it', which was probably the piece seen in many of the Queen's later portraits.⁷

There was greater mirth when Philip set foot in England in July. The English nobles who received him, found their new master most congenial. Whatever his personal feelings about the match, Philip had put them aside in his duty to the Emperor and to God. With his new wife, it would be his goal to

restore England back to the Church of Rome, and to father an heir.

The meeting between the Queen of England and the Prince of Spain took place at the Bishop's lodgings at Winchester Cathedral on the night of 23 July. There, Philip gave his fiancée a kiss, and then 'hand in hand, they sat down and remained for a time in pleasant conversation'.⁸ As Philip spoke no English except for a few words he had just been taught, and his French was weak, he and Mary most certainly spoke in a combination of Latin and Spanish, though the Queen's comprehension of the latter, particularly Castilian, was limited.⁹

All in all, they seemed well matched. As Renard reported to the Emperor, 'the royal couple are bound together by such deep love that the marriage may be expected to be a perfect union'.¹⁰ But those in the Prince's inner circle, thought otherwise. While Queen Mary was 'a good creature', she was 'rather older than we had been told', one courtier said.¹¹ She also looked 'old and flabby' in her unflattering English clothes, and in regards to

bedding her, 'it will take a great God to drink this cup', as it was crudely put.¹²

On 25 July, Mary and Philip were wed in the cathedral. The Spaniards, eager to impress their English hosts, came in all their magnificence. As it was reported back to Spain, the Prince and his entourage were 'so magnificently attired that neither his Majesty's (Charles V's) nor his Highness's (Philip's) court ever saw the like, such was the display of rich garments and chains, each one finer than the last'. Inside, Philip and Mary proceeded to a raised platform in front of the high altar where the nuptials were officiated by Bishop Gardiner. During the service, the happy and devout bride was seen to have her eyes 'fixed on the Sacrament'. Later after the festivities, she and Philip were ceremoniously put to bed. 'What happened that night only they know', a Spaniard wrote. 'If they give us a son, our joy will be complete'.¹³

That elation apparently came to be in the spring of 1555. The Queen believed herself to be pregnant. As she imagined it, this was the ultimate sign of God's great plan for her. In April, a visibly pregnant Mary retired from court and took to her chamber in preparation for the birth. But nothing happened. The baby was reported to have been born at the end of the month, but it was untrue. Assuming that her doctors and midwives had merely miscalculated, Mary went into seclusion again in June, but again, there was nothing. Strangely, despite the Queen's symptoms, it appeared to have been a 'phantom pregnancy' all along.

Mary's grief was extended when Philip announced his intention to go to the Continent in August. His father was abdicating, and Philip was needed abroad to take possession of some of his territories. While he was always unfailingly good to his wife, it can be supposed that Philip was never

as in love with Mary as she was with him. After all, it was an arranged dynastic marriage, and from Philip's point-of-view, merely an obligation. Also, there were tensions between the Spaniards and the English (sometimes leading to violence), and his own authority in England was limited. As much as Mary loved him and tried to conform to being a traditional wife, she was Queen first. She allowed him no powers in government, and she would not give him a coronation as King Consort, much to Philip's annoyance.

After Philip arrived in the Netherlands, he took pleasure in being away from the English court. He spent much of his time in various entertainments, and there were even rumours of love affairs. As expected, Mary was distressed, even more when Philip proved to be a poor letter writer. In September, the Venetian ambassador described how the Queen told him 'passionately with the tears in her eyes, that for seven days she had no letters from him'.¹⁴ Soon, frustration led to anger, when it was said that in a fit of rage, Mary had her husband's portrait ejected from the Council chamber, and she even gave it a good kick! The story was unlikely to have been true, but owing to Mary's growing unpopularity among her Protestant subjects, thanks to her laws against heresy, such tales were given credence.

It was not until March 1557, that Philip returned at last. If Mary had felt any resentment towards her husband, she did not show it, and she received him with great gladness - so much so that she would later think herself to be pregnant. Yet Philip's intention in coming back was not so much as to have a child with his wife (he probably had doubts that Mary was capable) but to bring England into his war with France.¹⁵ As a loyal spouse, Mary did what she could to sway her councillors, but they had no desire for a

foreign conflict in support of the Habsburgs. Nonetheless, Mary and Philip had their way when the French lent their backing to an English uprising in the north, led by one Thomas Stafford. It did not succeed, but it persuaded Mary's Council to declare war. In time, it would prove to be a poor decision as it led to the loss of Calais, England's last possession upon the Continent.

Mary's hope for an heir proved vain. Again, there was no child to be had. Because of her barrenness, Mary was forced to accept the reality that her half sister would one day become Queen. Her dislike of Elizabeth was intensified when Philip, whom she suspected of favouring the young lady, wanted her married to a Habsburg relation. Mary was highly indignant and refused, causing some tension between her and Philip.

But that was of little consequence when Mary fell gravely ill of an outbreak of influenza in the fall of 1558. As she lay dying, her thoughts of Philip were nothing but good. In her will, she left to her 'most dear and entirely beloved husband, the King's Majesty... the love of my subjects'. On a more practical note, she also bestowed upon him certain jewels that he and the Emperor had once given her.¹⁶

After the Queen's death on 17 November, Philip would go on to marry two more times. As to how he felt about Mary, he said little, but he did express some affection for her. As he wrote to one of his sisters, 'May God have received her in His glory! I felt a reasonable regret for her death. I shall miss her, even on this account'.¹⁷

ROLAND HUI

1. Edward's other half sister, the Protestant Princess Elizabeth, was thought equally unsuitable as she, like Mary, had been made illegitimate by Henry VIII.

2. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, XVII, no. 371.

3. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain (CSP Span.)*, XI, p. 364.

4. James C. Davis, *Pursuit of Power: Venetian Ambassadors' Reports on Spain, Turkey, and France in the Age of Philip II, 1560–1600*, New York: Harper & Row, 1970, pp. 81-82.

5. John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, (edited by Stephen Reed Cattley), London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1837-1841, VI, pp. 414-415.

6. *ibid*

7- Martin A.S. Hume, *Philip II of Spain*, London: Macmillan and Co., 1899, p. 34. The pearl described here was probably the famed 'la Peregrina', later owned by movie star Elizabeth Taylor.

8. *CSP Span.*, XIII, no. 11.

9. 'The Queen does not speak Castilian, though she understands it': *CSP Span.*, XIII, no. 11.

10. *CSP Span.*, XIII, no. 5.

11. *CSP Span.*, XIII, no. 2.

12. *CSP Span.*, XIII, no. 7.

13. *CSP Span.*, XIII, no. 11.

14. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice (CSP Ven.)*, VI, no. 213.

15. Philip actually already had a son, Don Carlos, with his previous wife, Maria of Portugal.

16. For the Queen's will, see David Loades, *Mary Tudor- A Life*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1995, pp. 370-383.

17. *CSP Span.*, XIII, no. 502.



For the Habsburgs who mattered most to British history in the Tudor period, I can thoroughly recommend Professor Geoffrey Parker's extraordinary dual biographies of Charles V and Philip II - *Emperor* and *Imprudent King*. It's hard to praise these enormous, yet readable, biographies highly enough. Dr. Lauren Mackay's *Inside the Tudor Court* is a ground-breaking biography of Eustace Chapuys, the Habsburgs' ambassador to England for most of Henry VIII's reign.

For a great overall history of the dynasty, try Professor Martyn Rady's new book, *The Habsburgs*.

Giles Tremlett's biography of Catherine of Aragon and Heather Darsie's on Anne of Cleves both set Tudor queens in an international context heavily influenced by the House of Habsburg, the same is true with Dr. Linda Porter's wonderful life of Queen Mary I.

In terms of fiction, Philippa Gregory's *The Queen's Fool* and Karen Harper's *The Poyson Garden* are imaginative thrillers set in England around the time of the Habsburg marriage, with both focusing on the complications it created. Kathryn Harrison's novel *A Thousand Orange Trees* is a broodingly dark dramatisation of repressive life at the heart of the Spanish Habsburg court.

The beloved BBC series *Elizabeth R* has a phenomenally well-written and acted episode on the Armada of 1588, focusing unusually on Philip II's perspective. For those who like the story with a bit more Hollywood glitz, there's always *Elizabeth: The Golden Age* or the older *Fire Over England*.

GARETH RUSSELL

Maximilian I – The Triumphs of a White King

“Whoever prepares no memorial for himself during his lifetime has none after his death and is forgotten along with the sound of the bell that tolls his passing. Thus the money I spend for the perpetuation of my memory is not lost: in fact, in such a matter to be sparing of money is to suppress my future memory.” Maximilian I in the Weisskunig.

By Jane Moulder

Of all the Habsburg rulers, throughout the dynasty's long rule over vast swathes of Europe, the one that always comes first to my mind is Maximilian I. The reason for this is because of the lasting and valuable cultural legacy he left as a result of his own vaingloriousness and, of special interest to me, this includes the many depictions of musical instruments that would have been familiar to him and his court.

Maximilian was born in 1459 to Frederick III of Austria, and the

Portuguese princess, Eleanora, and he ruled alongside his father for the last 10 years of his reign. His father had brought about the reunification of the various Habsburg lands in Austria, creating a united country.

Maximilian was married to Mary of Burgundy in 1477 and their children would enable the Habsburg empire to grow into Spain, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia and the Low Countries. Theirs was a happy marriage and Maximilian became heavily influenced by the arts and culture of his



