UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

All the Queen's Jewels, 1445-1548

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This Thesis has been completed as a requirement for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester.

Declaration:

No portion of the work referred to in the Thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

I confirm that this Thesis is entirely my own work.

Dedicated to all of my family.

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Abstract

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ABSTRACT

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The jewellery worn by queens consciously reflected both their gender and their status as the first lady of the realm. Jewels were more than decorative adornments; they were an explicit and unmistakeable display of wealth, majesty and authority. They were often given to queens by those who wished to seek her favour or influence, and were also strongly associated with key moments in their life cycle. These included courtship and marriage, successfully negotiating childbirth (and thus providing dynastic continuity), and their elevation to queenly status or coronation.

This thesis will examine the ceremonial and personal jewellery collections of the ten queen consorts of England between 1445-1548. It will investigate the way in which queens acquired jewels, whether via their predecessor, their own commission or through gift giving, as well as the varying contexts in which queens wore jewels. In so doing this thesis will establish what jewels reveal about queens as individuals, their images as consorts, and their relationships with their husbands, household and court.

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Abbreviations

Add MS	Additional Manuscript
BL	British Library
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BM	*Burlington Magazine*
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1476-1509*, 3 vols. (London, 1901-16).
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth*, R. Lemon (ed.) (London, 1856).
CSPM	*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts in the Archives and Collections of Milan 1385-1618*, A.B. Hinds (ed.) (London, 1912).
CSPS	*Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, G.A. Bergenroth et al. (ed.), 13 vols. (London, 1862-1954).
CSPV	*Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, R. Brown et al. (ed.), 38 vols. (London, 1864-1947).
EHR	*English Historical Review*
GC	Goldsmiths' Company
HLQ	*Huntingdon Library Quarterly*
L & P	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547*, J. Brewer et al. (ed.), 21 vols. (London, 1862-1932).
NPG	National Portrait Gallery
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (2004).
RCT	Royal Collection Trust
SoA	Society of Antiquaries
SP	State Papers
TNA	The National Archives

Explanatory Notes

This thesis features two queens called Elizabeth, three named Anne, and three named Katherine. Although each queen is generally referred to by her full title, for clarity it has been necessary in some instances to adapt the spellings of their names in order to differentiate them. Elizabeth Wydeville and Elizabeth of York are always referred to in terms of their surname and title, as stated here. The name 'Wydeville' is spelt in several different ways by scholars, and the variation most commonly adopted is 'Woodville'. However, 'Wydeville' is the correct contemporary spelling, and has thus been used here. In the same manner as the two Elizabeth's, Anne Neville and Anne Boleyn are always referenced by their surnames, while Anne of Cleves is referred to as Anna of Cleves, which was how she herself signed her name.[1] Catherine of Aragon is spelt with a 'C' throughout, in reference to the fact that she was christened Catalina. Katherine Howard appears as it is spelt here, whilst Kateryn Parr refers to the way in which Kateryn herself signed her name.[2]

A summary of the pieces and stones used in the jewel inventories included in this study can be seen in several tables in this piece. Since at least the middle of the third millennium BC, gold was the most popular choice of base metal for jewellery, and remained so in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[3] In all cases hereafter gold was the base metal used unless otherwise stipulated. There are also various points when an unspecified amount of stones are listed. For example, several objects are described as being garnished 'with dyamountes', or 'with rubies'. When this occurs, a + sign is used in the table below to indicate that there are more than the number stated.

[1] All manuscript references are to the National Archives, unless otherwise stated. See E 101/422/15, unfoliated.
[2] See E 315/161, 33r.
[3] C. Phillips, *Jewels and Jewellery* (London, 2000), p. 10.

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Introduction

At the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, the Venetian ambassador observed that Catherine of Aragon 'wore a necklace of very large pearls, from which hung a very valuable diamond cross. Her head gear was of black velvet striped with gold lama, and powdered with jewels and pearls'.[4] By the same token, when Anne Boleyn was created Marquess of Pembroke in September 1532, the Venetian ambassador noted that she was 'completely covered with the most costly jewels'.[5] Contemporaries, therefore, not only noticed but also remarked upon the opulence of the jewels worn by queens, a testimony to the impact that they created. This was completely intentional, for jewels were 'among the most splendid of the status symbols of the period' and were used to full effect by monarchs and their consorts.[6] Throughout history jewels have been viewed as the ultimate symbol of wealth and power: a visual statement of portable riches, and a vital part of the projection of majesty.[7]

Six kings ruled England in the 102 years from 1445 to 1547. Between them they had ten consorts, and it is these women and their jewels who form the core of this thesis.[8] Between 1445-1548 the ten queen consorts of England played an essential role in royal life: they were wives, mothers, patrons and intercessors. Within this framework jewels were an imperative tool, underpinning the queen's regality and supporting her in the fulfilment of her duties.[9] Throughout the course of this thesis these roles will be explored in a number of contexts, in order to ascertain what jewels can reveal about the position of the queen during this period. In so doing, a new dimension to queenship studies will be added by demonstrating the significance of jewels as a vital element of the exercise of the queen's role. Ultimately, the ways in which queens wore and used their jewels has been largely unexplored in modern scholarship – a lacuna which this thesis intends to fill. This

[4] *CSPV*, iii, no. 50.
[5] *CSPV*, iv, no. 802.
[6] J. Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence: Court Jewels of the Renaissance, 1500-1630* (London, 1980), p. 9.
[7] Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence*, p. 3; D. Hinton, *Medieval Jewellery* (Aylesbury, 1982), pp. 20-1.
[8] Henry VI, r. 1422-1461, 1470-1471. Consort: Margaret of Anjou. Edward IV, r. 1461-1470, 1471-1483. Consort: Elizabeth Wydeville. Edward V, r. 1483. Richard III, r. 1483-1485. Consort: Anne Neville. Henry VII, r. 1485-1509. Consort: Elizabeth of York. Henry VIII, r. 1509-1547. Consorts: Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anna of Cleves, Katherine Howard, Kateryn Parr.
[9] B.J. Harris, 'The View From My Lady's Chamber: New Perspectives on the Early Tudor Monarchy', *HLQ*, 60 (1997), p. 216; M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth Century England* (Oxford, 1998), p. 75.

thesis will demonstrate that jewels were a pivotal feature of the backdrop of late medieval and early Tudor queenship. In turn, jewels provided queens with tangible sources of wealth and power that allowed them to shape their own identities as consorts.

Periodization has, as A. Gangatharan acknowledged, long been problematic for historians as they struggle to define particular chronological concepts and time frames, such as medieval and Renaissance.[10] This is relevant to this period of study, which covers a time frame generally recognised as falling into both the medieval and Tudor periods. Although such chronological concepts are referred to on occasion, this thesis has primarily been categorised by its chronological framework and the queens and events that fall into that framework. This particular period between 1445-1548 has been chosen as the focus of the thesis as it was both a unique and turbulent period of English queenship – indeed Joanna Laynesmith argued that 'dynastic strife and changing political ideologies constantly reshaped and reinvented the rituals of queenship' during this period.[11] The combination of this key transitional period for English queenship with the previous lack of study of these important consorts in the context of the queen's jewels, makes this topic an ideal focus for examination. Queens normally acquired their role through political and foreign alliances, but during this period we also see personal reasons influencing the king's selection for a consort, which created controversy.[12] Similarly, the way in which queens relinquished their roles varied considerably during this period: while natural death – either their own or their husband's – was the normal mode through which a queen's reign ended, at this time we also see annulment, execution and the overthrow of monarchs.[13] The development of queenship and the changing roles of queen consorts in this period was both remarkable and unprecedented: both Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville's experiences were exceptional, for both were queens during a period of civil war that witnessed the deposition and reinstallation of their husbands at various points.[14] This political turbulence inevitably impacted upon them as individuals, queens, and consequently on their jewel collections and the transitions between them. Anne

[10] A. Gangatharan, 'The Problem of Periodization in History', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 69 (2008), pp. 862-71.
[11] J. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens* (Oxford, 2004), p. 129.
[12] See C. Fahy,'The Marriage of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville: A New Italian Source', *EHR,* 76 (1961), pp. 660-72; R.M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge, 1989); R.M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 2004).
[13] See Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*; D. Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London, 2004).
[14] See H.E. Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003); D. MacGibbon, *Elizabeth Woodville: A Life* (London, 1938).

Neville also underwent an extraordinary change, as her first marriage to Edward of Lancaster put her on opposing sides to the house of York into which she would eventually marry, and through which she was ultimately elevated to queenship.[15] The tussle for power between the rival houses of Lancaster and York did not end there, and arguably it was not until after 1509 that England began to experience a period of dynastic stability.

Nevertheless, the turbulent nature of queenship continued during the reign of Henry VIII. Both Catherine of Aragon and Kateryn Parr were given the power to act briefly as regents on the King's behalf – a dramatic contrast to Catherine of Aragon's fall from grace following her husband's decision to end their marriage in order to marry Anne Boleyn.[16] Anne, in turn, wielded influence over Henry in a personal capacity, which materialised into her elevation as Queen of England.[17] However her fall was both swift and unprecedented – she was the first queen of England to be executed, a fate that was later meted out to Katherine Howard, Henry's fifth wife and Anne's cousin.[18] Though successful in dynastic terms through the production of a male heir, Jane Seymour's experience of queenship was cut short by her untimely death, and her successor Anna of Cleves held no sway with Henry VIII. Ultimately, however, Anna managed to retain an amicable relationship with him following the breakdown of their brief marriage.[19] Considering the fates of her predecessors, the task that lay ahead of Kateryn Parr following her royal marriage in 1543 was an unenviable one. Yet it was a role that she performed admirably, taking the opportunity to establish herself firmly as Henry's consort and fashioning her own royal identity. Fundamentally, therefore, the combined turmoil of the Wars of the Roses that witnessed a transition between dynasties, the blending of the medieval period with the early modern, and the unusual experiences of Henry VIII's wives emphasise that this was a unique and distinctive period of English queenship. Moreover, the impact that this tumultuous period had on the queens' jewels – including the ways in which they were accumulated, dispersed and used – has yet to be explored.

1445 marked the year of Margaret of Anjou's marriage to Henry VI, whilst 1548 was the year of Kateryn Parr's death: this was a remarkable period of queenship, yet it was also

[15] M. Hicks, *Anne Neville: Queen to Richard III* (Stroud, 2007); Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*.
[16] See G. Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (London, 1942), pp. 118-25, 177-88; S. James, *Catherine Parr: Henry VIII's Last Love* (Stroud, 2008), pp. 135-56.
[17] E. Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 2004).
[18] G. Russell, *Young and Damned and Fair: The Life and Tragedy of Catherine Howard at the Court of Henry VIII* (London, 2017), p. 367.
[19] See Warnicke, *Marrying of Anne of Cleves*.

unusual in terms of two influential women who were almost uncrowned queens: Cecily Neville and Margaret Beaufort. Both women enjoyed the title of the King's Mother during the reigns of Edward IV and Henry VII respectively, and both played extraordinary roles in the affairs of the country at various points within their lifetimes.[20] Given their proximity to the throne, they will on occasion be used as points of comparison with the queen consorts throughout this thesis.

Methodology and Aims

A key aim of this thesis is to build as complete a picture as possible of the jewellery collections of the queens between 1445-1548. Queens had access to two separate collections of jewels: ceremonial jewels that were Crown property, and used to assist the queen in her role as consort, and personal jewels that were her own property and could be used to adorn the queen in her everyday life. Though two separate collections, these jewels fall into three separate categories, and as such can sometimes be difficult to define. For the purpose of this thesis they have been categorized as follows: the Crown Jewels (the jewels used to adorn the queen on ceremonial occasions, for example her coronation), the queen's jewels (those belonging to the queen/Crown and worn as part of the role in daily ceremonial and court life) and the queen's personal collection, which she may have brought into the role and could in theory take with her if she was widowed. Each of these collections will be examined, primarily in the first four chapters. Chapters one, two and three will focus on ascertaining when jewels entered and left the collection, together with their ultimate fate where possible. As this section will demonstrate, jewels were frequently recycled, broken down or re-fashioned, which can make determining their use and ownership more challenging to establish with certainty. It will further demonstrate the way in which queens used jewels to fashion their identities both as individuals and consorts.

Additionally, this thesis aims to determine how queens used jewels, whether as demonstrations of power to enhance their own image, or as gifts and rewards with a view to expanding their networks. By so doing, the aim is to ascertain what the use of jewels in these circumstances revealed about queens as individuals, their persona as queens, and their relationships with their husbands, families, household and court.

[20] See J.L. Laynesmith, *Cecily Duchess of York* (London, 2017); M. Jones & M.G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992).

It would be possible to approach this thesis theoretically from the perspective of object biography, as examined by Harold Mytum in his 2010 article.[21] Mytum acknowledged that such approaches to artefacts come in varying forms, including considering the life history of an object, its interaction with the material world, and its social and cultural role within societies.[22] However, Mytum also recognised that 'material evidence and a wide variety of other sources throw light on past contexts', and using a number of sources of varying genres, a practical approach will be used in order to achieve the aims of this thesis.[23] To establish the nature of the queen's collections, chapter one focuses on wills, whilst chapter two analyses inventories. Portraiture is the subject of chapter three – surviving portraits can be useful in terms of tracking pieces, and visualising how queens used jewels in order to demonstrate power. Portraits therefore form a vital aspect of this thesis, and can in some instances help to fill the gap left by documentary sources. The latter four chapters examine the possession of jewels, and the ways in which queens obtained them and used them in order to fulfil their duties as consorts. Using material culture, inventories and contemporary accounts, chapter four explores the Crown Jewels, used primarily for coronations, and for state occasions. They were kept completely separate from the other jewels used by queens in their roles as consorts, and were worn less frequently. Likewise, they were unlike any other form of jewel available to the rest of society, and were made to fulfil a specific purpose.[24] The care of the Crown Jewels and the other parts of a queen's collection will be discussed in chapter five using documentary sources, whilst documents are also employed in chapter six in order to consider the role of goldsmiths and the commissioning of jewels. There are frequent documented examples of queens giving and receiving jewels as gifts in this period, for 'the visual language of objects conveyed the majesty of monarchy'.[25] Gift rolls, inventories and a mix of other documents are therefore used to analyse gift giving in chapter seven.

Inventories and records of earlier medieval English queens jewels survive, including those of Isabella of France, Philippa of Hainault, and Isabel of Valois, some of which have been

[21] H. Mytum, 'Ways of Writing in Post-Medieval and Historical Archaeology: Introducting Biography', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 44 (2010), pp. 237-54.
[22] Mytum, 'Ways of Writing', p. 243.
[23] Mytum, 'Ways of Writing', p. 238.
[24] H. Tait (ed.), *7000 Years of Jewellery* (London, 1986), p. 20.
[25] T. Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 86.

the subject of previous research.[26] Likewise, work has also been done on the jewellery collection of Elizabeth I, but the period 1445-1548 has yet to be covered.[27] The only example of scholarship on the queens' jewels in this period comes from A.R. Myers, who wrote an article about Margaret of Anjou's use of jewels.[28] A comparative study of the jewel collections of these particular queens has never been undertaken before, and the shortage of studies means that this thesis fills a vital gap in modern scholarship, as this crucial aspect of queenship is understudied. This thesis therefore provides a new and essential strand of scholarly research to the field. Not only does it add a significant element to our knowledge of queenship, but also to English history and our knowledge of jewellery and material culture during this period. Additionally, the broad range of sources used to examine this aspect of queenship enhances its originality. Documentary sources, variable in both quantity and quality, are analysed alongside portraits and material culture. Inevitably there are gaps, for there are no surviving documents that make reference to the jewel collections of Anne Neville, for example, and the only evidence of her ceremonial use of jewels refers to her coronation.[29] By contrast, there are several surviving accounts made by Margaret of Anjou's Keeper of the Jewels as well as the Queen's Book of expenses for the last year of Elizabeth of York's life and inventories of the jewels of several of Henry VIII's wives.[30] This rich variety of both primary and secondary sources will be used throughout the course of this thesis in order to unpick and document the collections of the queens in this period. These sources and their uses will be discussed in greater detail in the relevant chapters.

Literature Review

Theresa Earenfight asserted that queenship was a 'complex historical process that took shape over a considerable span of time', and the development of research on the subject has evolved considerably in recent years.[31] As Lisa Benz highlighted, research on queenship gained momentum with the women's movement in the 1960s, and as a serious

[26] E 101/361/7; E 101/398/19; E 101/393/4; W.E. Rhodes, 'The Inventory of the Jewels and Wardrobe of Queen Isabella (1307-8)', *EHR,* 12 (1897), pp. 517-21; J. Cherry, 'Late Fourteenth-Century Jewellery: The Inventory of November 1399', *BM*, 130 (1988), pp. 137-40.
[27] A.J. Collins (ed.), *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: The Inventory of 1574* (London, 1955).
[28] A.R. Myers, 'The Jewels of Queen Margaret of Anjou', *BJRL,* 42 (1959), pp. 113-31.
[29] See A.F. Sutton & R.W. Hammond (eds), *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents* (London, 1984).
[30] E 101/409/14; E 101/409/17; E 101/410/2; E 101/410/8; E 101/410/11; E 36/210; BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r; BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v.
[31] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 31; See also R. Gibbons, 'Medieval Queenship: An Overview', *Reading Medieval Studies,* 21 (1995), pp. 97-107.

discipline began to develop following the important work of Marion Facinger in 1968.[32] Facinger's arguments, which used Capetian France as a case study, were that the importance and influence of queen consorts in relation to their husbands began to increase throughout the medieval period. This was in keeping with Pauline Stafford's assertion that both court and family gave queens 'legitimate authority and power'.[33]

It was not until the 1980s that interest in queens began to take further shape, with a large amount of consequent work on queenship focused on both early medieval queens, and their early modern successors. Following on from Facinger, Lois Huneycutt's contribution to the field has been invaluable. Huneycutt's article about medieval queenship explored some of the key themes, which were later expanded in her biography of Matilda of Scotland.[34] In this work, Huneycutt argued that a queen's political influence overlapped with the role that she was expected to play in the domestic sphere. She suggested that as a result of Matilda's relationship with Henry I, the queen's power was of a more personal nature. Julie Ann Smith, whose thesis examined the development of queenship in medieval England and France, supported Huneycutt's view.[35] Additionally, Smith noted that 'Once the queen lost her essentially domestic image and developed a public role, the queenship must needs have been seen in an official capacity'.[36] The approaches of both Huneycutt and Smith resonate with the work of other queenship scholars. Indeed, Elena Woodacre claimed that a consort's role was defined by her marriage to the sovereign, but the power she wielded was based on the strength of their personal relationship or the need of the king for his wife to be involved in the affairs of the kingdom.[37]

It is interesting to consider how queens have been seen through the prism of their husbands, and several scholars have explored the balance between kingship and queenship. Janet Nelson contended that queenship was fashioned 'by men and women in particular times and places', so that a queen's subjects understood her role: chiefly

[32] L. Benz St John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke, 2012), p. 24; M.F. Facinger, 'A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 5 (1968), pp. 3-47.
[33] P. Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries', in J.C. Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1993), p. 146.
[34] L.L. Huneycutt, 'Medieval Queenship', *History Today*, 39 (1989), pp. 16-22; L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (London, 2003).
[35] J.A. Smith, 'Queen-making and queenship in early medieval England and Francia', unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 1993.
[36] Smith, 'Queen-making', p. 127, 18.
[37] E. Woodacre, 'Introduction', in E. Woodacre (ed.), *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (Basingstoke, 2016), p. 3.

supporting her husband.[38] Marty Williams and Anne Echols underlined that queens were expected to be discreet and subservient to their husbands, thereby reinforcing Nelson's view.[39] These opinions were in keeping with those expressed by William Caxton in his 1474 text, *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, in which he claimed that 'a quene ought to be chaste, wyse, of honest lyf, wel manerd'.[40] Fiona Downie, meanwhile, used the example of Scottish queens to investigate this angle of queenship in another way.[41] Downie argued that the experiences of Joan Beaufort and Mary of Gueldres show how royal marriage could be instrumental in diplomacy, and how both of these queens were able to use their relationships with their husbands to gain power.[42]

John Carmi Parsons, whose important edited collection, *Medieval Queenship*, covered a broad chronological and geographical framework, claimed that there has long been an interest in queens.[43] He too presented arguments about the relationship between queens and their husbands, remarking that the queenship of Elizabeth Wydeville was grounded 'in her carnality' and Edward IV's passion for her.[44] Nelson expressed similar views, claiming that an astute queen exploited her sexuality – partially by her jewels and dress – in order to secure power.[45] Parsons believed that queens should be studied as individuals, and his study of Eleanor of Castile analysed her power as a consort, and the negative perception that her contemporaries had of such power.[46] Margaret Howell's study of Eleanor of Provence attempted something similar, and provides a useful point of comparison when addressing the relationship between a husband and wife as a royal couple.[47]

Other scholars have also concentrated on the connection between a queen and her husband, and this was a theme in Clarissa Campbell Orr's edited collection of later

[38] J.L. Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship', in L.E. Mitchell (ed.), *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (London, 1999), p. 179.
[39] M. Williams & A. Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 184-5.
[40] W. Caxton, *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, ed. J. Adams (Kalamazoo, 2009), p. 26.
[41] F. Downie, *She is But a Woman: Queenship in Scotland 1424-1463* (Edinburgh, 2006).
[42] Downie, *She is But a Woman*.
[43] J.C Parsons, 'Family, Sex and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship', in Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship*, p. 1.
[44] Parsons, 'Family', p. 6
[45] Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship', p. 192.
[46] J.C. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (London, 1995).
[47] Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*.

European queens.[48] The edited collection of Charles Beem and Miles Taylor took another approach, and explored the situation of male consorts, thereby offering a new angle to the field.[49] The collection spans a wide time period and geographical area, and though none of the contributors relate specifically to this thesis, their studies made some interesting points. For example, David Abulafia's chapter on Ferdinand of Aragon showed how, though a reigning king in his own right, Ferdinand was able to differentiate his power from that of his consort and regnant queen of Castile, Isabel.[50] In spite of these fruitful studies of individual rulers and their consorts (both male and female), Earenfight's 2007 article expressed the belief that queenship ought to be studied alongside kingship rather than as an individual discipline.[51] Earenfight acknowledged that each office was important in its own right: kingship for its association with public authority, and queenship for its connection with 'private power', but argued that both roles should be studied as a pair in order to understand them fully.[52]

Earenfight's contribution to queenship studies has been significant, and her 2007 article expressed the view that 'Queens are not born, they 'become''.[53] She expanded this interesting concept further by asserting that 'One becomes a queen by living as a queen, changing the category as one incorporates and inspires it'.[54] However, using the example of Maria of Castile, in an article published the following year Earenfight demonstrated that queens were visible as the foremost women in the realm, yet the historical record has often obscured their actions.[55] This emphasised the need for more studies, and Earenfight's 2013 book expanded upon the themes of queenship in a European context.[56] Here she argued that a queen's authority depended on her proximity to the king, and this

[48] C. Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Europe 1660-1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge, 2004).
[49] C. Beem & M. Taylor (eds), *The Man behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History* (Basingstoke, 2014).
[50] D. Abulafia, 'Ferdinand the Catholic: King and Consort', in Beem & Taylor (eds), *Man behind the Queen*, pp. 33-54.
[51] T. Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender and History,* 19 (2007), p. 2.
[52] Earenfight, 'Persona', p. 10.
[53] Earenfight, 'Persona', p. 14.
[54] Earenfight, 'Persona', p. 14.
[55] T. Earenfight, 'Highly Visible, Often Obscured: The Difficulty of Seeing Queens and Noble Women', *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality*, 44 (2008), pp. 86-90.
[56] Earenfight, *Queenship*.

in turn had a profound impact on the influence she wielded. A consort, Earenfight asserted, was 'situated both inside and outside official power'.[57]

Thanks to the developments in portraiture, Earenfight also observed that in a physical sense later medieval queens were more visible than their predecessors, which in turn had an effect upon their queenship.[58] This is certainly a valid point, and the rise of portraiture at the end of the fifteenth century will be discussed in chapter three. Earenfight asserted that the development of portraiture meant that for the first time, queens were depicted as 'an individual woman, not just an iconic image of an ideal queen'.[59] The representation of queens formed the basis of Kavita Mudan Finn's 2012 work. Incorporating all of the consorts in this current thesis, Finn's book examined these queens in the context of contemporary culture, exploring the ways in which they have been depicted over time by chroniclers, poets and playwrights, providing a different perspective of queenship in this period.[60] In analysing the visual aspects of queenship, the work of Jacqueline Johnson should also be considered. Johnson's chapter in Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise Wilkinson's edited collection on queenship analysed representations of Elizabeth of York as the mother of the Tudor dynasty, both during her lifetime and after her death.[61] In so doing, Johnson highlighted Henry VII's attempts to diminish Elizabeth's claim to the throne in order to strengthen his own.[62] Johnson argued that one way of doing this was to emphasise Elizabeth's role as both a consort and a mother.[63]

The role of the queen as a mother has been a popular theme amongst scholars, with Woodacre suggesting that it was arguably the most vital aspect of queenship.[64] Indeed, Helen Maurer argued that 'Motherhood was the defining moment for a queen consort',

[57] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 6.
[58] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 185; See also Earenfight, 'Highly Visible', pp. 86-90.
[59] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 185.
[60] K. Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts* (Basingstoke, 2012). See also K. Mudan, ''So mutable is that sexe': Queen Elizabeth Woodville in Polydore Vergil's *Anglica historia* and Sir Thomas More's *History of King Richard III*, in L. Oakley-Brown & L.J. Wilkinson (eds), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern* (Dublin, 2009), pp. 104-17.
[61] J. Johnson, 'Elizabeth of York: Mother of the Tudor Dynasty', in Oakley-Brown & Wilkinson (eds), *Rituals and Rhetoric*, pp. 47-58.
[62] Johnson, 'Elizabeth of York', p. 54.
[63] Johnson, 'Elizabeth of York', p. 48.
[64] E. Woodacre & C. Fleiner (eds), *Royal Mothers and their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era* (Basingstoke, 2015), p. 1.

and recent work in the field has further considered this central element of queenship.[65] It was one of the themes explored by Liza Benz St John, whose work examined queenship in fourteenth-century England.[66] Benz argued that a queen immediately received power by virtue of her position as queen, but acknowledged that when she produced an heir her symbolic power automatically increased.[67] Although focused on a different period, many of the themes about which Benz wrote are relevant to this thesis, such as patronage, and the relationships queens shared with their husbands and families. Another excellent example of work in queenship studies, which follows on chronologically from Benz, is that of Joanna Laynesmith, whose PhD thesis about the Plantagenet queens was converted into an academic monograph.[68] Rather than providing individual character studies, Laynesmith's work concentrated on a number of themes that were relevant to the queens in their roles as consorts. Her focus was firmly on queenship and its development, and she discussed the expected roles of queens as mothers, intercessors and patrons, as well as their relationships with their husbands and courts. Laynesmith's comparative thematic study thus provided a primarily favourable though objective account of each queen, based on solid scholarly research. Laynesmith was also one of the first recent historians to dispute the traditional view of Elizabeth Wydeville as greedy and grasping, and convincingly argued that Elizabeth would not have been able to promote the interests of her family without Edward IV's connivance.[69] Laynesmith suggested that many of Edward IV's nobles were happy to ally themselves with Elizabeth's family by marriage, and viewed these matches as a sign of the Queen's favour as opposed to her rapacity. Laynesmith's work covered intercession, the queen's household, and patronage, and these themes also feature prominently in recent scholarly work.[70] While Henrietta Leyser argued that

[65] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 39; J.C. Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500', in Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship*, pp. 63-78; Woodacre & Fleiner (eds), *Royal Mothers*; E. Woodacre & C. Fleiner (eds), *Virtuous or Villainous? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (Basingstoke, 2016).
[66] L. Benz, 'Queen consort, queen mother: the power and authority of fourteenth century Plantagenet queens', unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2009; Benz, *Three Medieval Queens.*
[67] Benz, 'Queen consort', p. 23.
[68] J.L. Chamberlayne,'English Queenship 1445-1503', unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 1999; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*.
[69] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*; See M. Hicks, 'The Changing Role of the Wydevilles in Yorkist Politics to 1483', in C. Ross (ed.) *Patronage, Pedigree, and Power in Later Medieval England*, (Gloucester, 1979), pp. 60-86 & J. R. Lander, 'Marriage and Politics in the Fifteenth Century: The Nevilles and the Wydevilles', in *Crown and Nobility 1450–1509* (Montreal, 1976), pp. 94-126.
[70] Benz, *Three Medieval Queens*, C. Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester, 2002); R.M. Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York and her Six Daughters-In-Law* (Basingstoke, 2017).