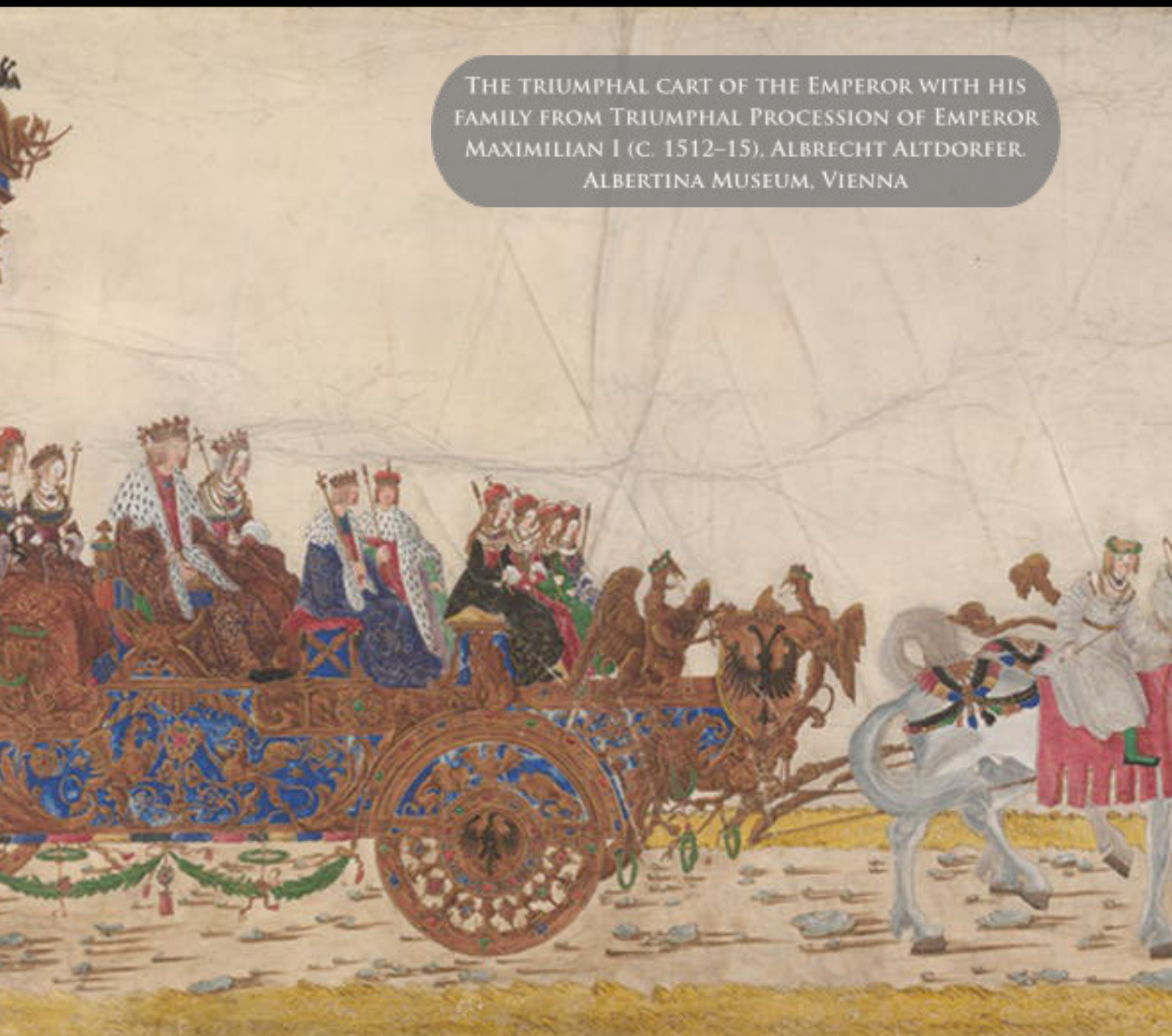
wife's homeland. For a brief period, following the tragic early death of Mary in a hunting accident just five years into their marriage, Maximilian was regent ruler of the powerful duchy of Burgundy. However, whilst he managed to secure permanent control of the region for his son, Philip (known as Philip the Handsome who went on to become Philip I of Castile)

in a deal with the French, he gave up personal control of Burgundy in exchange for possession of the Low Countries. The loss of Burgundy was a regret he carried with him for the rest of his life.

Maximilian gained the title of King of the Romans and the Holy Roman Emperor (although he never managed to have his title conferred on him

directly by the Pope as travel to Rome was always too risky for him). His reign saw only a few military successes such as victory over the French, in an alliance with Henry VIII, in the 'Battle of the Spurs' and the integration of the Tyrol into Austria, but he was not as successful in his campaigns in Italy and Switzerland. His later years were spent consolidating the

THE TRIUMPHAL CART OF THE EMPEROR WITH HIS FAMILY FROM TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I (C. 1512-15), ALBRECHT ALTDORFER. ALBERTINA MUSEUM, VIENNA

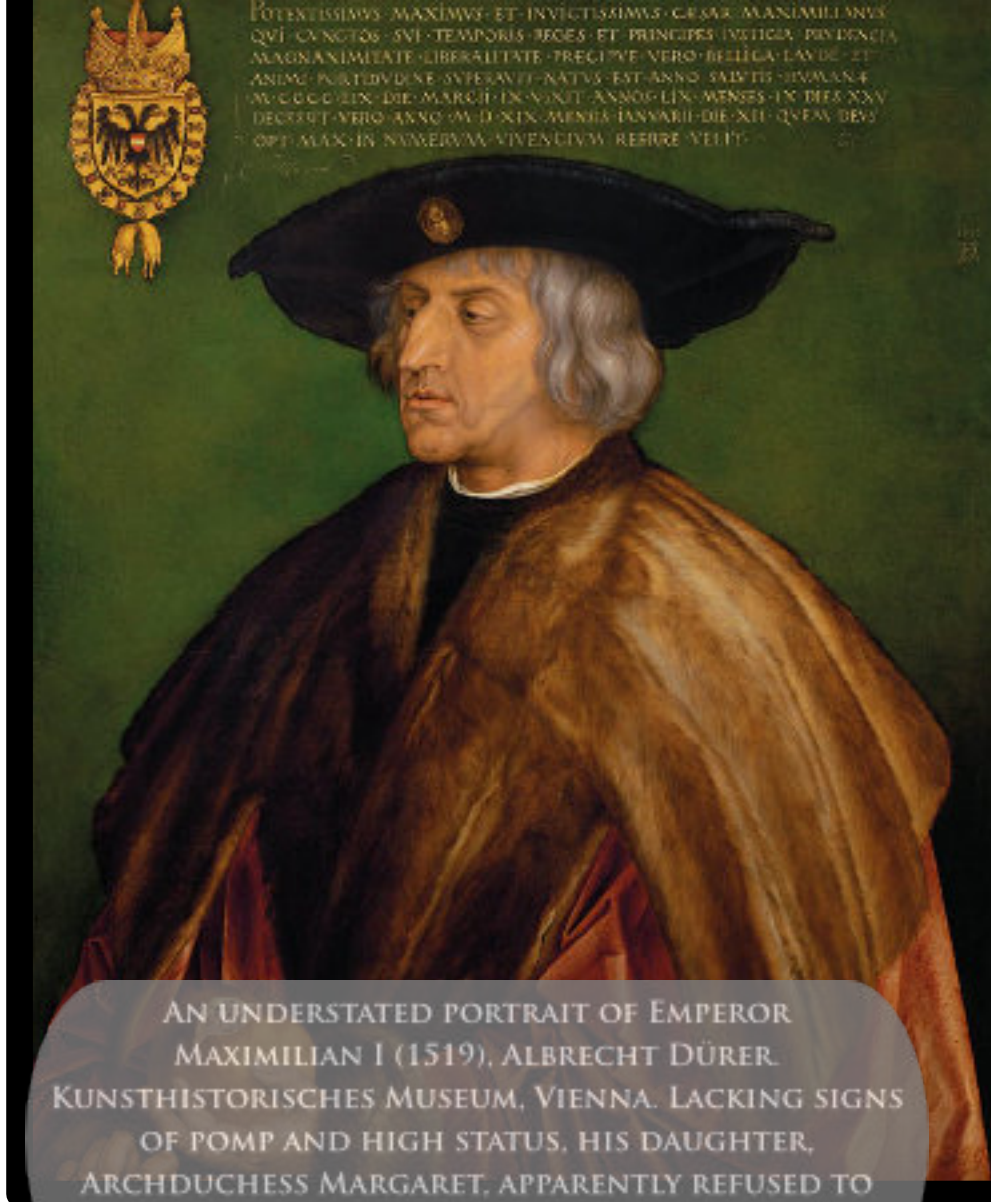


Habsburg empire for his son, later to be Charles V, and in this he achieved lasting power for the Habsburg dynasty.

Perhaps to compensate for his lack of prowess on the battlefield and the political turmoil he found himself constantly embroiled in, Maximilian turned to the arts for solace. He assembled a large army of artists, poets, craftsmen, scholars, printers and engineers. Again, in this, his ambitions were never to be fully realised in his lifetime – his tomb in Innsbruck was not completed and out of the hundred books had planned out on a variety of subjects, only two of them were actually finished before his death.

Maximilian's empire also lacked a fixed capital city and it is said that he ruled his domains from his horse and he himself said; "my true home is in the stirrup, the overnight rest and the saddle".

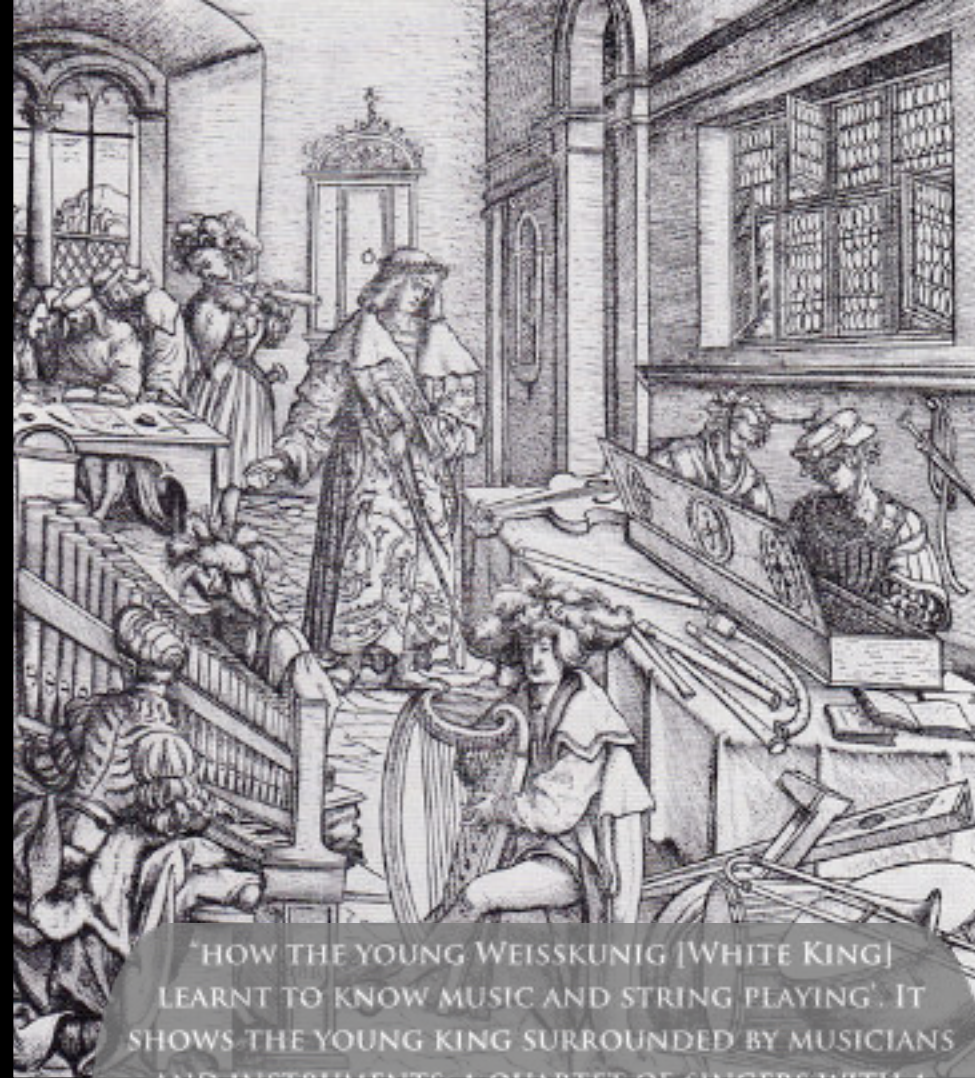
Perhaps it was because of the lack of grand palaces and estates in which to show off his wealth and possessions that Maximilian didn't



AN UNDERSTATED PORTRAIT OF EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I (1519), ALBRECHT DÜRER. KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, VIENNA. LACKING SIGNS OF POMP AND HIGH STATUS, HIS DAUGHTER, ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET, APPARENTLY REFUSED TO ACCEPT IT, AS SHE DISLIKED IT SO MUCH, WHEN DÜRER OFFERED IT TO HER IN 1520.

amass vast collections as other rulers did. Instead, he saw art as a means of glorifying himself and his dynasty as well as ensuring that as many people across the Roman Empire knew of him. He did not want to be "forgotten along with the sound of the bell". (Weisskunig). From about the age of 40, Maximilian devoted most of his energy to preserving his memory for posterity by the production of books

and objects which recounted his life and achievements. Thus, his image and depictions are shown on coins, medals, murals and, most importantly of all, in printed works. He exploited the benefits of the newly developed printing presses to extol his reputation as the 'last knight' and to ensure his 'glories' were known extensively through a relatively affordable medium. Once the



"HOW THE YOUNG WEISSKUNIG [WHITE KING] LEARNT TO KNOW MUSIC AND STRING PLAYING'. IT SHOWS THE YOUNG KING SURROUNDED BY MUSICIANS AND INSTRUMENTS: A QUARTET OF SINGERS WITH A CORNETIST PLAYING FROM MUSIC, A POSITIVE ORGAN, A HARP AND A CLAVICHORD ARE BEING PLAYED AND ELSEWHERE INSTRUMENTS ARE STREWN ABOUT: A TROMBA MARINA, A LUTE IN ITS CASE, DRUMS, SACKBUT, FLUTES, RECORDERS, A CRUMHORN AND VIOL.

musicians, singers and an organist. The instruments recorded there included trumpets, sackbuts, drummers, pipers, lutenists, harpers and violinists. This emphasis and love of instruments is perfectly illustrated in a woodcut by Hans Burgkmair from the 'Weisskunig' printed in 1514.