queens played an essential role in diplomacy and the conduct of foreign relations, other studies have shown that through patronage in areas such as art, literature, and religion, queens were able to spread their influence and power further.[71]

Academic studies on the lives of the fifteenth-century queens have been plentiful, and the product of years of research. A.R. Myers not only wrote about Margaret of Anjou's jewels, but also produced an article about her household.[72] In it, he compared Margaret's expenses with those of Joan of Navarre and Elizabeth Wydeville, analysing the way in which Margaret spent her income.[73] Maurer drew on some of Myers' scholarship in her biography of Margaret, in which she examined Margaret's queenship and the extraordinary challenges she faced.[74] Thanks largely to the work of William Shakespeare, Margaret has earned a reputation as a domineering queen, who broke with the expected conventions of a queen consort and ruled her husband.[75] Whilst Maurer acknowledged Margaret's negative depiction, her work has gone some way to restoring Margaret's reputation, dispelling many of the myths surrounding her life. Margaret was doubtless of strong character, but Maurer argued that during the early years of her queenship she conformed with the expected behaviour of a consort and was subservient to her husband. Maurer contended that it was Henry VI's descent into mental illness and the Wars of the Roses that forced Margaret's hand, propelling her into becoming a leading political force. Maurer's account was both scholarly and balanced, and as well as addressing the negative portrayals of Margaret, also provided glimpses of a queen who was generous to her servants and intervened to resolve disputes. Maurer's work enhanced many of the ideas expressed in Patricia-Ann Lee's 1986 article about Margaret's queenship, which also went some way to restoring Margaret's reputation alongside the later work of Laynesmith.[76]

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[71] H. Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500* (London, 1995), p. 234; see also Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 253-7.
[72] A.R. Myers, 'The Household of Queen Margaret of Anjou, 1452-3', *BJRL*, 50 (1957-8), pp. 79-113.
[73] Myers, 'Household of Queen Margaret'; A.R. Myers, 'The captivity of a royal witch: the household accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419-21', *BJRL*, 24 (1940), pp. 263-84; A.R. Myers, 'The Household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, 1466-7', *BJRL,* 50 (1967-8), pp. 207-15.
[74] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*.
[75] W. Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part One*, ed., M. Taylor (Oxford, 2003); W. Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part Two*, ed. R. Warren (Oxford, 2002); W. Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part Three*, ed. R. Martin (Oxford, 2001). See also M.L. Stapleton, '"I Of Old Contemptes Complayne": Margaret of Anjou and English Seneca, *Comparative Literature Studies*, 43 (2000), pp. 100-33; S. Logan, 'Margaret and the Ban: Resistances to Sovereign Authority in Henry VI 1, 2, & 3 and Richard III', in S. Logan, *Shakespeare's Foreign Queens: Drama, Politics and the Enemy Within* (Basingstoke, 2018), pp. 209-60.
[76] P.A. Lee, 'Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship', *Renaissance Quarterly,* 39 (1986), pp. 183-217; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens.* See also D. Dunn, 'Margaret

Popular biographies have taken a different approach to the academic studies of queens during this period and are of varying quality.[77] Some popular works have evidently been based on previous scholarship and have incorporated little or no original research. Others have not only included new research on the primary sources available, but have effectively analysed the material and queens on which they are focused, presenting their findings in an accessible manner for a commercial audience. There has been a recent flurry of interest surrounding the women involved in the Wars of the Roses, including the last Lancastrian and Yorkist queens.[78] Sarah Gristwood's *Blood Sisters* has proved to be one of the strongest popular studies, effectively analysing the roles of seven women who were closely connected with the Wars of the Roses.[79]

In the same manner as her predecessor, Elizabeth Wydeville has earned an unfavourable reputation over the centuries.[80] Elizabeth has frequently been portrayed as a grasping, rapacious woman who was highly unsuited to the role of queen consort.[81] David MacGibbon provided what is undoubtedly the most balanced and thoroughly researched account of Elizabeth's life.[82] MacGibbon soundly analysed the surviving primary sources, presenting a sympathetic view of Elizabeth and concluding that her reputation is largely undeserved. Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs also considered Elizabeth's reputation, but did so in the context of her piety and her book collection.[83] These aspects of Elizabeth's personality and her scholarly interests are frequently overlooked, and Sutton and Visser-Fuchs' work has therefore filled a vital gap.

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of Anjou, Queen Consort of Henry VI: A Reassessment of her Role, 1445-53', in R. Archer (ed.), *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (New York, 1995), pp. 107-43, & D. Dunn, 'The Queen at War: The Role of Margaret of Anjou in the Wars of the Roses', in D. Dunn (ed.), *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain* (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 141-61.

[77] A. Okerlund, *Elizabeth: England's Slandered Queen* (Stroud, 2005); H. Castor, *She Wolves: The Women Who Ruled England Before Elizabeth* (London, 2011); A. Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London, 1992).

[78] D. Baldwin, *Elizabeth Woodville: Mother of the Princes in the Tower* (Stroud, 2002); L. Hilton, *Queens Consort: England's Medieval Queens* (London, 2008); Castor, *She Wolves*; P. Gregory, D. Baldwin & M. Jones, *The Women of the Cousins' War: The Real White Queen and Her Rivals* (London, 2013).

[79] S. Gristwood, *Blood Sisters* (London, 2013).

[80] See D. Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard III*, trans. C.A.J. Armstrong (London, 1984).

[81] See P. Murray Kendall, *Richard the Third* (London, 1968) for one example.

[82] MacGibbon, *Elizabeth Woodville*.

[83] A. Sutton & L. Visser-Fuchs, 'A *'Most Benevolent Queen'*: Queen Elizabeth Woodville's Reputation, Her Piety and Her Books', *The Ricardian*, 10 (1995), pp. 214-45.

Due to a lack of surviving source material, scholarship on Anne Neville has been limited. The most thorough academic biography is that of Michael Hicks.[84] Hicks' task was an unenviable one given the fragmentary nature of the sources, but the resulting book provided a well-researched and convincing picture of Anne's life as far as can be known.[85] Hicks effectively analysed Anne's role in the events of her time, whilst acknowledging that much of her life remains shrouded in mystery.

Elizabeth of York was the subject of an academic biography by Arlene Okerlund, and she was also included in Laynesmith's study in the context of queenship.[86] Aimed at the popular history market, Alison Weir's 2013 biography of Elizabeth was based on sound academic research, and offered many new insights into the life of the first Tudor queen.[87] Elizabeth also formed an integral part of Retha Warnicke's recent study of the queen and her six daughters-in-law.[88] This interesting work compared the seven queens in a variety of areas, including their religiosity and the structure of their households. To date, Warnicke is the only scholar to have made such a comparative study, and hers is also the most notable academic contribution combining the experiences of Henry VIII's wives. Whilst the Tudor queens continue to inspire modern historians and are the subject of a wide array of popular history books, academic biographies on their lives have been limited.[89]

Catherine of Aragon was the subject of Garrett Mattingly's scholarly biography, widely regarded as the best in the field.[90] Other scholars have focused largely on the events in which the six wives were involved, rather than their lives as a whole. Catherine of Aragon was the subject of Michelle Beer's thesis, which compared Catherine's queenship with

[84] Hicks, *Anne Neville*.
[85] Amy Licence wrote a popular account of Anne's life. See *Anne Neville: Richard III's Tragic Queen* (Stroud, 2014).
[86] A. Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York* (Basingstoke, 2009); Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*.
[87] A. Weir, *Elizabeth of York: The First Tudor Queen* (London, 2013); A. Licence, *Elizabeth of York: The Forgotten Tudor Queen* (Stroud, 2014).
[88] R.M. Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York*.
[89] Fraser, *Six Wives*; J. Denny, *Katherine Howard: A Tudor Conspiracy* (London, 2005); L. Porter, *Katherine the Queen* (London, 2011); D. Loades, *Jane Seymour: Henry VIII's Favourite Wife* (Stroud, 2013); J. Wilkinson, *Katherine Howard: The Tragic Story of Henry VIII's Fifth Queen* (London, 2015); A. Licence, *Anne Boleyn: Adultery, Heresy, Desire* (Stroud, 2017).
[90] Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*; G. Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen* (London, 2010); J. Fox, *Sister Queens: Katherine of Aragon and Juana Queen of Castile* (London, 2012); P. Williams, *Katherine of Aragon* (Stroud, 2013).

that of her sister-in-law, Margaret Tudor.[91] Beer made a convincing case for Catherine as a successful and important queen consort, chiefly in political terms. Earenfight has also made a significant contribution to scholarly work on Catherine, including a chapter about Catherine's household in England prior to her queenship, an article that marked her transformation from Spanish Infanta to Queen of England, and a chapter that investigated Catherine's legacy.[92] An academic article by J. Dewhurst examined the failed pregnancies of Henry VIII's first two queens.[93] As in all historical cases, it is difficult to draw accurate conclusions on scholarship of this nature, but Dewhurst did effectively analyse the strengths and weaknesses on each side of the argument. Betty Travitsky examined the annulment of Catherine's marriage, and though her article was well researched, Travitsky was heavily biased in Catherine's favour. Thus, Catherine was portrayed as one of history's great victims and the wronged wife.[94]

Anne Boleyn has attracted a great deal of scholarly interest, with Eric Ives' 2004 biography providing a comprehensive and analytical account of her life.[95] Using numerous examples of her scholarship, Ives was successfully able to demonstrate that Anne was a highly intelligent woman. He also emphasised Anne's ability to use her learning to her advantage in engaging the attentions of Henry VIII, thereby holding his interest for many years. As well as underlining Anne's achievements, Ives also portrayed her vulnerability at the time of her fall. In addition to a book, Ives wrote a number of articles about Anne in which he examined her role in the English Reformation, and her fall.[96] Ives was not alone in his

[91] M.L. Beer, 'Practices and Performances of Queenship: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503-1533', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Illinois, 2014; M. L. Beer, 'Between Kings and Emperors: Catherine of Aragon as Counsellor and Mediator', in H. Matheson-Pollock, J. Paul & C. Fletcher (eds), *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2018), pp. 35-58; Beer also has a forthcoming book, *Queenship at the Renaissance Courts of Britain: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503-1533* (Martlesham, 2018).

[92] T. Earenfight, 'A Precarious Household: Catherine of Aragon in England, 1501-1504', in T. Earenfight (ed.), *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 338-56; T.M. Earenfight, 'Raising *Infanta* Catalina de Aragón to be Catherine, Queen of England', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 46 (2016), pp. 417-43; T. Earenfight, 'Regarding Catherine of Aragon', in C. Levin & C. Stewart-Nuñez (eds), *Scholars and Poets Talk about Queens* (New York, 2015), pp. 137-57.

[93] J. Dewhurst, 'The alleged miscarriages of Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), pp. 49-56.

[94] B. Travitsky, 'Reprinting Tudor History: The Case of Catherine of Aragon', *Renaissance Quarterly,* 50 (1997), pp. 164-74.

[95] Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*. See also J. Denny, *Anne Boleyn: A New Life of England's tragic Queen* (London, 2004).

[96] E.W. Ives, 'Anne Boleyn and the Early Reformation in England: The Contemporary Evidence', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), pp. 389-400; E.W. Ives, 'Faction at the Court of Henry VIII: The Fall of Anne Boleyn', *History,* 57 (1972), pp. 169-88; E. Ives, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn Reconsidered', *EHR,*

interest on the latter topic, for Anne's fall has been the subject of a vast array of academic articles. Greg Walker, George Bernard, Retha M. Warnicke and Suzannah Lipscomb have all contributed to the debate, and have offered interesting arguments about the reasons for the queen's fall.[97] Like Ives, Bernard also wrote a book about Anne in which his arguments reiterated those expressed in his article: that Anne was guilty of the crimes of which she was accused.[98] Bernard is unique among modern historians in this respect, for most historians are now in agreement that Anne was guilty of neither adultery nor incest.[99]

Aside from her collective work on Elizabeth of York and the six wives of Henry VIII, Retha M. Warnicke wrote extensively about Anne as an individual. In a number of articles Warnicke examined Anne's childhood, her relationship with Sir Thomas Wyatt, and placed her into the context of sixteenth-century queenship.[100] These articles all underlined the significance of Anne's role in sixteenth-century politics, and much of Warnicke's research was incorporated in her book about Anne's rise and fall.[101] In another context, Warnicke used Anne as a case study in her book about Tudor women who have acquired a poor reputation.[102] This work differed from Warnicke's previous and later approaches, as she examined the origins of Anne's poor reputation and made sound arguments to counteract the slurs on her character.[103]

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107 (1992), pp. 651-64; E. Ives, 'Anne Boleyn on Trial Again', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62 (2011), pp. 763-77.

[97] G.W. Bernard, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn', *EHR,* 106 (1991), pp. 584-610; G.W. Bernard, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Rejoinder', *EHR,* 107 (1992), pp. 665-74; G. Walker, 'Rethinking the Fall of Anne Boleyn', *Historical Journal,* 45 (2002), pp. 1-29; R.M. Warnicke, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Reassessment', *History,* 70 (1985), pp. 1-15; R.M. Warnicke, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn Revisited', *EHR*, 108 (1993), pp. 653-65; S. Lipscomb, 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Crisis in Gender Relations?' in S. Lipscomb & T. Betteridge (eds), *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 287-305. See also A. Weir, *The Lady in the Tower: The Fall of Anne Boleyn* (London, 2010).

[98] G.W. Bernard, 'Anne Boleyn's Religion', *Historical Journal,* 36 (1993), pp. 1-20; G.W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions* (London, 2010).

[99] Ives, *Life and Death*, p. 345; Lipscomb, 'Fall of Anne Boleyn', p. 288.

[100] R. M. Warnicke, 'Anne Boleyn's Childhood and Adolescence', *Historical Journal,* 28 (1985), pp. 939-52; R.M. Warnicke, 'The Eternal Triangle and Court Politics: Henry VIII: Anne Boleyn, and Sir Thomas Wyatt', *Albion,* 18 (1986), pp. 565-79; R.M. Warnicke, 'Anne Boleyn Revisited', *Historical Journal,* 34 (1991), pp. 953-4.

[101] R. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge, 1989).

[102] R. Warnicke, *Wicked Women of Tudor England: Queens, Aristocrats, Commoners* (New York, 2012).

[103] Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 15-43.