This illustration was entitled "how the young Weisskunig [White King] learnt to know music and string playing'. It shows the young king surrounded by musicians and instruments; a quartet of singers with a cornetist playing from music, a positive organ, a harp and a clavichord are being played and elsewhere instruments are strewn about: a tromba marina, a lute in its case, drums, sackbut, flutes, recorders, a crumhorn and viol.

woodblocks had been produced, by some of the leading artists of the day – Hans Burgkmair, Albrecht Dürer, Albrecht Altdorfer and others – then the resulting prints could be produced cheaply and in great quantities. For example, Maximilian ensured that copies of the Triumphal Arch by Dürer were pasted on to the walls of over 100 town halls and courts within his domain. The prints produced under his

direction are noted for their technical brilliance but they are also remarkable in their representations of the musical scenes of that time.

Whilst not having a major, permanent court in the manner of other European rulers, Maximilian established Innsbruck as a base, taking over the existing court of Duke Sigmund. At this Tyrolean court he established groups of

For Maximilian it was important to make a statement and that meant creating a large-scale work to help glorify him and enhance his grandeur. To do this, he commissioned two major works. The first was the 'Triumphal Arch'. This

comprised of 192 separate woodcuts which, when assembled, made up a huge pictorial wall 3.5 metres high. It portrayed Maximilian's family tree and the regions which he ruled. Amongst the woodcuts, 19 of them have musical instruments in them. It is impossible to recreate it in detail here as it is so vast and complex. It was first printed in 1517, although dated 1515, and it shows a huge gateway with archways and Maximilian sitting, godlike, at the top of the central column. The various vignettes show saints, Roman emperors, his ancestors (real and fictional), scenes of his triumphs as well as scenes of domestic life.

The other monumental work is the 'Triumphal Procession'. Again, Maximilian commissioned this in order to preserve his memory and, like the Arch, it was comprised of a series of woodcuts. There are 137 in total and, when assembled, it measures over 50 metres in length. It is some of these prints which are of interest to musicologists today as over 29 woodcuts depict, in some detail,

musical instruments. The first version of the Procession was produced between 1512 and 1515 and was originally in watercolour. Woodcuts were then produced from the watercolour images by various artists over the next few years and it was not actually completed and produced until 1526, eight years after the emperor's death. Due to its length, it was difficult to display the woodcuts as a single banner so 200 copies were produced and bound into books. So monumental was the scale

and vision of Maximilian that the Procession was never actually finished and many more planned parts of it were never realised.

Another grand project by Maximilian was a set of three autobiographical works – the Freydal, the Weisskunig and the Theuerdank. These were designed to be semi-autobiographical works in a chivalric style. The Freydal describes and illustrates tournaments, games and entertainments and the journey Freydal (Maximilian) made to woo



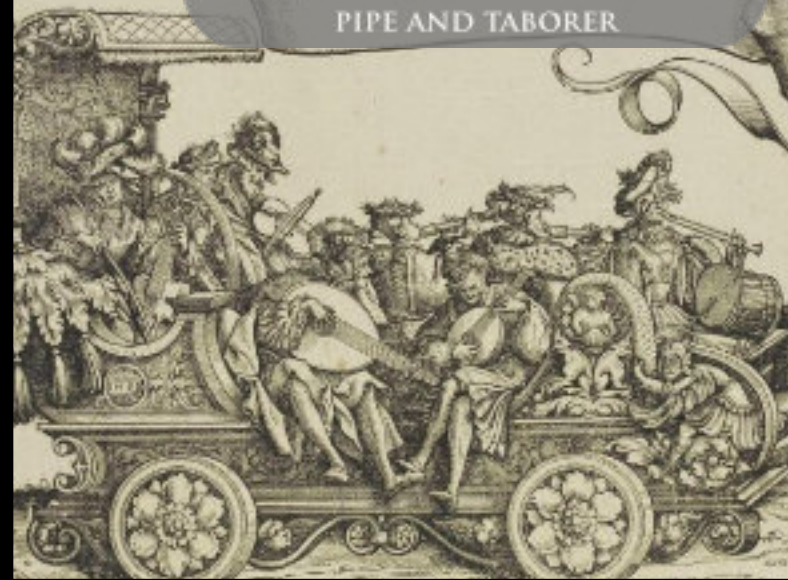
LUTES AND VIOLS



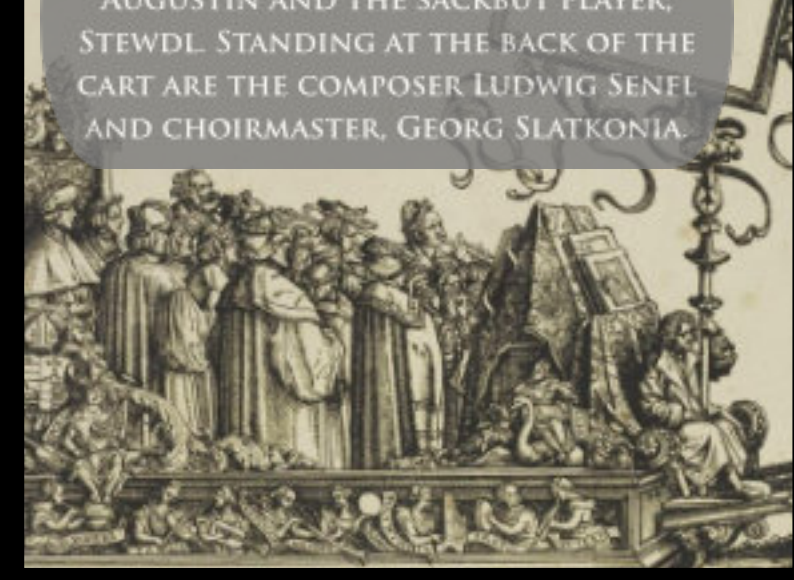
CRUMHORN AND SACKBUT



A MIXED CONSORT OF VIOL, HARP, FIDELE, LUTES, RAUSCHPFEIFEN AND A PIPE AND TABORER



THIS CART WITH 15 SINGERS DEPICTS KNOWN MUSICIANS: THE CORNETIST AUGUSTIN AND THE SACKBUT PLAYER, STEWDL. STANDING AT THE BACK OF THE CART ARE THE COMPOSER LUDWIG SENEL AND CHOIRMASTER, GEORG SLATKONIA.





Armouries in Leeds.

The final and third instalment of Maximilian's life is imagined in the *Theuerdank*, which contained fantastic experiences and imaginary events depicting aspects of Maximilian's journey to collect his bride from Burgundy. It was the only book to be finished by him and was published in 1517. It comprises 118 woodcuts, with 22 depicting musical instruments.

As well as employing great artists of the day to promote his image, Maximilian also employed musicians and composers to enhance his prestige. Heinrich Isaac, a highly reputable composer who had been employed by the Medicis in Florence, was appointed as the 'Court Composer'. This title, bestowed upon him by Maximilian, was quite radical in its day, and it's an indication that Maximilian appreciated the special attributes and gifts of a composer above, say, a singer or instrumentalist. Although not so well known now, along with Josquin des Prez, in his time Isaac was recognised

his princess (Mary of Burgundy) and to prove his worth. The text was never completed but there are 256 surviving painted images. The aim was to turn these paintings into woodcuts to allow production but again, this project was never realised. The details of entertainments are fantastic and, in each picture, Maximilian is shown, disguised as a torch-bearer.

The second instalment, the *Weisskunig*, (the White King) is an allusion to the virtuousness of Maximilian and is a romance of his life, starting

in early childhood. The book depicts Maximilian's love of armour, which was always 'white' as a symbol of his purity. Maximilian armour, as it is now known, is made from steel and is characterised by being highly decorated, etched, flutings and close helmets. Some of his personal armour still survives.

Maximilian even gave Henry VIII a suit of armour as a token of thanks for the part he played in their joint defeat of the French. The remaining piece is well known as it is so distinctive and can be seen in the Royal



A SUIT OF WHITE ARMOUR COMMISSIONED BY MAXIMILLIAN AS A GIFT TO HIS GRANDSON, CHARLES V (1512) KUNSTHISTORISCHE, VIENNA. THIS IS TYPICAL OF THE STYLE, NOW KNOWN AS MAXIMILIAN ARMOUR.



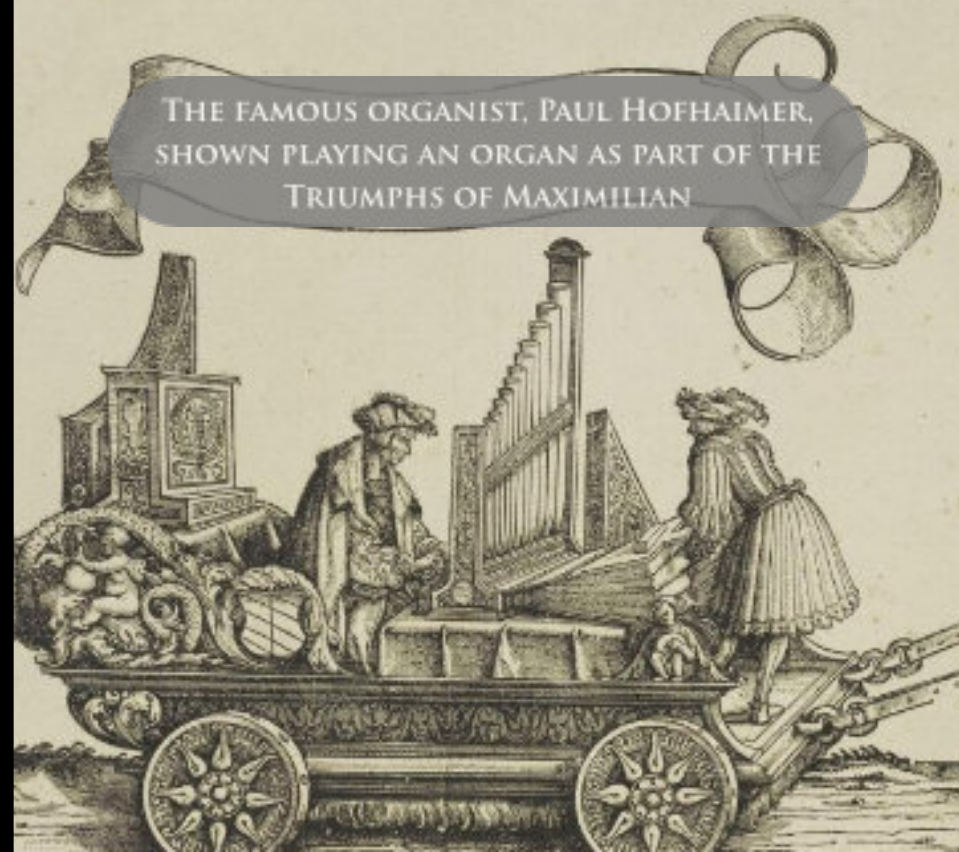
THE HORNED HELMET. PART OF THE SUIT OF ARMOUR GIFTED TO HENRY VIII BY MAXIMILIAN (ROYAL ARMOURIES, LEEDS), 1511.

as the leading composer in Europe. To perform Isaac's music, Maximilian established an elite choir of eight singers – 6 choirboys and 2 basses – and one of these was Ludwig Senfl. Senfl joined the choir when he was about ten years old and he

remained in the Emperor's service until Maximilian's death in 1519. When his voice broke, he was granted a three year study leave to go to Vienna at which time he became Isaac's pupil and assistant. He replaced Isaac as Imperial court composer upon the latter's death and whilst he composed sacred music, Senfl's settings of secular songs are truly stunning.

The third composer of fame employed by Maximilian was the renowned organist, Paul Hofhaimer. The two had been close all their lives and were the same age. Hofhaimer had served in the court of Maximilian's father, Frederick III, and his reputation as an organist and performer

THE FAMOUS ORGANIST, PAUL HOFHAIMER, SHOWN PLAYING AN ORGAN AS PART OF THE TRIUMPHS OF MAXIMILIAN





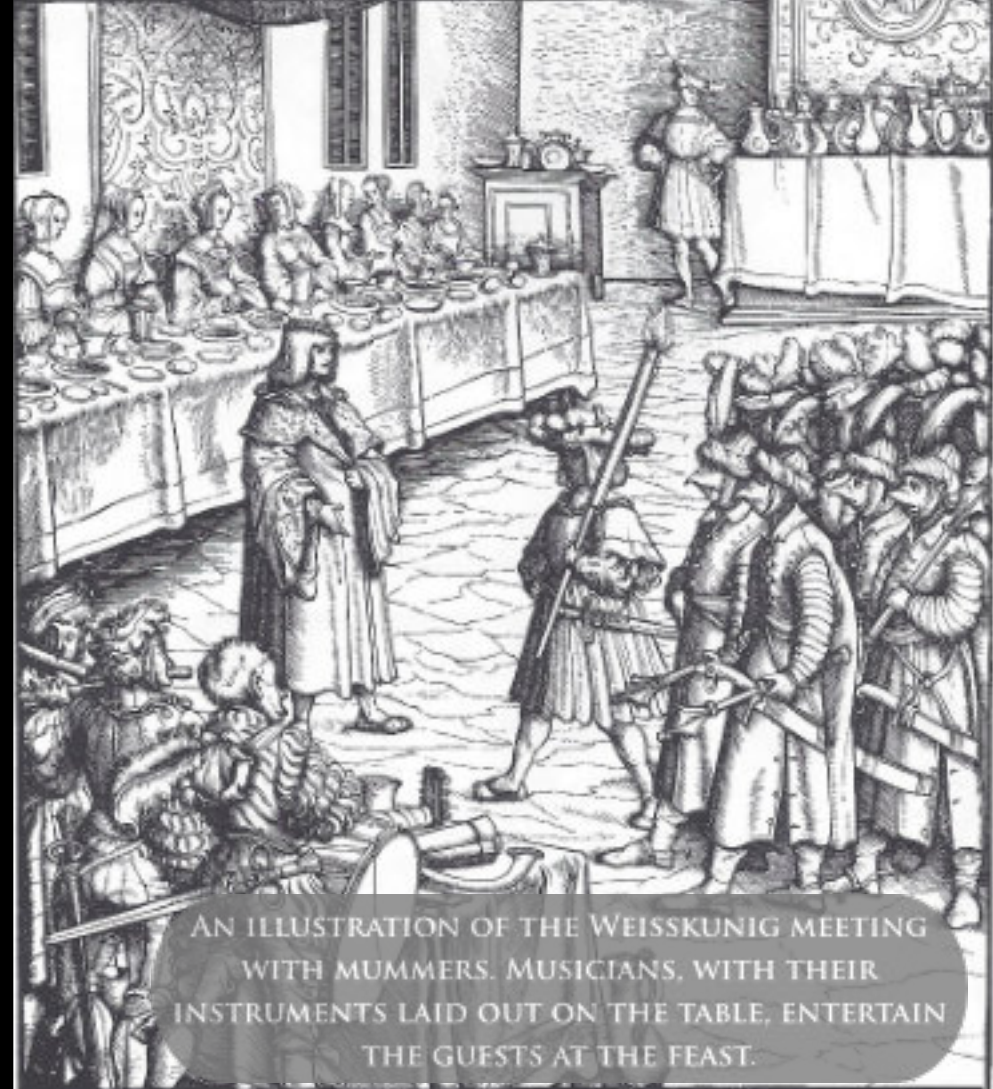
A DETAIL FROM A PAINTING SHOWING THE MEETING BETWEEN HENRY VIII AND MAXIMILIAN I FOLLOWING THEIR COMBINED SUCCESSFUL BATTLE AGAINST THE FRENCH AT THE BATTLE OF THE SPURS, 1513. (HAMPTON COURT PALACE)

spread across Europe. He remained forever by the Emperor's side and in later years he was knighted by Maximilian, thus allowing them to mix in freely as social equals.

Maximilian fell from a horse in 1501 and it is said that he remained in pain for the rest of his life from the injury he sustained. It was also rumoured that he was somewhat obsessed

by death as, from 1514 onwards, he always travelled with his own coffin. In 1519, when travelling to Vienna from Augsburg, he became ill and died in the city of Wels. He was 59. He was buried in the town of Wiener Neustadt, rather than in the elaborate tomb Maximilian had planned for himself in Innsbruck. The tomb was to have been surrounded of

statues of heroes from the past. Over the next 60 years, through the efforts of his descendants, various parts of the cenotaph were worked on and it was finally completed in the 1560 but the 28 bronze statues of past kings and queens, arranged around the sarcophagus, were not installed in the Hofkirche in Innsbruck until 1584. However, his remains



AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE WEISSKUNIG MEETING WITH MUMMERS, MUSICIANS, WITH THEIR INSTRUMENTS LAID OUT ON THE TABLE, ENTERTAIN THE GUESTS AT THE FEAST.



never made it there.

The fact that Maximilian is not laid to rest in his specially designed tomb is typical of the unrealised works of this man. So much was planned but so little was executed – dreams were trumped by reality. The tomb was never completed, his books were not finished or printed and even his Triumphal Procession was not produced in all its glory. Likewise, his dreams of a single capital city from which to rule did not come to fruition. It seems the scale of Maximilian's imagination was too vast for any one person to realise in a lifetime. What he did succeed in doing was, as the WeissKunig suggested, was to leave a memorial, a lasting legacy of his image and his myth.

JANE MOULDER

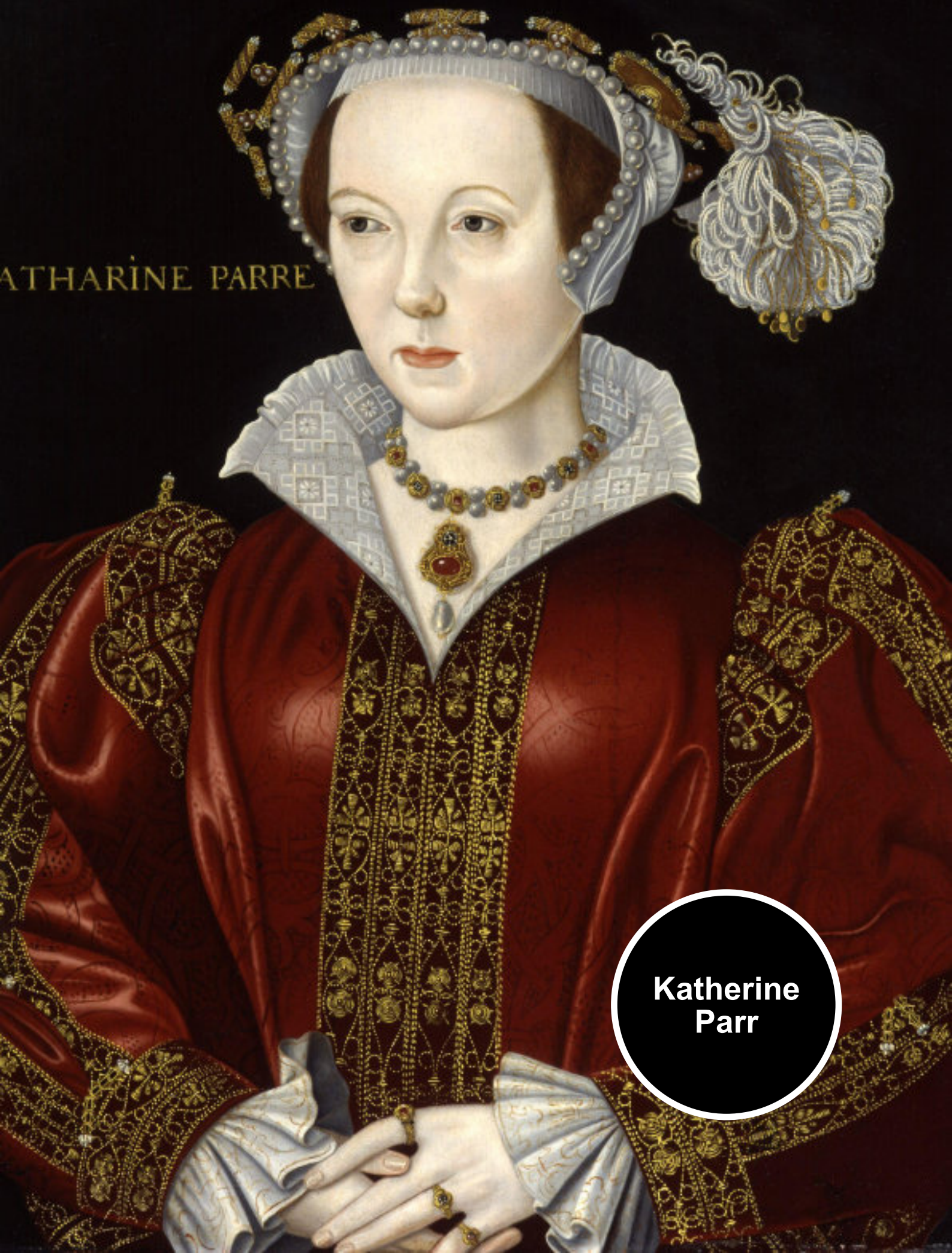
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KATHERINE PARR



Katherine Parr

Susan Abernethy talks about...