By contrast to her predecessor, there have been no attempts to provide a scholarly account of the life of Jane Seymour.[104] This may be partially explained by reason of her short reign, though Jane did feature in an article by Richard L. DeMolen about the birth of her son and the controversy surrounding a Caesarean section.[105] As noted in the case of Catherine of Aragon, almost five hundred years later it is impossible to make accurate conclusions in regards to medical theories, but DeMolen argued that Jane died as a result of a Caesarean section.[106] The theory is not, however, based on any contemporary evidence, and has been disputed by many including Barrett L. Beer.[107]

Like Jane Seymour, academic work on Anna of Cleves has also been limited. Warnicke is the only scholar who has attempted an article and a book, which examined Anna's marriage and royal protocol in the sixteenth-century.[108] Warnicke noted Henry VIII's disappointment upon discovering that Holbein's portrait of Anna bore little resemblance to the woman herself, and presented her as the neglected wife.[109]

Katherine Howard was represented in Warnicke's book about 'wicked' Tudor women.[110] In a similar manner to her cousin, Anne Boleyn, Warnicke dealt with the origins of Katherine's poor reputation and sought to redress this. She concluded, though, by acknowledging that 'By her society's standards, Katherine led a wicked life', and was therefore more deserving of her reputation than Anne Boleyn.[111] Gareth Russell's 2017 biography of Katherine is also worthy of comment.[112] Russell's work not only gives the trajectory of Katherine's brief life and reign as queen, but also demonstrates his extensive research on Katherine's household.

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[104] See Loades, *Jane Seymour*; E. Norton, *Jane Seymour: Henry VIII's True Love* (Stroud, 2010).
[105] R.L. DeMolen, 'The birth of Edward VI and the death of Queen Jane: the arguments for and against Caesarean section', *Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1990), pp. 359-91.
[106] DeMolen, 'The birth of Edward VI', p. 362.
[107] It originated with Nicholas Sander in the late sixteenth century. See N. Sander, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* (London, 1573), p. 138; see also B.L. Beer, 'Jane [*née* Jane Seymour] (1508/9-1537)', *ODNB*.
[108] R.M. Warnicke, 'Henry VIII's Greeting of Anne of Cleves and Early Modern Court Protocol', *Albion,* 28 (1996), pp. 565-85; Warnicke, *Marrying of Anne of Cleves*; E. Norton, *Anne of Cleves: Henry VIII's Discarded Bride* (Stroud, 2010).
[109] Hans Holbein, 'Anne of Cleves', 1538, Louvre Museum, Paris, Inv. 1348.
[110] See Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, pp. 45-76.
[111] Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, p. 75.
[112] Russell, *Young and Damned*. See also Wilkinson, *Katherine Howard*; L. Baldwin Smith, *Catherine Howard* (Stroud, 1961); D. Loades, *Catherine Howard* (Stroud, 2012).

Kateryn Parr is arguably the best represented of the six wives in terms of academic study. She was the subject of years of research by Susan James, presented in her 2008 biography of the queen.[113] This is the most thorough and comprehensive account of Kateryn's life and reign, and has added much to our understanding of the last of the Tudor consorts. James's work concentrated on Kateryn's tenure as queen, emphasising her role as a royal patron of the arts and learning, and portraying Kateryn as arguably the most learned of Henry VIII's wives. James made much of Kateryn's interest in the Reformed faith and her religious leanings, believing that had she lived longer, Kateryn would have been one of Protestantism's greatest advocates. In 1996 it was James who was responsible for the re-identification of a portrait of Kateryn, previously thought to have been Lady Jane Grey.[114] Discussing the identification in an article, James revealed that it was the sitter's jewellery that led her to conclude that the portrait was Kateryn. [115] This will be discussed further in chapter two.

James is not the only scholar to have written about Kateryn's religion and learning: Sheryl A. Kujawa-Holbrook and William P. Haugaard both wrote about Kateryn's religious influences, whilst Janel Mueller expanded upon the way in which Kateryn's religious beliefs impacted upon her books.[116] Mueller was also responsible for compiling an edited collection of Kateryn's books and letters, in which she included a thorough analysis of their contents.[117] By contrast to other works on Kateryn, Dakota Hamilton's PhD thesis examined Kateryn's household.[118] It explored the role of Kateryn's ladies in her everyday life, as well as some of the lesser members of her household, based on Kateryn's surviving household accounts in the National Archives.[119]

The examples of scholarship cited throughout the literature review reveal the nature and extent of existing work in the field of queenship on the consorts featured in this study. They also show the varying degrees in which contributions have been made to our

[113] James, *Catherine Parr*. See also Porter, *Katherine Parr*.
[114] Master John, 'Katherine Parr', c. 1544-45, NPG, NPG 4451.
[115] S. James, 'Lady Jane Grey or Queen Kateryn Parr?', *BM,* 138 (1996), pp. 20-4.
[116] W.P. Haugaard, 'Katherine Parr: The Religious Convictions of a Renaissance Queen', *Renaissance Quarterly,* 22 (1969), pp. 346-59; S.A. Kujawa-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr and Reformed Religion', *Anglican and Episcopal History,* 72 (2003), pp. 55-78; J. Mueller, 'Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr's "Prayers or Meditations" (1545)', *HLQ*, 53 (1990), pp. 171-97.
[117] J. Mueller (ed.), *Katherine Parr: Complete Works and Correspondence* (Chicago, 2011).
[118] D.L. Hamilton, 'The Household of Queen Katherine Parr', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1992.
[119] E 315/161; E 315/340; E 101/423/12; E 101423/15.

knowledge of queens in the period 1445-1548. None of these works, however, reflect the original contribution that this thesis will make to queenship studies in this period – adding a new dimension to our understanding of these important women and queenship in the period through an examination of the composition and use of the queens' jewel collection. This study seeks to build upon the ideas presented by Laynesmith, Earenfight, Warnicke and Maria Hayward by examining another aspect of queenship, and presenting queens in the late medieval and early Tudor period as women who were able to craft their own personas through the prism of their jewels.

A Brief History of Jewellery in the Period

The history of jewellery has attracted a plethora of scholars. Joan Evans was a significant contributor to the field, producing several works that charted the history of jewellery, the development of English jewellery, and the superstitions surrounding jewels in the medieval period.[120] Evans' work also examined the role of jewellery from the perspective of social status, in a similar manner to the work of Marion Campbell and David Hinton, both of whose books concentrated on medieval jewellery.[121] These works are useful for placing the history of jewellery into a European perspective, as is the work of Ronald Lightbown, whose extensive research provides an ideal starting point for those working on jewels.[122] From a practical perspective, Philippa Glanville's insightful work about Tudor and Stuart silver provided a useful context for understanding the base metals that were used in the construction of jewels.[123] Diana Scarisbrick wrote extensively about many aspects of jewellery, but her work on Tudor and Jacobean jewellery specifically discussed jewellery in relation to portraiture, which forms the subject of chapter three.[124] Scarisbrick effectively explored jewels in relation to symbolism, and analysed examples of rare surviving jewels from the period. Similarly, the more recent work of Maria Hayward on various aspects of material culture has made an invaluable contribution to scholarship

[120] J. Evans, *A History of Jewellery 1100-1870* (New York, 1953); J. Evans, *English Jewellery: From the Fifth Century A.D. to 1800* (London, 1921); J. Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York, 1976).
[121] M. Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery* (London, 2009); Hinton, *Medieval Jewellery*.
[122] R. W. Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery* (London, 1992).
[123] W.M. Milliken, 'The Art of the Goldsmith', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 6 (1948), p. 311; P. Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (London, 1990).
[124] D. Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery* (London, 1995); D. Scarisbrick & M. Henig, *Finger Rings* (Oxford, 2003); D. Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain 1066-1837* (Norwich, 1994); D. Scarisbrick, *Historic Rings: Four Thousand Years of Craftmanship* (Tokyo, 2004); D. Scarisbrick, *Rings: Jewelry of Power, Love and Loyalty* (London, 2007); D. Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels: Opulence and Intimacy from the Medici to the Romanovs* (London, 2011); D. Scarisbrick, C. Vachaudez, & J. Walgrave (eds), *Brilliant Europe: Jewels from European Courts* (Brussels, 2007).

in this field. Not only did Hayward's thesis on Henry VIII's inventories incorporate her research about the King's jewels and those of his wives, but so too did much of her subsequent work.[125]

As well as displaying status, jewels were a source of personal pleasure that could be enjoyed by both kings and queens; there are numerous examples during this period of jewels being used in such a way. Moreover, some jewels were so valuable and famous that they were given individual names in order to identify them: the Mirror of Naples, the Great Harry and the Lennox Jewel were notable sixteenth century examples.[126] Jewels were the most personal of the decorative arts, often giving an insight into an individual and their tastes, as well as providing vital clues about the society in which they lived.[127] They appeared in various forms: decorative items, and more functional ones that served a slightly different purpose. While few of the jewels that were owned by the queens in this thesis survive, there are enough contemporary examples to allow us to understand the way in which jewels were made and worn by queens. Many of these pieces can be found in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, and they aid our practical understanding of the physical make up of jewels. The Dunstable Swan Jewel and a fifteenth century pendant reliquary provide two significant examples.[128]

Throughout the medieval period it was widely believed that stones had various magical and medicinal properties, a belief that was reinforced by the eleventh century *Liber Lapidum* (Book of Stones), written by the Bishop of Rennes.[129] The *Liber Lapidum* described sixty individual stones and their meanings, and this in turn had a great bearing on the jewellery choices people made. For example, it was widely believed that sapphires protected from poison and promoted peace and reconciliation, as well as healing ulcers,

[125] M. Hayward, 'The Possessions of Henry VIII: A Study of Inventories', London School of Economics and Political Science, unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1998; M. Hayward, 'Gift Giving at the Court of Henry VIII: the 1539 New Year's Gift Roll in Context', *Antiquaries Journal*, 85 (2005), pp. 125-75; M. Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds, 2007).
[126] Unknown Maker, 'Lennox Jewel', c. 1571-78, gold, enamel, rubies, emerald, RCT, RCIN 28181. See K. Piacenti & J. Boardman, *Ancient and Modern Gems and Jewels in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen* (London, 2008); A. Reynolds, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion* (London, 2013).
[127] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 8.
[128] Unknown Maker, 'Dunstable Swan Jewel', fifteenth century, gold and enamel, British Museum, 1966,0703.1; Unknown Maker, 'Pendant Reliquary Cross', c. 1450-75, silver, silver gilt, ruby, sapphire, garnet, pearl, Victoria & Albert Museum, 4561-1858.
[129] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 33.

eye conditions and headaches.[130] Rubies were thought to aid reconciliation and combat lust, whilst pearls were symbolic of purity, power and authority.[131] The Reformation had a profound impact on these longstanding beliefs, and began to cast doubt on such superstitions. However, there is evidence to suggest that several of Henry VIII's wives believed in the properties of stones, as discussed in chapters two and three. It was not until later in the century that such beliefs were permanently abandoned, resulting in jewels being purchased primarily for their appearance and monetary value.

The most continuous form of jewellery in use throughout history was the ring, which was highly prized.[132] It is therefore unsurprising that rings feature more than any other type of jewel in contemporary accounts.[133] Rings served multiple purposes: they expressed loyalty and devotion, conveyed messages, rewarded good service, and were also a token of love.

The most personal form of ring that was owned by all of the queens in this study was a wedding ring. As the sixteenth century progressed, the preferred design of wedding ring was the plain gold band.[134] It is likely that this style of wedding band is the ring that Jane Seymour can be seen wearing in her portrait by Hans Holbein, discussed in chapter three.[135] Although these were special possessions that 'carried the aura of family history as well as the mark of individual identity', and appear frequently in women's wills of this period, none of the queens or women in this thesis made any mention of their wedding rings in their wills.[136] It is possible that women were buried wearing them, or that they had been bequeathed orally rather than by written word. Alternatively, they may have been broken up and refashioned. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were periods of rapidly changing fashions, and this partially explains why there are so few surviving examples of jewels from this period.

[130] H. Forsyth, *The Cheapside Hoard: London's Lost Jewels* (London, 2013), p. 122
[131] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 33; B. Chadour-Sampson & H. Bari, *Pearls* (London, 2013), p. 10.
[132] Scarisbrick, *Rings*, p. 9; S. Bury, *Rings* (London, 1984), p. 9.
[133] Forsyth, *Cheapside Hoard,* p. 204.
[134] Tait (ed.), *7000 Years*, p. 239.
[135] Hans Holbein, 'Jane Seymour', 1536-37, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. 881.
[136] S. James, *Women's Voices in Tudor Wills, 1485-1603: Authority, Influence and Material Culture* (Farnham, 2015), p. 91.

From 1100 until 1400 the brooch was the most popular form of jewel, and this is likely to have been the way in which the Dunstable Swan Jewel was worn.[137] Excavated in 1965, the swan is symbolic of the house of Lancaster, and as John Cherry asserted in his scholarly article on the subject, was evidently a high status jewel because of the rare enamel decoration.[138] This was thanks to a technique of enamelling known as *émail en ronde bosse* developed in the late fourteenth century by French and Burgundian goldsmiths, which meant that rich jewels could be fashioned in a multitude of colours.[139] The popularity of brooches was superseded by the trend for necklaces and collars, as the fashion for low cut gowns increased.[140] Nevertheless, brooches appear in the inventories of Henry VIII and his wives, demonstrating that such pieces still held their appeal.[141] Brooches were unisex items, and amongst Henry VIII's collection was a piece that may have belonged to his mother, Elizabeth of York: 'A brooch with E enamelled red'.[142] If this was the case then it may have been one of the few surviving pieces that had been owned by Elizabeth, for following her death in 1503 Henry VII's Chamber Books record the 'plegging of certain of the quenes Juelles'.[143]

Necklaces and pendants were popular throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and using visual evidence, chapter three will demonstrate how fashions for these particular pieces changed in a short space of time. During the fifteenth century, devotional pendants peaked in popularity.[144] The Middleham Jewel is one such example, and the arguments surrounding its commission and significance will be discussed in chapter six.[145] The trend for religious themed necklaces persisted into the sixteenth century, and all six of Henry VIII's wives owned cross necklaces as is apparent from the surviving evidence examined in this thesis.