Katherine Parr as Regent and Her Enduring Example to the Future Queen Elizabeth I

The aging and increasingly unhealthy King Henry VIII committed himself and his army to fighting in France. The reasons for this were complicated. For his entire reign, Henry and England, tried to keep a delicate diplomatic balance between France and King Francois I and the Habsburg territories of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Henry's mission for this particular expedition was to join Charles V to fight King Francois and his ally, Scotland.

During his absence, Henry made the sensible decision to name his sixth wife, Queen Katherine Parr as Regent. It wasn't uncommon for women to act in this capacity in the sixteenth century. Henry had appointed his first wife Katherine of Aragon to act in his place when he went to France in 1513. Across the border, in Scotland, Marie de Guise, widow of James V, King of Scots, ruled as regent for her minor daughter Mary, Queen of Scots before and after Mary left for France in anticipation of marrying the future king. Mary of Hungary, younger sister of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, ruled as his regent in the Netherlands. Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy, had been regent in the Netherlands for her father and for her nephew, Charles V for two terms, from 1507-1515 and from 1519-1530.

A week before Henry sailed for France, he announced his decision to name his wife as his regent in a meeting of the King's Council, on July 7, 1544. In addition to naming Katherine, he appointed a regency council, staffed with Katherine's fellow religionists, as well as some religious conservatives. The men on the regency council consisted of administrators, soldiers and churchmen, the majority of which shared the evangelical views of the Queen. They included the newly appointed lord chancellor, Thomas Wriothesley, Sir William Petre, Katherine's

uncle Lord Parr of Horton, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster and Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, among others. Cranmer would be very close to Katherine during her regency, acting as her personal confessor.

Shortly before Henry departed England for the campaign, he drew up a will, which is now lost. It is presumed that in the document, he nominated Katherine to remain as regent in the event of his death. If this truly was the case, Katherine operated under the assumption she would be regent for Henry's heir, Prince Edward who was still a minor. Katherine was well aware of the state of King Henry's health and viewed this regency as a practice run for the position of regent for a minor heir. Due to the terms of the transfer of power to Edward and the lost will, a regency council would be appointed which could be headed by the king's mother. Katherine considered this a distinct possibility.

Henry bade farewell to Katherine and the court on July 8 and made his way to Dover. Six days later, he crossed the Channel to Calais. Katherine recalled the princess Elizabeth back to court to join her and her half-siblings at Hampton Court. Elizabeth was, in effect, in exile, and Katherine reinstated her to King Henry's favor. From Henry's departure until his return, Katherine kept the three royal children



with her wherever she went with the court. It was the first time the entire family was all together was Elizabeth's longest stay at court since infancy.

Katherine had an enormous task ahead of her. All the duties she took over would have been a tough assignment in a time of peace and prosperity. But during these months, the circumstances were extremely difficult with the king at war, plague stalking the country, religious divisions and the constant threat of trouble at the Scottish-English border. But Henry knew Katherine was fully capable and she established herself in the role with decisive confidence and conviction.

Katherine proceeded to exercise full royal authority and was given all the usual pomp and circumstance required. Sitting in state in the

royal presence chamber, she was served on bended knee. She was making a statement. It had only been a little more than a year before that she was the widow of a Yorkshire lord. Her rise to power had been rapid and her evangelical beliefs made her some enemies, most notably the religious conservatives on the council and at court who took exception to her views on religion.

Many came to seek Katherine's royal favor as she presided over the regency council, signed royal proclamations and approved expenditures, especially to pay for additional troops to supplement the army in France. She dealt with government paperwork, reading and answering letters and dispatches daily. Courtiers and ambassadors were received by Katherine, members of the council presented matters of important

business for her approval and she presided at banquets and other state occasions.

There are five royal proclamations signed by Katherine still in existence which mostly deal with war-related matters such as the price of armor, the arrest and trial of deserters, and the prohibition from appearing in court of anyone exposed to the plague. Her duties included provisioning the English troops with supplies and armaments in France, dealing with petitions from French nationals and potential attacks on the English herring fleet.

Katherine, along with the council, had to negotiate the results of several successful raids on the Scottish border. This was the opening salvo of the 'rough wooing', the attempt to capture the infant Scottish Queen and bring her to England to be raised as the future wife of Prince Edward. The situation on the border created unstable conditions. Due to the seizure of so many Scottish prisoners, the jails could not hold them all. A large number of these detainees in northern England could not pay for their own food while in prison. When asked what was to be done, Katherine and the council ordered the prisoners should be fed and committed several of the detainees to a variety of prisons until the king's pleasure was known. Many of them were released on bond to free up the jails.

At least seven letters still survive from Katherine to Henry and his council. She wrote to Henry, telling him how much she missed him. She commented on the king's health and spoke of her love for him. Katherine had been given the right to disburse money from the treasury with the counter-signature of two other members of the council. In one of the surviving letters, she indicates the council had approved a disbursement to him of forty-thousand pounds and informed him there were four thousand men ready at an 'hour's warning' to join him if needed. She let him know the councilors were performing their duties diligently.

Katherine had written a prayer for Henry and his men to say as they entered battle.

"O Almighty God and lord of hosts, which by thy angels thereunto appointed, dost minister both war and peace, and which didst give unto David both courage and strength, being but a little one, unarmed and unexpert in feats of war, with his sling to set upon and overthrow the great huge Goliath. Our cause now being just, and being enforced to enter into war and battle,

we most humbly beseech thee, O Lord God of hosts, so to turn the hearts of our enemies to the desire of peace, that no Christian blood be spilt, or else grant, O Lord, that will small effusion of blood, and to the little hurt and damage of innocents, we may to thy glory, obtain victory. And that the wars being soon ended, we may all with one heart and mind, knit together in concord and unity, laud and praise thee, which livest and reignest world without end. Amen."

The primary part of Henry's expedition was the siege of Boulogne in France, in an effort to expand the English position in the Pas de Calais. Henry arrived and the main assault on the town began. While the lower section of the town fell rapidly, the upper town proved more difficult and came under bombardment. Eventually the walls were breached and when the English dug tunnels under the castle, the French were forced to surrender on September 13. Henry then made his glorious entry into the town.

Katherine received word of the victory on September 19 and ordered proclamations be read over the entire country, especially in the North where there was unrest on the border. Following the victory, Katherine and the children, avoiding London because of the plague, moved to the southeast on progress and went hunting near Woking. This time Elizabeth spent with Katherine was a unique opportunity to observe a woman ruler in action and it would be an invaluable lesson. King Henry returned to England in September and was greeted by Elizabeth and Edward at court. After Henry's return, only Mary remained while Elizabeth and Edward returned to Edward's household. King Henry heartily approved of Katherine's actions as regent during his absence.

SUSAN ABERNETHY

Further reading:

"Katherine the Queen: The Remarkable Life of Katherine Parr, the Last Wife of Henry VIII", by Linda Porter, "Elizabeth's Women: Friends, Rivals and Foes Who Shaped the Virgin Queen" by Tracy Borman, "Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-in-Law: Fashioning Tudor Queenship, 1485-1547" by Retha M. Warnicke, "Game of Queens: The Women Who Made Sixteenth-Century Europe" by Sarah Gristwood, entry on Katherine Parr in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by Susan E. James

Places to Visit: Scotland

By Emma Casson & Merel de Klerk

For a long time castles and palaces have been closed due to the pandemic. Now historic sites have re-opened their doors for visitors. Here is how these three royal castles in Scotland coped during the pandemic, why you should definitely visit them now that it is possible again and they also share some fun facts about the places.

Linlithgow Palace



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What links does Linlithgow Palace have with the Tudors?

The main connection with the Tudors starts with James the 4th when he married Margaret Tudor in 1503. The day after the wedding they came to Linlithgow and he presented the beautiful, and mostly just built, palace to her.

How did the Palace adapt during the lockdown?

The site closed in March 2020 and all staff were furloughed until just before reopening in August 2020. The site closed again for 3 weeks in November but this time the team were not furloughed. We continued to come in, do maintenance and admin tasks that had been shelved for a while. We re-opened on the run up to

Christmas and closed once more on the 23rd of December. Visitor staff have been working from home since then.

What kind of impact has the pandemic made for the people working at Linlithgow Palace and the historic site itself?

The closure of the site has been the main impact on the staff. Those creating the resumption plan stipulated that the staffing level would have to be seriously augmented. This meant manning the site with 6 or 7 staff instead of 3 or 4. Visitor numbers on the other hand were capped at 240 per day spread over 4 entry times. Over ½ of our visitors are normally overseas tourists. The full recovery of the Palace will be dependent on their return.

Why should people visit?

It was the equivalent to Hampton Court in purpose and use. Although ruined by fire, the stonework remains complete and visitors can still appreciate the grandeur of the site. It is set in a beautiful park with its own natural loch.



When was it built?

There has been a royal residence on this location since the 12th century. A fire in 1424 destroyed the original manor. James the 1st started the new palace later that year. James the 3rd extended it and James the 4th completed it as a square building with a central courtyard around 1506. James the 5th (born here) built the fountain, added another entrance, and completed a few other cosmetic alterations. James the 6th had to rebuild the north range after it collapsed in 1607.

Coollest room/item?

There are many cool rooms in the palace, including the kitchens, wine cellar, and presence chamber, but I suppose the great hall with its gallery and Scotland's biggest fireplace is the coolest.

Most interesting person that lived here?

Mary Queen of Scots, I am sure would get a lot of people's vote.

Fun fact?

A big party was arranged for Bonnie Prince Charlie in the palace in 1745 and the fountain flowed with wine. A more recent event was Chanel's "Metiers d'Art" fashion show in 2012. You can see the show on Youtube.

Palace of Holyroodhouse

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What links does the Palace of Holyroodhouse have with the Tudors?

King James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor (the daughter of Henry VII and sister of Henry VIII) were married in Holyrood Abbey, adjacent to the palace, on 8 August 1503. The union of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties through this marriage provided Mary, Queen of Scots with her claim to the English throne. Mary and her second husband Henry, Lord Darnley, were both Margaret's grandchildren. Ultimately it would be their son, King James VI and I who succeeded in uniting the crowns of England and Scotland. Later, after the Restora-

tion, Charles II ordered the Palace of Holyroodhouse to be rebuilt. Although he never actually visited the palace, his brother James lived there for a few years before acceding to the throne as James VII and II.

How did the Palace adapt during the lockdown?

The past 12 months have certainly been a unique chapter in the Palace's 900-year history. During periods of lockdown, the wonders of modern technology have enabled us to keep engaging with our audiences and community groups, bringing Holyrood's fascinating (and often dramatic) history directly into people's homes. With home-schooling in mind, we created online resources for teachers and parents and developed a special series of activities for children, our 'Junior Warden Challenge'. When schools reopened, our 'Virtual Holyrood' sessions made it possible for us to bring the Palace to classrooms across the nation, with lessons on the Jacobites and Mary, Queen of Scots. We have also held online events from historic spaces, including the first ever livestream from Mary, Queen of Scots' chambers.

Why should people visit?

The Palace of Holyroodhouse is the home of Scottish royal history. Visitors can explore the chambers where Mary, Queen of Scots lived and where her secretary David Rizzio was brutally murdered. They can see where Bonnie Prince Charlie stayed and hosted a ball in September 1745. The atmospheric ruins of Holyrood Abbey are another highlight, as well as the picturesque gardens set at the foot of Arthur's Seat. At The Queen's Gallery next door, there are spectacular rotating exhibitions showcasing objects and paintings from the Royal Collection. We recently opened a new physic garden in the Palace grounds, which is open year-round to be enjoyed freely by Edinburgh locals and visitors alike.

When was it built?

Holyroodhouse originated as an Augustinian abbey of the Holy Rude (Scots for Holy Cross), founded by David I in 1128. From an early date, the kings of Scotland had their own accommodation at the abbey, which was a very comfortable place to stay, surrounded by pleasure gardens and a large park for hunting.

Coollest room/item?

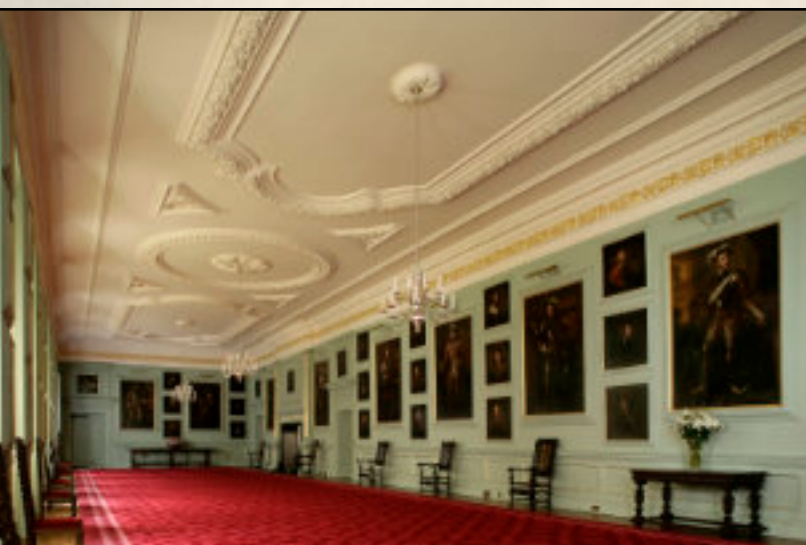
Mary, Queen of Scots' apartments within the palace give a real sense of what life would have been like for their most famous resident. The decorated ceilings are original to the rooms, and feature Mary's initials and coat of arms, along with those of her father, mother, first husband Francis, Dauphin of France and father-in-law Henri II, King of France.

Most interesting person that lived here?

The obvious answer is Mary, Queen of Scots. She spent much of her turbulent reign at the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Visitors can see the rooms where she slept, prayed, ate, danced, and met with the theologian John Knox - who reduced her to tears. It was at the Palace of Holyroodhouse that Mary's Italian secretary, David Rizzio, was stabbed to death on 9 March 1566, in front of the heavily pregnant queen.

Fun fact?

James VI was actually residing at the Palace of Holyroodhouse when he found out that Elizabeth I had died and that he had been proclaimed King James I in England, thus uniting Great Britain in the Union of the Crowns. Elizabeth died in the early hours of 24 March 1603, and the courtier Sir Robert Carey raced north to Scotland, breaking the news to James at the palace on 26 March, still 'bebloodied with great falls and bruises' from his hard ride



Stirling Castle



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What links does Stirling Castle have with the Tudors?

The Tudor connection arose in 1503 when James IV married Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, and sister of Henry VIII. Queen Margaret was often at Stirling Castle during her life in Scotland. In the aftermath of the death of James IV at the battle of Flodden in September 1513, Margaret retired to her dower-house of Stirling Castle.

How did the castle adapt during the lockdown?

As with all visitor attractions the pandemic has hit our business hard but we've put in place lots of processes and procedures to ensure the health and safety of our visitors and staff.

In the long term I am sure that Stirling Castle will recover from the impact of the pandemic

but it is really hard to forecast what the next few years will bring. We're lucky in that we receive a significant number of domestic visitors therefore the restrictions on foreign travel should work for us initially, but the overseas market is also extremely important to us and we will need these visitors to help us recover properly.

What kind of impact has the pandemic made for the people working at Stirling Castle and the historic site itself?

The team who work at Stirling Castle are extremely passionate about what they do, and take great pride in ensuring that the visitor has a great time while there, so not being able to deliver this experience in the usual way has been extremely difficult for them. They have, however, adapted to the new ways of working onsite

really well and, when the Castle has been closed, have been improving their historical/product knowledge and sharing this with their colleagues, as well as undertaking various online/virtual training courses in preparation for their return to work.

Why should people visit?

Whilst there are restrictions in place this is a great time to visit as the Castle is a lot quieter, the majority of internal spaces are open and the visitor has plenty of time to take everything in without feeling rushed. There are lots of staff onsite who will be happy to answer questions, and tell fascinating stories about the history of the site, as well ensuring the safety of all visitors. And new for 2021 – the re-opening of the Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders Museum which tells the story of the regiment, and its 200 year link with the Castle.

When was it built?

The earliest reference to their being a castle in Stirling dates back to the reign of Alexander I. He was King of Scots from 1107 to 1124. A document records that around 1110 Alexander I dedicated a chapel in Stirling Castle to his late mother, Queen Margaret (later canonised as Saint Margaret). The record of that dedication is the very first time that Stirling Castle is mentioned in historical documents. It is almost certain that there was a stronghold in Stirling prior to Alexander I's reign, but nothing is known of it. The oldest surviving building in Stirling Castle today is the North Gate, built for Robert II in 1381.

Coolest room/item?

Perhaps the most precious and beautiful items in the castle today are the Stirling Heads. They are splendid examples of Scottish renaissance art. The Stirling Heads consist of a series of carved oak medallions. They were commissioned by James V around 1540. The king was building a magnificent new royal lodging in Stirling Castle at that time, a structure now known as the Palace. James

V had the Stirling Heads placed upon the ceilings of his apartments within the Palace. The Heads depict kings and queens, figures from the sixteenth century Scottish court, and classical and mythological figures.

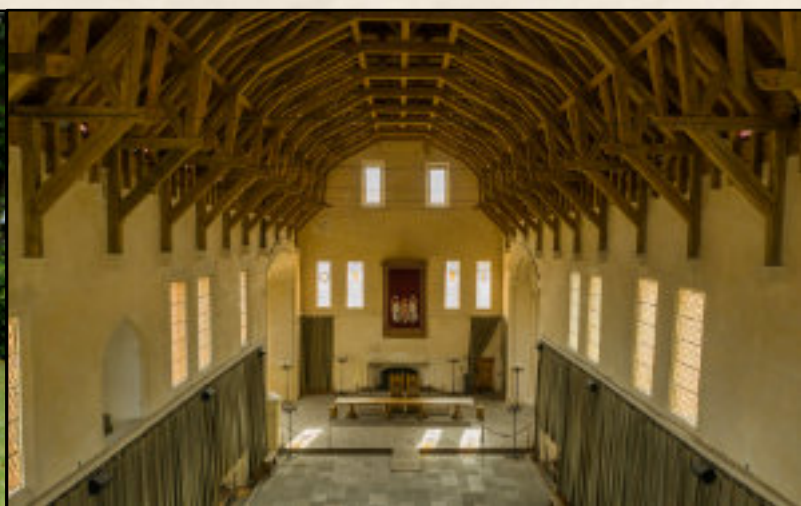
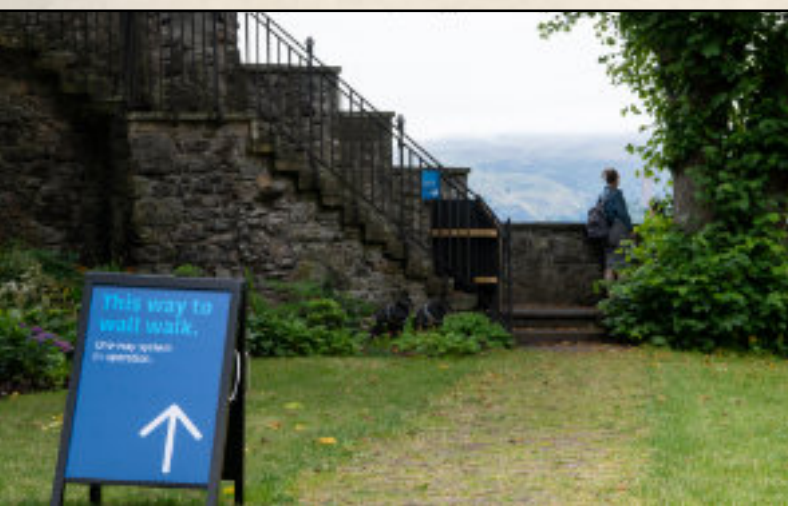
Most interesting person that lived here?

Stirling Castle has been home to many interesting characters, not least Mary, Queen of Scots. However, perhaps the most interesting person was her grandfather, King James IV. He was a remarkable figure, whose reign is regarded as a golden age in Scotland's history. James IV is responsible for much of the castle that we have today. The castle's splendid Forework and its magnificent Great Hall were both the work of James IV.

Fun fact?

King James IV's alchemist, John Damian, is reputed to have made an early attempt at flight from the battlements of Stirling Castle in September 1507. Damian is said to have announced to the Scottish court that he would fly from Stirling Castle to France. He had a pair of wings made out of feathers to assist him in his attempt. However, when John Damian launched himself from the walls of Stirling Castle he came crashing to the ground.

Another fun fact is that the oldest known football in the world was found in Stirling Castle during restoration work in the late 20th century. Workmen discovered the ball stuck in the ceiling of the Queen's Bedchamber in James V's Palace. The ball is made of leather, and was inflated by a pig's bladder. The ball has been dated to c.1540. FIFA, world football's governing body, have recognised the football as the oldest known one still in existence. Football was a popular pastime at the Scottish royal court. There are records of James IV buying footballs, and Mary, Queen of Scots, is known to have spectated at football matches. The football found in Stirling Castle is now on display in Stirling's Smith Art Gallery and Museum.



THE TUDOR SOCIETY



Members' Bulletin

Hello fellow Tudor history lovers,

This month I wanted to highlight a few new parts of the Tudor Society website. Can you believe we're over 3500 articles on the website at the moment? I'm so incredibly proud of all the work that has gone into making such a vibrant community. And we still continue to grow our efforts.

Firstly, I'd like to remind you that all members are now invited to join our private members-only Facebook group (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/tudorsocietymembers>). We have already got a good number of the members over on that group and it's proving to be a great place to connect with each other. Claire has moved one of her Friday videos over to doing a live chat in that group, so this is yet another way we're trying to make the Society as interactive as possible.

I realise that some people don't like Facebook, and that's fine. In line with our continuing policy, we will always take the recordings from the Facebook talk and put them onto the main website too, but if could encourage you to join us live, you'll be able to ask your own questions and really discover more about Tudor history.