Gold collars were another form of adornment, and Clare Phillips has argued that large collars of this nature were usually symbolic and displayed some sign of the wearer's

[137] Unknown Maker, 'Dunstable Swan Jewel', fifteenth century, gold and enamel, British Museum, 1966,0703.1.
[138] J. Cherry, 'The Dunstable Swan Jewel', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 32 (1969), pp. 38-9.
[139] A. Somers Cocks, *An Introduction to Courtly Jewellery* (London, 1982), p. 14.
[140] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 36.
[141] See *L & P*, iv, no. 6789; BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 27r-v; BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 57v.
[142] *L & P*, iv, no. 6789.
[143] BL, Add MS 59899, f. 23v.
[144] Evans, *History of Jewellery*, p. 74.
[145] Unknown Maker, 'Middleham Jewel', 1475-1499, gold and sapphire, Yorkshire Museum, YORYM: 1991.43.

allegiance.[146] In 1506, Henry VII's Chamber Books record that he paid a London goldsmith for 'a Coller of garters' for the King's use, and another for Philip of Castile who was his guest.[147] The description is indicative that both pieces were designed to reflect the Order of the Garter that Philip was invested with during his stay.[148] Queens also wore collars, and such pieces owned by Catherine of Aragon and Katherine Howard will be discussed in chapters one and two.

Initial jewellery came into fashion during the latter part of the fourteenth century, and this continued through to the sixteenth century.[149] In the 1520s initial pendants became popular, peaking in the 1530s and 1540s – indeed, Janet Arnold argued that such pieces never lost their appeal.[150] The most notable owner of initial jewellery during this period was Anne Boleyn, and her pieces will be discussed in greater depth in chapters three and six. It is, however, important to note that the trend did not begin with Anne, and neither did it end with her. Henry VIII inherited several pieces featuring the initials of his parents, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of these items had once belonged to his mother, Elizabeth of York.[151] Many women wore initial jewels and other pendants attached to carcanets or necklaces, and evidence of the six wives of Henry VIII wearing pendants in such a way will be discussed in chapters two and three.

Some jewels served a more practical function, for example the whistle pendant that, by family tradition, was Henry VIII's first gift to Anne Boleyn.[152] This piece would have been worn attached to a masquing costume, and although there is no definitive evidence to link the jewel to Anne, it does at least reflect the multiple functions served by some jewels. Not only was it a pendant, but it also contained two toothpicks and an ear-spoon. Other practical jewels included belts, jewels on headdresses – known as biliments – jewels stitched around a neckline – referred to as squares – girdles and pomanders. Examples of all of these pieces will be cited throughout the course of this thesis. Jane Seymour and

[146] C. Phillips, *Jewelry: From Antiquity to Present* (London, 1996), p. 71
[147] E 36/214, f. 19r.
[148] *CSPS*, I, p. 379.
[149] Lightbown, *European Jewellery*, p. 218.
[150] J. Arnold (ed.), *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, 1988), p. 70.
[151] *L & P*, iv, no. 6789. Examples include a ring and buttons with the initials 'H and E'.
[152] Unknown Maker, 'Miniature Whistle Pendant', 1525-1530, gold, Victoria & Albert Museum, LOAN:MET ANON.1-1984; V&A, www.vam.ac.uk. Accessed 16/07/18.

Katherine Howard even had books decorated with jewels, whilst many queens also owned jewelled buttons. [153]

This brief history of jewellery and its uses provides a contextual introduction to the chapters that follow, in which many of these elements will be analysed in greater depth. It forms an integral part of the themes that are explored in relation to the collections of the queens during this period, and is crucial in allowing us to understand some of the key pieces that were owned by queens.

[153] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 21r-v; BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 68r; BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 29r; SoA, MS 129, f. 181r.

Chapter One: The Wills of the Queens of England, 1445-1548

1.1 Introduction

Five of the ten queens in this period made surviving wills: Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Wydeville, Catherine of Aragon, Anna of Cleves, and Kateryn Parr. In three of the surviving instances this is unsurprising, given the circumstances in which these women found themselves at the time of their deaths: Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville were widows, and therefore were at liberty to make wills without seeking the permission of a husband. A husband's consent was required for a married woman to make a will, since legally, all property and effects owned by a married couple belonged to the husband. Similarly, Anna of Cleves was a single woman with financial independence and full control of her assets. Therefore, everything mentioned in her will was hers to bestow where she chose.[154] Though it is possible that some of the remaining five queens in this thesis also made wills, the positions they were in at the time of their deaths makes this unlikely.

Wills and inventories provide some of the most crucial documentary evidence of this thesis. They provide intricate and often exquisite details about the nature of an individual's personal belongings, their values, and their relationships with their contemporaries. There are, inevitably, gaps in the sources, but what does survive allows us to build up a picture of the quantity and quality of jewels owned by queens, and in some cases, to trace their ownership. Through the use of the surviving wills we can see both the material wealth that was amassed, or in the cases of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville, diminished, and the way in which queens chose to bequeath their surviving jewels.[155] By contrast to inventories, discussed in chapter two, wills do not necessarily list everything. For example, they do not specify gifts that were made before death, either by means of a written or a verbal bequest. As Lucinda M. Becker asserted, 'Final gift-giving could begin even before death as part of the ritual of the deathbed'.[156] The approach to death of those making wills was often to provide for loved ones, make provision for their souls, recognise the service of their servants, and make a memorial for themselves, and examples of all of these appear in the wills in this thesis.[157]

[154] PROB 11/39/368, f. 261v-263r.
[155] Cited in J.J. Bagley, *Margaret of Anjou* (London, 1948), p. 240; PROB 11/9/207.
[156] L. M. Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 160.
[157] Becker, *Death*, p. 13.

Jacqueline Eales has highlighted that sources written by women during this period can be limited, and sources written *about* women can be equally restricted.[158] Women were identified by the relationships they shared with the men in their lives, whether as daughters, wives, or mothers, rather than as individuals, which explains the lack of evidence in some quarters. Nevertheless, women often had an important role to play when it came to wills: it was not uncommon for women to be made the executors of others wills, including their husbands. Joan Beaufort, Countess of Westmorland, was made the executor of her husband's will following his death in 1425, as was Elizabeth Catesby following the execution of her husband in 1485.[159] However, none of the queens in this thesis are known to have fulfilled such a role for their husbands.

Wills in a recognisably modern form did not evolve until the late thirteenth century. It was not until the death of Katherine of Valois in 1437, however, that she became the first queen of England known to have left a will.[160] Katherine was not the first royal lady to do so, and among others were Joan of Kent, mother of Richard II.[161] Wills made by women accounted for 400,000 or 20% of all wills recorded between the mid-sixteenth century and the mid-eighteenth century.[162] Nearly 80% of these were made by widows, almost 20% by single women, and less than 1% by wives.[163] As mentioned previously, married women generally did not write wills, accounting for their exclusion from these figures. Married women who did make wills required their husband's permission to do so, and were relatively unusual.[164] Kateryn Parr was the only queen in this period to do so, but she was not alone. Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, also made a will, even though her second husband, Adrian Stokes, was alive at the time of her death.[165] This is likely to be because of the Duchess's superior status, and the substantial wealth she had to bequeath.[166] Kateryn Parr was in a similar position, and her situation will be discussed later in this chapter. This leads us to consider the circumstances in which queens made wills, and in

[158] J. Eales, *Women in early modern England, 1500-1700* (London, 1998), p. 16.
[159] SC 8/26/1295; PROB 11/7/290.
[160] J. Nichols (ed.), *A Collection of all the Wills, now known to be extant, of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780), pp. 244-9.
[161] Nichols (ed.), *Collection of all the Wills*, pp. 189-199.
[162] Eales, *Women*, p. 20.
[163] Eales, *Women*, p. 20.
[164] Eales, *Women*, p. 20.
[165] PROB 11/42B/688.
[166] See B. J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002).

most of the examples cited there were different reasons surrounding their creation, all of which will be discussed.

Kings and noblemen made wills too, and though they were not exclusive to royalty and nobility, wills were more likely to be made by those who had more to bequeath. Of the six kings in this period, it is probable that five made wills. Of these, only two have survived: those of Henry VII and Henry VIII.[167] Both wills underwent several drafts throughout the course of the kings' reigns, and the same is known to have been true of Edward IV, although none of his wills have survived.[168] It is probable that Henry VI and Richard III also made wills, but they may have been destroyed following their deaths. Wills could be written at entirely different points in an individual's life, and this is reflected in the examples cited in this thesis. However, final wills were frequently drawn up or amended when the maker was ill or suspected that they were dying, and this was certainly the case in the instances of the three kings who are known to have made wills.[169]

As historical sources, wills can supply information about property ownership, particularly in the case of widows. Evidence for this appears in the wills of Cecily Neville, and Anna of Cleves.[170] Likewise, the wills of Lady Katherine Hastings and Lady Maud Parr demonstrate the lands that were in their possession at the times of their deaths.[171]

Finally, and perhaps most crucially, wills make a vital contribution to our knowledge of familial relationships and alliances in the complex network of fifteenth and sixteenth century society. This is revealing in terms of queens and their jewels, providing clues as to the nature of the relationships they shared with their contemporaries, and how they chose to dispose of their belongings. Wills that mention jewels indicate the high status of the maker; jewels were a vital enhancement of status, and were affordable only to those of the upper classes.[172] It is therefore to be expected that jewels should appear in the wills of queens, and their absence in some of those that survive can be invariably explained by circumstances.

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[167] E 23/3; E 23/4. See also T. Astle (ed.), *The Will of Henry VII* (London, 1775).
[168] See C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), pp. 417-18 for further details.
[169] Warnicke, *Wicked Women*, p. 165.
[170] PROB 11/10/447; PROB 11/39/368.
[171] PROB 11/14/93; J.G. Nichols & J. Bruce (eds), *Wills from Doctors' Commons: A Selection from the Wills of Eminent Persons Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1495-1695* (London, 1863) pp. 9-20.
[172] Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence*, p. 3.

Unfortunately, Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville's wills reveal nothing about their jewellery collections or the fate of their jewels, and it is therefore interesting to consider the wills of two of their contemporaries. Cecily Neville and Margaret Beaufort both made extensive and detailed wills, which not only reflect their heightened status at the time of their deaths, but also provide clues as to how the wills of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville could have looked had their circumstances been different.[173] At the time of their deaths, both Margaret and Elizabeth had been deprived of their titles as queen, and were forced into penury. Therefore, the fact that neither had any jewels left to dispose of and few material goods is unsurprising. This is reflected in the lengths of both of their wills, which are significantly shorter than those of Cecily Neville and Margaret Beaufort. By contrast, though neither Cecily nor Margaret enjoyed the position of queen consort, they were both privileged to enjoy the status of the king's mother and were both wealthy in their own right.[174] This wealth is reflected in their wills, and could have been expected in those of Margaret and Elizabeth had they been living in similar circumstances at the time of their deaths.

The example of Catherine of Aragon provides an interesting and unique contrast. Catherine considered herself to be a married woman rather than a singleton at the time of her death, which makes the fact that she made a will in the first place rather remarkable. Even so, as is discussed below it is evident that her will was not considered as such by either Catherine or her supporters. Instead, it was intended to be a remembrance of her final wishes rather than a legal document.[175]

Similarly, Kateryn Parr provides an exception to the other four queens in another way, as she alone was married for the fourth time at the time of her death, her husband being Sir Thomas Seymour.[176] In such circumstances it was unusual for a woman to make a will, but as the document explains,

> being persuaded, and perceiving the extremity of death to approach her; disposed and ordained by the permission, assent, and consent of her most dear,

[173] PROB 11/10/447; PROB 11/16/419. See also Nichols & Bruce (eds), *Doctors' Commons*, pp. 1-8; Nichols (ed.), *Collection of all the Wills*, pp. 356-403.
[174] See Laynesmith, *Cecily*, pp. 95-113, & Jones & Underwood, *King's Mother*, pp. 66-92.
[175] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216r-v.
[176] G.W. Bernard, 'Seymour, Thomas, Baron Seymour of Sudeley', *ODNB*.

> beloved husband, the Lord Seymour aforesaid, a certain disportion, gift, testament, and last will of all her goods, chattel, and debts.[177]

Kateryn was not the only queen who had made a will in spite of a further marriage. Katherine of Valois had done the same, although she was almost certainly married to Owen Tudor.[178] The precedent had, therefore, already been set.

That the other five queens in this period did not leave surviving wills is unsurprising, and can be easily explained by their circumstances. Anne Neville, Elizabeth of York and Jane Seymour all died whilst they were married – and their husbands were alive. Thus they would not have been expected to make wills. All of their property at the time of their deaths naturally came into the possession of their husbands. Following Jane Seymour's death, her husband chose to disburse some of her jewels to her relatives and the women who had served her. An inventory of the collection will be discussed in chapter two; whether the disbursement of jewels derived from a request made by Jane as she lay dying or her husband's decision is uncertain.[179] This is, though, the only recorded example we have during this period of a king distributing his deceased wife's property to a named list of recipients. Some of Jane's royal jewels were inherited by her successors, and these examples will be mentioned in the following chapter in regards to queenly inventories.

Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard were exceptional amongst their contemporary queens. As both were condemned and executed for treason, in keeping with standard procedure neither queen was entitled to make a will. Instead, their property was forfeited to the Crown. Following the death of Anne Boleyn, the King chose to distribute some of her personal belongings to his eldest daughter, Mary, but evidence for the fate of other belongings is obscure. Presumably either Mary or Henry passed on at least one of Anne's jewels to her daughter, Elizabeth. The evidence for this comes in the form of the 'A' initial necklace that Elizabeth can be seen wearing in the painting, 'The Family of Henry VIII', which will be discussed in chapter three.[180]

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[177] PROB 11/32/19, f. 142v.
[178] Nichols (ed.), *Collection of all the Wills,* pp. 244-9. There is no surviving evidence that Katherine and Tudor were married, but most modern historians generally believe this to have been the case. See M. Jones, 'Catherine', *ODNB*.
[179] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r.
[180] Unknown Artist, 'The Family of Henry VIII', c. 1545, RCT, RCIN 405796.

This chapter seeks to explore the wills of the surviving queens and their contemporaries during this period, in order to ascertain what jewels and wealth they had at their disposal at the time of their deaths. It will then examine the way in which they bequeathed this wealth – specifically their jewels – and what this imparts about their relationships and networking. In so doing, it aims to show the quantity and quality of jewels available to queens, in order to understand what this reveals about them both as individuals and as consorts.

1.2 Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville

Margaret and Elizabeth's wills were not reflective of those that might have been expected of former queens of England. As mentioned previously, Margaret was only the second queen of England since 1066 to have made a surviving will, her precedent having been Katherine of Valois.[181] As Katherine's circumstances were in some ways similar to those in which Margaret and Elizabeth found themselves at the times of their deaths, Margaret and Elizabeth's wills could be said to fit the same pattern.

As Earenfight conveyed, queens in this period had more control over their finances than their predecessors, and this is reflected in the surviving wills.[182] This was not only evident with queens, but also in the wills of some of their contemporaries. Cecily Neville and Margaret Beaufort's wills, for example, reflect that both women were wealthy widows who had asserted full control over their own assets, and evidence for this also appears in the will of Lady Katherine Hastings.[183]

The surviving household accounts of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville reveal that the latter's household was less extravagant than that of her predecessor, and this in turn may also reveal something of the circumstances in which both women made their wills.[184] As Myers emphasised however, Elizabeth also had a smaller income than Margaret, which goes some way to explaining why her household was less flamboyant.[185]

[181] See Nichols (ed.), *Collection of all the Wills*, pp. 244-9.
[182] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 203.
[183] PROB 11/10/447; PROB 11/16/419; PROB 11/14/93.
[184] See Myers, 'Household of Queen Margaret', pp. 79-113; Myers, 'Household of Queen Elizabeth', pp. 207-15.
[185] Myers, 'Household of Queen Elizabeth', p. 207.

When it came to making their wills, both Margaret and Elizabeth claimed to have nothing of value to leave their loved ones.[186] Margaret's surviving jewel accounts, analysed in chapter seven, reveal that she gave generously to her servants, and therefore her claim to have nothing to bequest in her will is likely to have been a true reflection of the penury in which she found herself.[187]

Margaret's depleted finances were confirmed at the time of her death in 1482, when she was not even in possession of her wedding ring, the details of which are discussed in chapter six. This is unsurprising: by the time Margaret began her captivity in 1471 she probably had few jewels remaining, and any personal effects she did own were almost certainly seized at this time; this explains how her wedding ring wound up in the royal coffers in 1530, as will be explained in chapter six.[188] If this was indeed the case, it shows how harshly Edward IV dealt with Margaret. Additionally, before Margaret left England for exile in France in 1475, she was forced to renounce all of her claims to lands and titles in England.[189]

Considering Margaret's circumstances it is little wonder that she made no mention of any jewels or bequests of other property in her will. This supports her claims of poverty, and is a testament to the condition in which she found herself during her final years. Her will reveals that her primary concern was for her soul and burial. This was common, and is demonstrated in all of the wills discussed here – all save Anna of Cleves and Kateryn Parr stated precisely where they wished to be buried, and Margaret's request that she should be interred in Angers Cathedral was honoured. She further stated that 'My will is [that] the few goods which God and he [Louis XI] have given and lent to me be used for this purpose and for the paying of my debts as much to my poor servants'.[190] There is no indication as to the nature of the goods to which Margaret referred; however, they were clearly of little monetary value. This is confirmed by Margaret's next sentence; 'And should my few goods be insufficient to do this, as I believe they are, I implore the king [to] meet and pay the outstanding debts'.[191] She continued to name Louis XI as the 'sole heir

[186] Cited in Bagley, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 240; PROB 11/9/207.
[187] E101/409/14; E101/409/17; E101/410/2; E101/410/8; E101/410/11. See also Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret'.
[188] See Hayward, 'Possessions', p. 50; *L & P*, iv, no. 6789.
[189] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 172.
[190] Cited in Bagley, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 240. It has been impossible to track down the original will, and most scholars now cite the one used by Bagley.
[191] Bagley, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 240.

of the wealth which I inherited through my father and mother and my other relatives and ancestors'.[192] As Maurer has shown, following her arrival in France Margaret had been required to sign over her rights of inheritance to Louis, so this would have been fully expected.[193]

David Baldwin stressed that according to the terms of Edward IV's will, Elizabeth Wydeville was allowed to keep her jewels after his death.[194] As Edward's will no longer survives, this is impossible to corroborate. It is likely that Elizabeth took most of her jewels with her during her flight into Sanctuary in Westminster Abbey in 1483. The contemporary chronicler Dominic Mancini reported that 'it was commonly believed that the late king's treasure, which had taken such years and pains to gather, was divided between the queen, the marquess [of Dorset, Elizabeth's eldest son by her first marriage], and Edward [V]'.[195] Though Mancini is the only contemporary source to make any such reference, it seems plausible that Elizabeth did take some items of value with her, while the remainder were probably absorbed into the collection of Anne Neville. However, Rosemary Horrox demonstrated that it is unlikely that there was much left in the coffers at this time in any case.[196] In March 1486 Henry VII restored Elizabeth's dower lands, but the cost of maintaining a dower queen and his own queen could have been a decisive factor in Elizabeth's withdrawal to Bermondsey Abbey in 1487.[197] Nevertheless, she was granted a pension of 400 marks, a sum that was later increased.[198] Elizabeth did, therefore, have access to funds, but certainly not on the same scale as during her tenure as queen consort.

Laynesmith argued that Elizabeth's 'status as a widow meant that she could choose a funeral which was a ritual for a woman, not a queen', and it may be that this was also reflected in the style in which she made her will.[199] After all, Elizabeth Wydeville's funeral was in direct contrast to that of her daughter, Elizabeth of York, whose funeral, discussed in chapter three, was a reflection of her position and wealth at the time of her death. Or,

[192] Bagley, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 240.
[193] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 208.
[194] Baldwin, *Elizabeth Woodville*, p. 62.
[195] D. Mancini, *Usurpation of Richard III* ed. & trans. C.A.J. Armstrong (Stroud, 1984), p. 23.
[196] R. Horrox, 'Financial memoranda of the reign of Edward V', *Camden Miscellany XXIX*, 34 (Camden Fourth Series, 1987), p. 211.
[197] See Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 201-3.
[198] M. Hicks, 'Elizabeth', *ODNB*.
[199] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 129.

as Laynesmith suggested, Elizabeth Wydeville's funeral and her will could have placed a deliberate emphasis on poverty in an underhand attempt to criticise Henry VII.[200] By the time of her death though, it is highly unlikely that Elizabeth Wydeville had anything of worldly value left to bequeath. Any royal treasure that she had appropriated on the death of her husband probably found its way into the coffers of Richard III, where it was presumably eventually inherited by his successor, Elizabeth's son-in-law, Henry VII.

Elizabeth's will was made on 10 April 1492, two months prior to her death on 8 June. Significantly, she referred to herself as 'Elisabeth by the grace of God Quene of England', emphasising that she still regarded herself as a queen, and was conscious of her exalted status.[201] Elizabeth's primary concern was meeting her maker, as she expressed in her hope that he would accept her soul and 'all the holy company of hevyn, to be good meanes for me'.[202] She continued to convey her desire to be interred next to her husband at Windsor 'without pompes entreing or costlie expensis donne thereabought'.[203] It is difficult to ascertain whether this request for simplicity reflected Elizabeth's finances, or a genuine desire for a quiet burial, as is suggested by Laynesmith.

The crucial point of her will, though, is highlighted next: 'Item, where I have no wordely goodes to do the Quene's Grace, my derest doughter, a pleaser with, nether to reward any of my children, according to my hart and mynde, I besech Almyghty Gode to blisse her Grace'.[204] This must surely be a true reflection that Elizabeth did indeed have nothing of value to leave to her children. Nevertheless, she continued: 'Item, I will that suche smale stufe and goodes that I have be disposed truly in the contentac'on of my dettes and for the helth of my sowle, as farre as they will extende'.[205] There is no indication as to the nature of these goods. It is wholly possible that there were some jewels perceived to be of little value; however, as jewels were considered to be extremely precious commodities, it is more credible that the goods referred to something else entirely. Similarly, there is no hint as to what Elizabeth's debts might have been. It is possible, nevertheless, that some of these goods held some kind of value for the Queen's relations, as she continued to state: 'Item, yf any of my bloode will any of my saide stufe or goodes to me perteyning, I

[200] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 129.
[201] PROB 11/9/207, f. 74r.
[202] PROB 11/9/207, f. 74r.
[203] PROB 11/9/207, f. 74r.
[204] PROB 11/9/207, f. 74r.
[205] PROB 11/9/207, f. 74r.

will that they have the prefermente before any other.'[206] It is possible that this referred to household goods, but whether any of Elizabeth's family requested these goods is unknown.

Margaret and Elizabeth's wills can surely be considered to be a reflection of the circumstances in which they found themselves at the times of their deaths, rather than providing a true representation of a queens will. Had they died during their husband's lifetimes, the nature of their finances and material goods would have borne a greater similarity to those evidenced in the will of Cecily Neville.

1.3 Cecily Neville and Margaret Beaufort

The wills of Cecily Neville and Margaret Beaufort provide a startling contrast to those of their contemporary queen's as discussed above.[207] They are interesting to consider, because although neither woman was a queen, both were still powerful in the context of fifteenth and early sixteenth-century England, and their wills reveal the kind of material wealth that was available to them. Given the lack of jewels in the wills of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville, the wills of Cecily Neville and Margaret Beaufort provide ideal contemporary examples for comparison. Both wills are notable for their length and the number of bequests that they list. This significantly reflects the variance with the queens in their circumstances at the times of their deaths, and their positions in society.

Both wills are representative of the religiosity of the women who made them, both of whom were considered to be pious by their contemporaries.[208] This is particularly apparent in Margaret Beaufort's will, which concerns itself primarily with her funeral arrangements and bequests to religious foundations.[209] Both wills are also indicative of the amount of material wealth that Cecily and Margaret had access to at the time of their deaths, and although the wills are only representative of a proportion of what they owned, they nevertheless serve as evidence of the sort of lifestyle to which they had become accustomed. Unlike inventories, wills were selective documents that took

[206] PROB 11/9/207, f. 74r.
[207] PROB 11/10/447; PROB 11/16/419.
[208] See Laynesmith, *Cecily*, pp. 136-40 for Cecily's religious patronage; Jones & Underwood, *King's Mother*, pp. 193-8 for Margaret's.
[209] PROB 11/16/419.

account of whatever goods the maker chose.

All of the money Cecily was owed from a royal grant of customs' duties was left to Henry VII, as well as 'two cuppes of gold'.[210] That Henry VII was listed as the first beneficiary is an indication of courtesy and his social precedence, although Laynesmith has also suggested that Cecily's will is indicative of 'a genuinely positive relationship' between the two.[211] Cecily's granddaughter, Elizabeth of York, naturally followed Henry. She was the only member of Cecily's family to whom she chose to bequeath items of jewellery, and was to receive 'a crosse croslette of diamantes, a sawter [psalter?] with claspes of silver and guilte enameled covered with grene clothe of golde, and a pix with the fleshe of Saint Cristofer'.[212] It seems likely that these jewels held some special significance to Cecily that is not mentioned, either because, as Laynesmith argued, they were particularly valuable in monetary terms, or due to their sentimental value and religious and/or decorative symbolism.[213] It was not uncommon for women to leave their most prized possessions and jewels to their closest female relative. As James related, women 'sought to create through personally chosen artefacts vehicles that would carry their memory down the generations', and Cecily could have had this in mind.[214]

Having ensured that her family and religious affairs were in order, Cecily's next thoughts were for her friends and retainers. She left bequests of jewels to a total of eleven named recipients, and the genres she named can be seen in the table below.

Table 1: Jewels in Cecily Neville's Will: PROB 11/10/447.

Type of Jewel	**Quantity**
Tablets	1
Rings	1 +
Pots	1
Cups of gold	2

[210] PROB 11/10/447, f. 195r.
[211] Laynesmith, *Cecily*, p. 169.
[212] PROB 11/10/447, f. 195r.
[213] Laynesmith, *Cecily*, p. 141.
[214] James, *Women's Voices*, p. 94.

Crosses	2
Spoons	2
Dymysents (Metal facing for a girdle)	3
Girdles	7
Pendants	5
Gold hooks	3
Pomanders	2
Boxes	2
Agnus Dei	12
Goblets	1
Beads	4
Total:	**48 +**

It is interesting to consider that the most frequently occurring items are Agnus Dei, evidence of Cecily's religious devotion. Laynesmith has observed that all of Cecily's Agnus Dei were bequeathed either to women or married couples within her household.[215] It was not uncommon for women to leave bequests to their friends, or 'gossip networks', and examples also appear in the will of Anna of Cleves.[216] In Cecily's will, Anne Pinchbeke – probably a member of Cecily's household – received the most in terms of quantity, with a total of eleven bequests, whilst two other couples both received seven jewelled objects each. With the exception of Sir Henry Heydon, the steward of Cecily's household, all of the recipients received more than one item. The value of the jewel given to Heydon was probably more valuable both in monetary terms and sentimentally, which would explain this. Heydon was given 'a tablett and a cristall garnesshed with ix stones and xxvij perles, lacking a stone and iij perles'.[217]

Besides the Agnus Dei, many of the jewels in Cecily's will were of a religious nature and expressed her piety. This indicates that Cecily chose these items as part of a deliberate strategy to leave those close to her a personal memento that encouraged the recipients to pray for her soul and remember her as a woman of immense piety. A bequest that conveys this particular point was left to Richard Brocas and his wife Jane. Amongst other objects they were to have 'a greate Agnus of gold with the Trinite, Saint Erasmus, and the

[215] Laynesmith, *Cecily*, p. 141.
[216] James, *Women's Voices*, p. 77.
[217] PROB 11/10/447, f. 196r.

Salutacion of our Lady; an Agnus of gold with our Lady and Saint Barbara'.[218] Further religious jewels were left to Anne Pinchbeke, who received 'all other myne Agnus unbequeithed, that is to say, ten of the Trinite'.[219] As James has shown, the bequest of beads or other religious jewels were a common portable legacy that was almost unique to women during this period.[220] After the Reformation such bequests rarely appeared in wills, and it is interesting to consider that even though Anna of Cleves died a Catholic in a restored Catholic England in 1557, she made no mention of any such bequests in her will.[221]

It is improbable that the jewels mentioned in Cecily's will reflect her entire collection. In all likelihood they were a selection of those perceived to hold the most value, or that Cecily had chosen as a specific gift to a named person. Evidence in support of this comes in the form of her signet ring, which though not accounted for, Cecily made reference to. John Metcalfe and his wife, Alice, were to receive 'all the ringes that I have', with the exception of 'such as hang by my bedes and Agnus, and also except my signet'.[222] The signet ring was probably just one example, and Cecily may have bestowed this more personal jewel elsewhere by means of oral instruction.