Secondly, I don't know if you've spotted our three new video series? We have Lil who has been making enthusiastic and informative book review videos. She has an eye for books which you might have missed, so we're enjoying her productions. Then there's Brigitte Webster and her new videos filmed at her very own Tudor property. Brigitte is full of information about how life was in the Tudor period, and we've loved her videos so far and there are plenty more to come! Then we've got Julian Humphrys, who I'm sure you'll know from previous expert talks. Julian has come on board to make regular videos about battlefields and such things. Julian's knowledge is amazing and we love his enthusiasm for all things Tudor.

Well, that's about all the space I have. I could go on and on about what an amazing experience the Tudor Society provides, but I know you'll already know that. Thank you so much, as always, for your support.

TIM RIDGWAY

TONI MOUNT

Intriguing stories from a moated manor house in Kent

Ightham Mote

Intriguing stories from a moated manor house in Kent – Ightham Mote

We visited Ightham Mote, a medieval manor house with Tudor additions, situated between Wrotham and Sevenoaks in Kent, to glory in the bluebell woods at this National Trust property. Covid restrictions [April 2021] meant the house itself was closed to visitors but the gardens, lakes and woodlands were open to be enjoyed. I've been to the house many times but, for years, some part or other of the building has always been hidden behind scaffolding and draped with tarpaulins as an extensive programme of vital repairs and conservation

went on, inside and out. This was the first time in so long that the entire Mote was visible and could be seen at its best.



Tomb effigy of Sir Thomas Cawne in St Peter's Church, Ightham

Sir Thomas Cawne (unknown-1374) - Find A Grave Memorial

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Ightham Mote,
GROUND FLOOR PLAN.



Plan of the ground floor from Kent Archaeological Society's *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol 27, 1905.

I thought readers might find the story of Ightham Mote interesting. The NT guide book and Wikipedia tell the basic story but my friend Sandi L. is a NT volunteer at the house and she has provided me with 'insider' knowledge and I'm very grateful to her for all the information she gave me on the house and its early owners.

Despite extensive research, when and by whom the Mote was built remains uncertain but it's dated to c.1320. The first recorded owner was Sir Thomas Cawne who lived there from c.1360 until his death in 1374. There is a fine effigy of Sir Thomas

on his tomb in St Peter's Church, Ightham, showing him armed for war. An old guide book notes the similarity of this effigy to that of Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince, in Canterbury Cathedral, and the two men may well have been comrades in France, fighting during the first decades of the Hundred Years' War and commissioned the same sculptor for their tombs.

It is thought that the moat, fed by local springs, was dug first, the diggings being used as foundations for the house. Sir Thomas was responsible for the construction of the present great hall, the 'old' chapel, the crypt, the solar, the lower level of the gatehouse and the kitchens. Below is the ground floor plan taken from Wikimedia.org.

The gatehouse was built of Kentish ragstone originally as a single storey but would have been impressive all the same with its great oak doors approached across a timber drawbridge over the moat. The doors date to c.1340 with their carved linen-fold design so are original, as is the oubliette or dungeon, entered via a trapdoor from above.

The upper storey of the gatehouse with its crenellations was added, according to the 2016 guide book, in the sixteenth century by a later owner, one of the Selby family. The drawbridge was replaced by a permanent stone bridge at around the same time.

From the gatehouse, visitors to Sir Thomas Cawne would have entered the courtyard. In the fourteenth and earlier part of the fifteenth century, the west and south wings of the house didn't exist, so the great hall on the north-east side dominated with an entrance via a porch directly off the courtyard. (Today, visitors are greeted by a huge dog kennel, once occupied



**Linen-fold panels on the gatehouse door are reflected on an inner door to the crypt that are better preserved
[photo by GM]**

by a Victorian St Bernard, which is registered as an Ancient Monument in its own right!) Beyond the hall, in the eastern corner, were the kitchens. Often, in medieval manor houses, the kitchens were built well away from the hall and living accommodation because of the risk of fire, but here at Ightham the moat confined the area and lack of space meant the kitchens had to be close at hand. At least the food should have arrived at the table before it went cold.

Sir Thomas's great hall is now entered via the smaller outer hall or lobby but this is a nineteenth-century innovation, designed to reduce the draughts that must have plagued the great hall, blowing in directly from the courtyard ever since the porch was removed in the fifteenth. The hall is, according to the imperial measurements of my 1987 guide book,

thirty feet long by twenty feet wide and over thirty-seven feet high at its highest point. Its walls, in true medieval fashion, range in thickness from two feet six inches to four feet. Sir Thomas built his home to last – which it has. How well lit the hall was originally is hard to tell because the five-light stained glass window was added later in the fifteenth century and the stained glass was inserted in the sixteenth. Most probably, the hall was fairly gloomy and had a central open hearth, as can still be seen at Penshurst Place, a contemporary Kentish building, evidenced by copious amounts of soot found on the roof timbers. The smoke escaped through gaps in the roof but, in the fifteenth century, Richard Haute had a fireplace set into the wall with a chimney. The small window beside the fireplace is original and it seems likely the larger, later window may have replaced a similar small

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Ightham Mote Gatehouse [photo by GM]



The Courtyard, the Great Hall and its five-light window [right] and the dog kennel beyond [photo by GM]

one.

A stone ‘sperre’ arch – usually, they are of timber – shows where the ‘screens passage’ used to be, so called because it was screened off from the view of those seated at the ‘posh’ upper end of the hall. The screens passage was the servants’ route to and from the kitchens, the pantry (where bread and dried goods were stored) and the buttery (or ‘bottlery’ where the butler had charge of the wine and ale).

Either the pantry or buttery – not certain which – still remains but the other was the size of a cupboard and blocked up at some point. According to my 1987 guide book, in 1872, during renovation work, this cupboard was re-opened and the skeleton of a female was found sitting inside!

When I asked my friend Sandi L. about this story of the skeleton she was surprised it ever appeared in the guide book. It may be a nineteenth-century tale of a hoax. A group of medical students were spending Christmas with the then owners of the Mote, the Selbies. No doubt thinking it would be a lark to scare the servants, they produced a skeleton and said they’d found it

in a blocked up cupboard. The story passed down to later owners, one of whom told a novelist friend, Anya Seaton, about it. She incorporated the mystery into her novel *Green Darkness* which is still available in the Mote’s shop [and on Kindle, if you can’t make a visit]. Sandi tells me that during more recent extensive conservation work, no evidence of any cupboard that might have been the resting place of a skeleton was found. The tale only lives on in Anya Seaton’s novel which does, however, contain a brilliant description of the manor house. The most recent 2016 edition of the guide book hasn’t done away with the story but now the cupboard was being unblocked by workmen. Readers can take their choice.

Sandi described to me her favourite original features in the great hall: four carved figures in the corners, each well preserved, seeming to support the wooden roof beams. She says there is a lot of speculation about what the figures are doing – one female figure is ‘clearly having a squat’, as Sandi sees it. Two stone carvings support the stone sperre arch and again, Sandi says they’re not sure who the

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figures are, but one holds a scroll and could be a priest or a clerk keeping an eye on the money. It isn't likely to be the original architect of Ightham because, in the fourteenth century, the building plans wouldn't have been drawn on paper but first designed in damp sand until approved and then set in plaster. Sandi loves the thought that these might be images of real people involved in the building of the Mote, as the great hall was the earliest part of the building. There are also two wooden faces high in the roof beams: a Green Man and a handsome face with wavy hair. Sandi told me that it has been suggested the latter might be the original owner (discussed in a casual conversation, not documented or authorised!). But it's a nice idea and quite possible. As Covid restrictions eased today [17.5.2021], we hurried back to the Mote where the ground floor had been partially reopened. We took a torch and were able to see the pained expressions of those carved figures having supported the weight of the roof for 700 years!

Although the great hall is a single space that reaches up to the roof beams – as medieval halls did – elsewhere in Sir Thomas Cawne's manor, it was a two-storey building. At ground level, behind and to the left of the hall, as seen from the courtyard, is the crypt with a stairway leading up to the original fourteenth-century chapel above on the first floor. This is referred to as the 'old' chapel since the 'new' chapel was constructed in the fifteenth century, again by Richard Haute. It was re-consecrated as a Protestant chapel in c.1530. It is also known as the 'Tudor chapel because of the later panelling with its Tudor iconography. [More on the Tudor chapel in a future article.]

The crypt and the old chapel were



Ightham Mote, view from South Lake [photo by GM]

once almost a separate building from the hall because all four walls are substantial outside walls four feet thick, although they are now enclosed. The put-log holes for the medieval builders' scaffolding are still visible in the stone-vaulted crypt and the chapel above. Originally, the old chapel must have been very much to the glory of God, with a fine east window and elaborate timber roof. There is a squint through to the adjacent 'oriel' room – so called because of its large window, installed in the sixteenth century, looking out to the courtyard – so Sir Thomas's family, relaxing in what was then known as the solar, could hear the religious services conducted in the chapel. And here is another anomaly Sandi told me about: there is evidence of a garderobe (a medieval indoor loo) on the outer side of the old chapel. It would have emptied directly into the moat but its position is curious. Was it exclusively for the priest's use? This would be most unusual since such facilities were normally for the convenience of the family. In which case, did family members stroll through the chapel when needs must? More likely, there was an access way directly from

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the solar to the garderobe but this has been lost in time. In any case, I find the position of the solar confusing; my knowledge of medieval architecture, though not great, leads me to think this could not be. The solar was supposed to be the sunniest room in the manor house, facing either south or west, where the women could sew or read in the best light. But the 1905 edition of *Archaeologia Cantiana* agrees with me:

The most elementary treatise on [medieval] house-planning tells us that the family wing of a mansion should be to the south and west, and the kitchens to the north and east; but at Ightham Mote the kitchens were placed to the south of the great hall or heart of the building, and the family apartments to the north.

Ightham Mote was built the wrong way round!

What is now described in the 2016 guide book as the 'solar bedroom and bathroom' is said to have been a second solar or family room. Together, the two solars and the chapel formed a T-shape. It's a strange arrangement I've not found elsewhere but having two private chambers for the family certainly advertised the wealth of the original builder. It also put God and religious observance at the heart of Ightham Mote.

Next time, we'll look at Ightham Mote and its owners, the Hautes, in the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century.

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THE TOWER OF LONDON

Quiz ANSWERS

How did you do in this month's quiz? Here are the answers in case you wanted to check (or cheat?!)

- 1.The Peasants Revolt
- 2.Charles II
- 3.Henry III
- 4.Martin Tower
- 5.The White Tower
- 6.St. Johns Chapel
- 7.William the Conqueror
- 8.Robert Dudley
- 9.Beauchamp Tower
- 10.Sir Walter Raleigh
- 11.Queens Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, and Jane Grey, Sir Thomas More, and John Fisher
- 12.Wakefield Tower
- 13.Byward Tower
- 14.Bell Tower

Charlie

Henry VIII in 100 Objects

Paul Kendall



There are a few books that look at certain people or places in 100 objects, such as Napoleon or the Tudor dynasty itself, exploring the objects associated with them and the stories behind each one. One of the most recent books in this style is Paul Kendall's *Henry VIII in 100 Objects*, which tells the story of Henry's life and reign through 100 objects. It is a full-colour glossy book, although it covers more places than actual objects. It even includes people, such as Charles Brandon, so the book does feel somewhat incorrectly named. However, the author does clarify at the beginning, explaining that it is chronological, 'beginning with Henry's birth and featuring objects, including locations, paintings and documents, which represent various stages in Henry's fascinating, but turbulent life as well as providing a snapshot of significant events'.