Like Cecily Neville, Margaret Beaufort's will demonstrates an extraordinary level of material wealth, and it is clear that this reflected only a small part of this.[223] An inventory of Margaret's plate and jewels taken after her death shows the true extent of her belongings, and it is therefore fair to assume that her will can be taken as evidence of where her true priorities lay.[224] Though like Cecily, Margaret was not a queen, in the first line of her will she not only made it apparent that she identified herself with royalty, but that she considered herself to be royal too. Initially describing herself as 'Moder to the most excellent Prince King Henry the VIIth, by the grace of God King of Englond', thereafter Margaret consistently referred to herself as 'Princesse'.[225] Such a description confirms that Margaret was acutely conscious of her royal blood, and of her position as

[218] PROB 11/10/447, f. 196r.
[219] PROB 11/10/447, f. 196r.
[220] James, *Women's Voices*, p. 80.
[221] PROB 11/39/368, f. 361v-363r. In *Women's Voices* James stated that even during Mary's reign, such bequests were a rarity, and when they did appear it was often because they were family heirlooms, p. 80.
[222] PROB 11/10/447, f. 196r.
[223] PROB 11/16/419.
[224] E 101/417/1.
[225] PROB 11/16/419, f. 238r.

Henry VII's mother.

Margaret's foremost concerns were religious, and the main body of her will ends having made no mention of any personal bequests. She did, however, add a schedule of bequests in February 1509.[226] In this she left her grandson, Henry VIII, several of her books as well as 'v of my best cuppes of gold with theire couers', before turning her attention to her granddaughters, and Catherine of Aragon.[227] Her granddaughter and namesake Margaret, Queen of Scotland was listed next, and to her Margaret bequeathed 'a gyrdell of gold conteynyng xxix lynckes with a great pomaundere at oonn ende'.[228] Margaret may have considered girdles to be among her best pieces, as she also left one to Catherine of Aragon: 'a gyrdell of gold conteynyng vj flowres', as well as her next best cup after the ones she had bequeathed to her grandson.[229] Margaret's youngest granddaughter, Mary, was the only one of the three women not to receive a girdle, and instead was to receive 'a stonding cuppe of gold couered garnyshed with white hertes perles and stonys', in addition to an elaborate salt covered in costly gems.[230] These gifts of jewels to her family were the most noteworthy of Margaret's bequests, demonstrating her affection for them. However, Margaret also left various gifts of plate to her friends and members of her household, probably intended as tokens of remembrance.[231] The numerous bequests she made serve as a testament not only to the remarkably large amount of portable wealth Margaret had access to, but also to her generous nature in choosing to remember so many.

1.4 Catherine of Aragon, Anna of Cleves, and Kateryn Parr

When Catherine of Aragon made her will in 1536, she was estranged from her husband and living in relatively stringent conditions at Kimbolton Castle. Catherine had been banished from court in 1531, and was sent to live in a series of damp and uncomfortable houses before finally settling at Kimbolton.[232] On 23 May 1533, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury officially declared Catherine's marriage to Henry VIII to be null

[226] Jones & Underwood, *King's Mother*, p. 240-1.
[227] St John's College Quatercentenary publication, *Collegium Divi Johannis Evangelistae, 1511-1911* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 121.
[228] St John's College, *Collegium*, p. 121.
[229] St John's College, *Collegium*, p. 121.
[230] St John's College, *Collegium*, p. 121.
[231] St John's College, *Collegium*, pp. 121-3.
[232] Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, p. 242, 280.

and void. Of all of the queens in this period, we know more about the circumstances of Catherine's death and in which she made her will thanks to the detailed reports of the Imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys. Although Chapuys was a friend and supporter of Catherine's, the nature of his position as ambassador meant that he had a responsibility to report back faithfully to his master, the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. From his observances, it is clear that Catherine herself did not consider her will to be her final legal testament. In his report to his master and Catherine's nephew, Charles V, in which he related the manner of her death, Chapuys explained that

> Knowing that according to English law a wife can make no will while her husband survives, she would not break the said laws, but by way of request caused her physician to write a little bill, which she commanded to be sent to me immediately, and which was signed by her hand, directing some little reward to be made to certain servants who had remained with her.[233]

It is this 'little bill' that survives, and it is indeed a short document.[234] Because Catherine did not consider it to be a legal document in the same way as a will, she did not appoint any executors. It ought, however, to be treated in a similar manner as a will because it contains a faithful list of the items Catherine wished to bequeath in her final hours. In addition, it reveals that Catherine had more material wealth at her disposal than either Margaret of Anjou or Elizabeth Wydeville, although she was not living in a regal manner at the time of her death. Shortly after Catherine's death, Sir Edmund Bedingfield, who had been entrusted with her care by the King, wrote to Thomas Cromwell that 'the persons who had the custo[dy of her] jewels, plate, and apparel, have given us a just and plain declaration, containing much more than [we could] see or know before'.[235] This shows that Catherine had evidently been eager to conceal her goods from those who might have cause to report to the King, perhaps leading to their disposal.

Few examples of jewels are found in Catherine's will, and this is unsurprising. In September 1532, Catherine had been forced to renounce her custody of the royal jewels, and initially refused to do so, claiming that 'I would consider it a sin and a load upon my conscience if I were persuaded to give up my jewels for such a wicked purpose as that of ornamenting a person who is the scandal of Christendom'.[236] The person to whom she

[233] *L & P*, x, no. 141.
[234] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216r-v.
[235] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 219v.
[236] *L & P*, v, no. 1377.

referred was Anne Boleyn. In the event Catherine had no choice, but did manage to retain some jewels, which appeared in her will, presumably because they were her own personal property.[237]

The primary bequests Catherine made were of small sums of money to her servants, including one to 'Mrs Margery' – later Lady Lister and charged with the care of Jane Seymour's jewels, as discussed in chapter five.[238] However, she also requested that 'my goldsmyth be paid of his wage [missing words] year coming. And beside that all that is due [missing word]'.[239] Such a reference does not necessarily indicate that Catherine had been commissioning jewels from the goldsmiths, and could instead refer to the purchase of plate or other household items. Goldsmiths received frequent commissions for plate, and this together with their role at the royal court will be discussed in chapter six. This does show though, that although Catherine was no longer queen and was living on a reduced income, her financial circumstances contrasted drastically with those of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville. This is also supported by the brief reference she made to the 'goods whiche I do holde as well in gold and sylver as other thyngs'.[240]

Catherine made two gifts of jewels, both to her daughter, Mary. The first was a cross necklace, followed by the more significant bequest: 'the colar of gold whiche I brought [missing words] Spayne be to my doughter'.[241] As discussed in the introduction, gold collars were popular during this period, but would soon go out of fashion.[242] The importance of the jewellery though, lies in its sentimentality, for it was a treasured piece of Catherine's that she had owned prior to her arrival in England. It was almost certainly an heirloom, perhaps inherited from Isabel of Castile, that Catherine had intended to pass to her daughter, and such bequests appear frequently in women's wills. Dagmar Eichberger's study of Margaret of Austria's 1499 jewel inventory has shown that Margaret was given large numbers of jewels from her mother-in-law, Isabel of Castile, and some from her father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, at the time of her marriage to Prince Juan, and the same may have been true in Catherine's case.[243] By passing on such a piece of

[237] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216r-v.
[238] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216v.
[239] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216v.
[240] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216r.
[241] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216r.
[242] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 71.
[243] D. Eichberger, 'A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective', in D. Eichberger (ed.), *Women of Distinction* (Davidsfonds, 2008), p. 288.

jewellery to her daughter, Catherine could have intended the collar to serve as a more personal reminder to Mary of her mother and her heritage.

Catherine only referred to two pieces of jewellery, but that does not indicate that these were the only two pieces that she owned. It is more likely that they were the two pieces that held the most significance to her. Like Cecily Neville before her, it is probable that Catherine had been selective in her choices, and for reasons that were personal to her. The importance of the cross necklace was probably its religious associations, which were intended to offer Mary comfort. Mary was estranged from her father and had not seen her mother for five years at the time of Catherine's death, so this is certainly plausible – father and daughter were not reconciled until June 1536.[244] Alternatively, the cross could simply have been a treasured piece of Catherine's that she hoped would provide a tangible memorial to her daughter.

Although Catherine did not name executors, she did ensure that there were those about her who knew of her wishes. In his report to the Emperor, Chapuys confirmed that 'the furs should be reserved for the Princess, her daughter, to whom she likewise desired to be given a collar with a cross which she had brought from Spain', as well as relating Catherine's requests for her final interment.[245] These final wishes were ignored, and when she was buried at Peterborough, it was with the rights afforded to a princess dowager rather than a queen – a clear indication that Henry VIII firmly believed Catherine to have been no more than his sister-in-law.[246]

All of the arrangements regarding Catherine's will were entrusted to Thomas Cromwell, who Chapuys reported had confirmed that 'everything would be done as regards the Princess and the servants as honourably and magnificently as I could demand'.[247] Presumably he was referring to the delivery of the jewels Catherine had bequeathed to her daughter, but a day later the circumstances had changed. It is unclear what necessitated this, but Chapuys related that Cromwell had said that 'if the Princess wished to have what had been given her she must first show herself obedient to her father, and

[244] A. Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London, 2009), pp. 88-90.
[245] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216r.
[246] Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, p. 308.
[247] *L & P*, x, no. 141.

that I ought to urge her to be so'.[248] Henry had evidently attempted to use Catherine's dying bequests to her daughter as a way of manipulating Mary into acknowledging that she was illegitimate. That she eventually did so in June 1536, five months after her mother's death, is a confirmation of the severe stress that she was suffering.[249] It was probably only then that Cromwell delivered Catherine's final gifts to her.

Mary later featured in the will of her stepmother, Anna of Cleves. Anna's will provides yet another unique example to those of her predecessors and contemporaries. It is important to note that, unlike any of Anna's predecessors or her later successor Kateryn Parr, at the time that she made her will, just a few days before her death in July 1557, she made it clear in the first line that it was not made from the perspective of one who was or had been a queen of England. Referring to herself as 'Anne the Daughter of John late Duke of Cleves and Sister to the Excellent Prynce Will[ia]m nowe reignynge', Anna clearly identified herself with her German family and her position within that family.[250] She made no reference to her former status, or indeed her former unofficial title of 'King's sister' that her former husband had bestowed upon her following the annulment of her marriage.[251] Instead, Anna made only one reference to Henry VIII. Identifying him solely in his capacity as Queen Mary's father, she addressed him as 'hir Majesties Late Father of moste famous memory Kinge Henry the Eight'.[252]

Anna's relationship with Mary at the time of her death was evidently still a relatively close one, as is demonstrated by Anna's request that

> our moste Dearest and entierlie belovyd soveraign Lady Quene Mary we earnestlie Desier to be our overseer of this our saied Laste Will and Testament with moste humble request to see the same performed as to hir Highnes shall seame best for the healthe of our soule.[253]

That she had asked Mary to oversee her final wishes is a testament to the high regard in which she held her former stepdaughter, who she also asked to choose her place of burial – Mary selected Westminster Abbey. By way of thanks and 'in token of our especiall truste

[248] *L & P*, x, no. 141.
[249] Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 88-9; BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 264r-266r.
[250] PROB 11/39/368, f. 261v.
[251] *L & P*, xv, no. 899.
[252] PROB 11/39/368, f. 262v.
[253] PROB 11/39/368, f. 262v.

and affyannce', as well as a mark of Mary's status as queen, Anna proceeded to make Mary a bequest. Her 'moste Excellent Majestie' was 'for a remembringe', to receive 'our bet [best] Juell'.[254] Frustratingly, there is no further description or indication of what this jewel may have been, although Anna must have left verbal instructions elsewhere to ensure that Mary received it. That it was given for a remembering, however, shows that it was intended as a personal memento. The same is true of the bequest that followed. Anna's 'seconde beste Jewell' was left to her younger former stepdaughter, 'the Lady Elizabeths grace'.[255] Presumably Anna had left clearer directions to identify these pieces to those who witnessed the will or to her executors. Her bequest to Elizabeth also reveals that although Anna had converted to Catholicism, she had remained on good terms with her younger stepdaughter, and wished to leave her some personal reminder of her.

As Warnicke confirmed, Anna was financially provided for during the reign of her late husband, but the circumstances changed during the reign of her former stepson, Edward VI, who took two of her manors from her and replaced them with two of lesser value in Kent.[256] This could have had some effect on her will and the property that she had available to her at the time of creating it. In many ways, Anna's will is similar to that of Cecily Neville in terms of the thorough distribution of her goods. It is striking though, for one other reason. Although all of the other queens, and indeed Cecily and Margaret Beaufort, expressed concern for the welfare of their servants, in Anna's will this was her foremost and primary interest. It superseded even religious considerations, and she continually stressed that their welfare was a priority.

Seven named recipients in Anna's will were left jewels. What is interesting is that each of them received a ring, and rings that were specifically described. Rings were highly personal and often used as tokens of friendship.[257] This suggests that Anna had chosen each of them for a specific purpose, either as a reflection of her relationship with the wearer, or perhaps for some other personal reason known only to the recipient. As James emphasised, such bequests were reiterations of friendship and affection, endorsers of personal memory, and 'engaging the recipients as personally designated rememberers'.[258]

[254] PROB 11/39/368, f. 262v.
[255] PROB 11/39/368, f. 262v.
[256] Warnicke, *Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, p. 252.
[257] Tait (ed.), *7000 Years*, p. 140.
[258] James, *Women's Voices*, p. 78.

Anna's bequests are revealing in terms of her relationships with her family and friends. Foremost amongst the recipients were her family, all listed in order of precedence. Naturally, the first among these was her brother, the Duke of Cleves, who was to receive 'a rynge of golde with a fayre dyamonde like unto a harte with sundrie square Cutt[es] in the same'.[259] The heart shaped diamond was probably a deliberate choice of Anna's, and intended as an indication of the familial relationship between the two, which was to be symbolised in this tangible reminder. Next, to 'the Duches of Cleaves his wife a rynge havinge thereon a grete Rocke Rubye and the ringe beinge blacke enamelid'.[260] The language suggests that this could have been chosen as it was the next valuable in monetary terms, and was therefore a mark of the status of Anna's sister-in-law, Maria of Austria, as Duchess of Cleves. The bequests to Anna's family ended with her sister, 'the Ladie Emely', who was to receive 'a ringe of golde havinge therein a fayre poynted Dyamond'.[261] The description of this ring is of a far less personal nature than that which Anna left to their brother, although the report of the diamond as 'fayre' intimates that it was precious.