The author gives the history of the place/object, as well as providing excerpts from documents concerning it. There are also some interesting facts and figures for some of the objects, such as one suit of armour:

'Henry sought craftsmen who had worked for Maximilian I in Flanders to build his armour. Peter Fevers was paid £15 (valued at £10,000 in 2019) for the construction of the 'Silvered and Engraved Armour' in August 1515. The armour, covered completely with silver and with a gilt skirt around the base, was engraved by a Belgian craftsman.'

The book starts with Greenwich Palace and shows the plaque commemorating the births of Henry VIII, Mary I and Elizabeth I. Sadly there is not much to see at Greenwich anyone, at least not much that Henry himself would have recognised, but it starts the story of his life nicely.

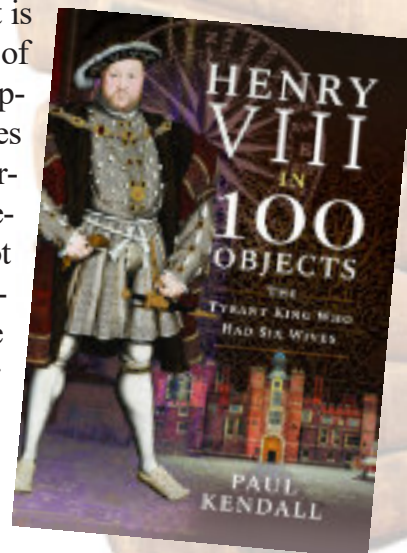
One of my favourite objects is Henry VIII's portable lock, which can be seen at Hever Castle. Alongside a picture of the lock, Kendall explains:

'The safety and security of the king while travelling across the country was paramount and at every place he stayed, these portable locks were personally fitted to the door of the king's bedchamber by Romaynes. Sturdy and robust, they would form an adequate barrier against anyone intent on harming or killing the king. Two keyholes are concealed behind a central sliding plate, decorated with the arms of Henry VIII positioned above two Tudor roses.'

Henry VIII in 100 Objects, despite being misnamed, is a great book looking at the key points throughout his life. It is a novel way to tell the story of the infamous king and is supported by full-colour pictures of each object, place or person. The book is well-researched and yet is not bogged down by detail, being easy to read and one which would be suitable for anyone interested in Henry VIII.



Our Books



Richard III in the North

M. J. Trow



Richard III has been the subject of many biographies over the years, as well as general histories of the time period. However, there are few works that solely focus on his relationship with a certain area of England, such as the North, which he was known to be fond of. M. J. Trow's latest work *Richard III in the North* does just that, looking at the king's relationship with, as the blurb puts it, 'the area that he loved and made his own'.

Trow goes through the different areas and castles Richard would have known, including floor plans of the castles and maps of battlefields, which are very useful. He provides a detailed description of these places and does a good job of making the reader imagine what it would have been like:

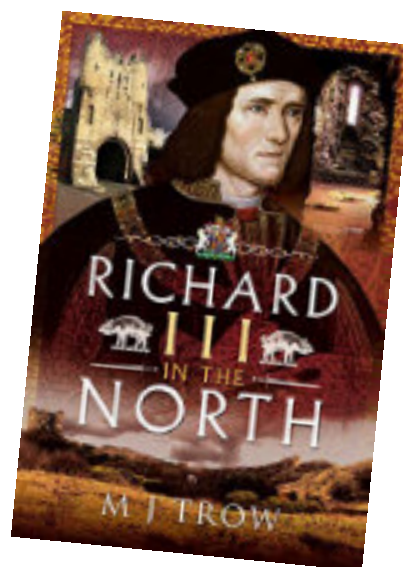
'The premises where Richard was housed had cost Fastolf £1,650 (over £10 million today) and the moat was a quarter of a mile in circumference. It had a drawbridge and stone causeway, very typical of the transitional homes of the aristocracy and gentry, which were morphing from forbidding defensive castles to welcoming family homes. It had a bakehouse, a larder house (for food), two granaries and a garden studded with elms. There are references to a gallery, a buttery (dining room), kitchen, cellar (for wine), accommodation for Fastolf's servants, a hall

and a solar or bedroom for the master of the house.'

It is interesting to see how Richard's relationship with the North grew and was shaped by his early years there, especially growing up in the Earl of Warwick's household. This gives the reader some insight into how he operated there later on. The author also does a good job of dispelling some of the myths surrounding Richard, but he does not seem like he is forcing his views on the reader and mentions them naturally throughout the text.

What lets this book down is the fact that it has a very basic bibliography and no footnotes or referencing of any kind. This is surprising, as there are many quotes and figures used throughout.

Richard III in the North is an interesting look at Richard III's life and shows a side of him that has seldom been seen before. M. J. Trow writes well and manages to keep the reader engaged throughout, even when talking about things that could be boring to some, like the more intricate details of the buildings Richard would have stayed in and known. Unfortunately, the lack of referencing does let it down somewhat, as well as the bibliography lacking in detail, despite the author clearly knowing the subject and having researched it well. I would still recommend this to anyone interesting in Richard III and his relationship with the North, but just to bear that in mind.





MEDIEVAL FOOD MYTHS

We often take the food we eat every day for granted when it's so easy for us to quickly nip down to the local shops and pick up a bag of whatever we're craving. However, travel back to a time when explorers first brought back new and exotic fruits and vegetables from far off places, what might become our favourite edibles today were frequently looked upon with suspicion and mistrust.

Many medieval taboos about food started off life as canonical regulations governing what could and could not be ingested. Items were identified by early Christian scholars as 'impure' or 'taboo', and the majority of these food taboos were concerned with certain types of meat and with blood. The consumption of carrion was strictly forbidden, with justification coming from the Old Testament. But just because there was a biblical basis for food taboos didn't mean they were automatically adopted in local laws. For example, the Old Testament forbids pork consumption, despite pork remaining a staple food for early Christians in Europe. Interestingly, stolen food was considered taboo in secular and canonical law.

Before we jump into some of the best food myths and taboos I've found in my culinary travels, I'd like to mention the very Irish concept of the *géis*.

A *géis* (or *geisa*, or *geisi*) was a personal taboo usually pronounced at birth, and many of them concern food. An individual's *géis* usually took the form of a moral paradox followed by dire consequence if

broken. In the case of Irish hero Cúchulainn, his *géis* concerned the ingrained Irish tradition of hospitality.

Cúchulainn's *géis* forbade him from eating dog while also constraining him to accept dish of food offered to him by a woman. As the fates would have it, he's offered a plate of dog meat by the Morrígu. Having no way to refuse her hospitality, Cúchulainn eats the meal, an act that ultimately leads to his death. I've also come across another hospitality-related *géis* concerned with mead; the hero is prohibited from drinking mead while refusing to do so is an insult to his host's hospitality.

So here are a few of the best food myths that might just make you look at your favourite foods in a different light.

Potatoes:

Although the humble spud arrives on the gastronomic scene a little later than the Tudor period, it wasn't greeted with much enthusiasm. It seems that potatoes were saddled with the reputation of killing with their ugliness for reasons unknown. At first, I thought this might be because their

outward appearance linked them with disfiguring tertiary syphilis or leprosy diseases. But then I got to thinking that maybe it was because potatoes come from the order Solanales, including nightshades, daturas and mandrakes. Sadly for me, I think it's more a case of the humble potato's unfortunate appearance that gave rise to its killer reputation rather than a case of mistaken identity. I say this because of the notion that beautiful things equate with noble virtues and goodness. In contrast, ugly things, especially things grown in the soil, were considered to be of a coarser and less refined nature.

Sage:

Almost every ancient culture has been using sage for medicinal purposes. For example, sage was used to help with pain after childbirth and regulate menstruation by Chinese healers, while the ancient Greeks used it to flush toxins from the body. In addition, early European medical texts recommend the use of sage tea to cure common colds, fevers, liver ailments and even used it to treat epilepsy and memory loss. But both the Romans and Arab physicians thought sage could make a person immortal. It's a rather chicken-and-egg scenario as to who came up with sage-based immortality first.

Parsley:

If sage could make someone immortal, then parsley was considered the devil's herb. As far as I've been able to discover, this is

because the ancient Greeks chose to decorate the tombs of the deceased with parsley, giving rise to the description that a dying person 'needs only parsley' to complete their journey to the next life. This connection to death also spawned the myth that parsley seeds have to go to the devil and back nine times before they sprout, which was said because parsley takes so long to germinate. And if the seeds never grew, that meant the devil was living in the garden bed.

Personally, I wonder if it mightn't have more to do with the fact that garden parsley (*Petroselinum crispum*) looks very similar to cow parsley (*Anthriscus sylvestris*), both of which look similar to poison hemlock (*Conium maculatum*) which did for Socrates. So remember to be careful when you garnish your dishes!

Fennel:

The liquorice-tasting herb, fennel can be used for all sorts of tasty things in the kitchen. However, I didn't know that fennel is also helpful to those who wish to keep witches away from their houses. Apparently, fennel was hung on the doorframes of medieval homes to keep witches and their dark magic at bay. The stalks of the fennel plant and the seeds placed in keyholes also supposedly warded the devil off.

Salt:

We've all heard of or seen the act of tossing spilt salt over your left shoulder using your right hand to

ward off evil. This unusual food custom comes from the belief that if spilt salt is not dealt with appropriately; the devil could attack and steal your soul. This is because the early Christian church believed that salt was incorruptible and holy, much like the body of Christ. So if a superstitious person accidentally spills some salt, they must immediately throw a pinch over their left shoulder. This is because the devil is apparently more likely to attack from behind a person and from the left (or sinister) side. So the presence of salt will immediately scare off the devil before he has time to cause any mischief. Providing he's gotten past the fennel stalks and seeds in the first place.

Strawberries

According to several Norse sagas, strawberries were considered sacred to the goddess Frigg, the wife of Odin. However, when Christianity was introduced to Northern Europe, strawberries became linked to the Virgin Mary. Somewhere along the way, a new religious ruling was made that if one died with strawberry juice on their lips, they would be denied entry into heaven for all eternity. And if that wasn't enough to stop people from eating strawberries, someone came up with the myth that strawberries were really deceased babies that entered into heaven. Having said that, I think I'll forgo the tempting strawberry tartlet, just to be on the safe side.

Apples

In 2019, I wrote a piece on apples, but to my surprise, I left out some of the superstitions that surround what has to be the most popular fruit in existence. The obvious taboo against eating apples comes from their identification as the fruit used by the serpent to tempt Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. However, I don't know how this identification was made as the apple isn't named explicitly in the Bible. It may have something to do with apple seeds forming a pentacle within the fruit, but this is a much more modern construct. Biblical scholars now think the offending fruit might have been a pomegranate, but I digress.

Apples have been linked to youthfulness and longevity ever since the Norse goddess Iðunn and her apples were lured out of Ásgarðr by the giant Þjazi. Along with strawberries, apples are also sacred to the chief Norse goddesses, Frigg, and are were used in fertility spells. British hedgerow magic uses apples in workings designed to bring knowledge to the seeker, or in love charms. The Samhain/All Hallows Eve/Halloween custom of bobbing for apples is believed to be rooted in a Druidic ritual for divination. Boatbuilders considered it unlucky to build a boat from applewood as it was previously used for coffins - something I didn't know.

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Life

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