Those to her friends followed the bequests to Anna's three family members. Foremost among them was 'Ladie Katheryne Duches of Suffolke' who was to receive 'a ringe of golde havinge therein a faire table Dyamond some what longe'.[262] This bequest is one that is worthy of further comment. Not only was Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, a fervent Protestant with views completely at odds with Anna's own at the time of her death, but at the time that Anna's will was made, and of her death, the Duchess was in self imposed exile in Europe in order to avoid persecution in England.[263] Despite their religious differences, the two women were still able to maintain a friendship, and Anna evidently trusted Queen Mary to ensure that her bequest was honoured. Whether or not the Duchess ever received the ring is unknown, for she did not return to England until 1559 following the accession of Elizabeth I.[264]

Following the Duchess of Suffolk, three further bequests of rings followed. First, Mary Arundell, Countess of Arundel, who was given 'a ringe of golde with a faire table

[259] PROB 11/39/368, f. 262r.
[260] PROB 11/39/368, f. 262r.
[261] PROB 11/39/368, f. 262r.
[262] PROB 11/39/368, f. 262r.
[263] See Kujawa-Holbrook, 'Katherine Parr', p. 66.
[264] S. Wabuda, 'Bertie [*née* Willoughby; *other married name* Brandon], Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk', *ODNB*.

Dyamonde havynge an Hand in it of golde set under the stone'.[265] The significance of the hand is unclear, but such a description indicates that, like the other rings, it had been chosen especially for the recipient. The inclusion of the Countess is unsurprising, as she had served in Anna's household during her short term as queen, and it is therefore indicative that the two women had remained friends.[266] Anna's will shows that, like Cecily Neville, she was at pains to materially reward those who had shown her good service. It also reveals much about her relationships with her contemporaries and family members, who she was eager to leave some tangible reminder to.

By contrast to all of the examples cited, the will of Kateryn Parr was verbally dictated during the dying queen's final hours, and as such is remarkably brief and very general.[267] This can be partially explained by Kateryn's unexpected death of puerperal fever. Following the delivery of her first child on 30 August 1548, initially it is clear that Kateryn was expected to make a full recovery.[268] The rapid decline in her health therefore meant that there was no time for the former queen to make a thorough account of her dying wishes. The circumstances of Kateryn's death were unexpected, yet in some respects it is surprising that she did not make some provision of her final wishes at an earlier time. The risks involved in childbirth in the sixteenth century were well known, and at thirty-six Kateryn was considered old by contemporary standards to be bearing her first child.[269] It is therefore difficult to comprehend why she chose not to prepare herself should the worst happen, and can perhaps only be explained by a sense of optimism. This also explains why Kateryn did not make any bequests to any of her friends or family, and instead entrusted all of her assets to her husband, Sir Thomas Seymour. As her will was verbally dictated, however, there is a possibility that Kateryn did leave some small material bequests in the form of verbal instructions to her friends and family. If this was the case, then no record of them has survived.

Unlike Anna of Cleves, though Henry VIII was dead at the time that Kateryn made her will, she still chose to identify herself in her former role as his consort, as well as of the wife of Sir Thomas Seymour. Kateryn described herself as 'The moste noble and excellent

[265] PROB 11/39/368, f. 262r.
[266] *L & P*, xv, no. 21.
[267] PROB 11/32/283.
[268] See SP 10/5/2, f. 3r, a letter dated 1 September from Kateryn's brother-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, in which he congratulates Kateryn and her husband on the birth of their daughter and remarks on Kateryn 'escapyng all daunger'.
[269] James, *Catherine Parr*, p. 284.

Princesse, Dame Kathryn, Quene of England, Fraunce, and Irelande; late the wyfe of the moste excellent prince of famous memory, king henry theight, late kinge of England; and then wyfe to the right honourable Sir Thomas Seymour'.[270] This shows that although Kateryn was evidently proud of her position as Seymour's wife, she still considered herself to be royal. Her short will, witnessed by her physician, Robert Huicke, and her chaplain, John Parkhurst, simply stated that 'with all hir harte and desire, frankely and freely', Kateryn gave all of her 'goodes, chattels, and debtes that she than hadd, or of ryght ought to have in all the world, wisshing them to be a thousand tymes more in value than they were or been', to Seymour.[271] Though her will is brief, one point that is worthy of comment is Kateryn's statement about the goods she 'of ryght ought to have'. It is possible that this was a reference to her royal and personal jewels, which were appropriated by the Duke of Somerset following the death of Henry VIII – including the wedding ring that Henry VIII had bestowed on her.[272] Kateryn's struggles to regain custody of her jewels are well documented, but such a reference could signify that she perceived that Seymour would continue this fight after her death – as indeed he did – in which case her wishes were that he should be able to keep them.[273] Like Kateryn, Seymour was also unsuccessful in trying to regain the jewel collection.

1.5 Conclusion

The surviving wills of the queens and noblewomen examined in this chapter demonstrate how much emphasis was placed on jewels at the end of their lives, and how they could be given as personal memorials. The wills provide a variety of contrasts, thereby reinforcing the extraordinary nature of queenship in this period. Although Becker is quite correct in saying that wills 'were rarely written by the testatrix herself', a statement that is almost certainly true in all of the examples cited here, they are nevertheless invaluable sources.[274] Whilst those of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville signify the decline in material wealth following the downward spiral in their circumstances, that of Cecily Neville provides a stark contrast and is a more accurate reflection of what one might

[270] PROB 11/32/283, f. 19r.
[271] PROB 11/32/283, f. 19r.
[272] James, *Catherine Parr*, p. 273; SP 10/6/24.
[273] See SP 10/6/72; SP 10/6/24; S. Haynes (ed.), *A Collection of State Papers Relating to the Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth From the Year 1542 to 1570* (London, 1740), pp. 71, 84.
[274] Becker, *Death*, p. 152.

expect to find in a queen's will. By the same token, the wills of Cecily, Margaret Beaufort, and Anna of Cleves offer sometimes detailed descriptions of material culture, and are a reflection of the comfortable circumstances in which these three women found themselves at the times of their deaths. The wills of Catherine of Aragon and Kateryn Parr provide yet more contrasts. Though Catherine of Aragon considered her will to be a written record of her final wishes, it was nevertheless treated as a will, and reveals that though she was estranged from her husband at the time of her death, she did still have access to money and material goods which she chose to bequeath. The example of Kateryn Parr illustrates that the queen was unprepared for death, and was perhaps therefore unable to bestow her property as she may have wished had the circumstances been different. Her will is no reflection of her personality or personal interests, and provides little evidence as to the nature and quantity of her goods at the time of her death, or how she would have chosen to distribute them. For the most part though, each of the wills offers 'not only a glimpse into an individual life but a new voice commenting on the feminine condition in a rapidly changing society'.[275]

[275] James, *Women's Voices*, p. 1.

Chapter Two: The Jewel Inventories of Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr

2.1 Introduction

Inventories could be drawn up at various times in an individual's life and were, as Hayward has highlighted, the most efficient way of recording their own possessions or someone elses.[276] Four inventories relating to the jewels of Henry VIII's third, fifth and sixth wives survive, and are variable in the amount of detail they contain. In the inventories of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr for example, the same items are often described in a completely different way.[277] By the same token, inventories were frequently divided into sections. The jewel inventories of Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr were organised according to the genre of jewel; in a different context the household goods of Lettice Knollys, Countess of Leicester, which included her jewels, were arranged according to the room in which they were stored.[278]

The Tudor inventories began in 1521, but prior to this several late medieval royal inventories survive, most notably that of Richard II. [279] Containing 1,206 entries, the inventory lists the jewels and plate belonging to him and his two queens. This provides us with evidence with which to compare later examples, in order to ascertain the similarities and differences between the categories and quantities. Similarly, the Bedford inventories also survive, supplying further points of comparison.[280] Aside from these English examples, several foreign inventories are extant. These include the jewel inventory of Clemence of Hungary, composed in 1328, the Hapsburg inventories, and the inventory of Jeanne de Boulogne.[281] Although these inventories were composed in different periods and places, these provide excellent examples of queenly and royal jewel inventories for wider consideration and comparison.

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[276] M. Hayward, 'Rich Pickings: Henry VIII's Use of Confiscation and its Significance for the Development of the Royal Collection', in Lipscomb & Betteridge (eds), *Henry VIII and the Court*, p. 43.
[277] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v; SoA, MS 129, f. 216v-220v.
[278] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v; SoA, MS 129, f. 216v-220v; BL, Add MS 18985.
[279] E 101/411/9. See J. Stratford, *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure* (Woodbridge, 2012).
[280] J. Stratford (ed.), *The Bedford Inventories: The Wordly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389-1435)* (London, 1993).
[281] L. Douet-D'Arcq (ed.), *Nouveau recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France* (Paris, 1874); M. Proctor-Tiffany, *Portrait of a Medieval Patron: The Inventory and Gift Giving of Clemence of Hungary* (Providence, 2007); L. Douet-D'Arcq (ed.), 'Inventaire des meubles de la reine Jeanne de Boulogne, 1360', *Bibliotheque de 'Ecole des Chartes*, XL (1879).

Wills and inventories were made for entirely different purposes, and when using them as historical sources it is important to keep this in mind. Inventories only take moveable goods into account, and do not list other possessions, such as land for example, that was owned. Neither do they provide the emotional context that wills do, as wills demonstrate the human value associated with objects.[282] Inventories are nonetheless useful sources because they provide a more complete picture of an individual's belongings. The inventory of Lettice Knollys, Countess of Leicester, made following her death in 1634, was an attempt to supply a complete account of all of her assets to ascertain their value, whilst the jewel inventory of Katherine Howard was intended to provide a record of the former queen's possessions before some of them were returned to her husband.[283] The 1447 Holland Inventory, meanwhile, was composed in order to establish which pieces of John Holland's plate and jewels had been sold off to pay debts.[284]

Shortly after Jane Seymour's premature death on 24 October 1537, an inventory of her jewels was drawn up.[285] As chapter three will demonstrate, pieces that Jane is known to have owned were later used by both Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr, yet they are not listed in the inventory. The magnificent ouche, for example, that Jane can be seen wearing in her portrait by Hans Holbein, is not among the items detailed in the inventory.[286] After her death many of Jane's jewels were given as gifts to members of her household in reward for their service. This is likely to have been because they were pieces of lesser value, indicating that the inventory is primarily representative of Jane's personal collection rather than her queenly one. This is supported by the make up of the jewels themselves, which as demonstrated below, contained far fewer precious stones than those found in the queenly inventories of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr. The nature of the contents of Jane's inventory, however, does vary from the personal jewel inventory of Kateryn Parr, which will be analysed shortly. Moreover, there are potentially several pieces in Jane's inventory that match those found in Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's inventories, showing that it may have contained pieces that were deemed worthy of the queenly collection.

[282] Becker, *Death*, p. 231.
[283] BL, Add MS 18985; BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r.
[284] Holland Inventory, 1447, Plate and jewels of John Holland, late Duke of Exeter, taken 8 September 1447, Westminster Abbey Muniments 6643.
[285] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r.
[286] Holbein, 'Jane Seymour', Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Compiled in November 1541, Katherine Howard's inventory was made with a precise purpose: chiefly as a record of all of the disgraced queen's jewels at the time of her disgrace.[287] That they were being inventoried at all was perceived to be a significant sign of Katherine's dishonour by her contemporaries, as the French ambassador, Marillac, recorded it in his report to his master.[288]

The often unreliable and anonymous author of the Spanish chronicle claimed with regard to Katherine that 'the King had no wife who made him spend so much money in dresses and jewels as she did, who every day had some fresh caprice'.[289] From written notes in the inventory, which will be discussed later in this chapter, and contemporary sources, it is clear that Katherine was indeed gifted pieces by her husband on several occasions throughout the course of her marriage. As is noted in the inventory itself, however, the King gave the bulk of the jewels listed in the inventory to Katherine 'at the time of the solemnization of their marriage'.[290] Though very few of the pieces listed match items in Jane Seymour's inventory, visual evidence discussed in chapter three shows that at least some of them had formed the basis of the collection of Henry's previous queens. It was not unusual for queens to receive jewels at the time of their marriage, and gifts given on such occasions will be discussed more fully in chapter seven.

The Spanish chronicler's comment suggests that Katherine's collection was larger than that of her predecessors, and while there is no documentary evidence in the cases of Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn and Anna of Cleves, the inventory of Jane Seymour's jewels – although significantly larger than either Katherine Howard's or Kateryn Parr's with 508 pieces – as mentioned previously is likely to be a personal, rather than a queenly jewel inventory. It cannot therefore be classed as comparable evidence. Containing a total of 175 pieces however, Katherine's inventory does contain more items than that of the queenly inventory of her successor, Kateryn Parr, whose inventory lists 164 pieces.[291] Only eight pieces listed in Katherine Howard's inventory are specifically mentioned as having been gifted to Katherine by her husband throughout the course of her marriage, and

[287] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r.
[288] *L & P*, xvi, no. 1332.
[289] Anonymous, *The Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England*, trans. M.A.S. Hume (London, 1889), p. 77.
[290] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r.
[291] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v.

these will be discussed in chapter seven. In this context, therefore, the observations of the Spanish chronicler were a gross exaggeration. Alternatively, other pieces in the inventory could have been given to Katherine by her husband that were not recorded as gifts. The lack of documentary evidence makes it impossible to ascertain with any certainty whether Katherine's queenly collection was indeed larger than that of any of her four predecessors.

The circumstances surrounding the creation of Kateryn Parr's first surviving inventory of jewels are vastly different from those of both of her predecessors.[292] Kateryn's inventory was a small part of a far larger project that served a different purpose. Eight months after the death of Henry VIII in September 1547, commissioners were appointed on the orders of his successor, Edward VI, to compile an inventory of all of the late King's goods, a task that took eighteen months.[293] The purpose of the inventory was to create a record of all of Henry VIII's possessions; or more accurately, the Crown's possessions. It provides a detailed and intimate insight into royal life, and the nature and luxury of goods available to the sixteenth century royal family. The inventory contains everything from clothes to jewels, books, and items purchased for the royal pets.[294] Not only can it provide details as to the King's lifestyle, but also to those of his queens, particularly Kateryn Parr. Over 17,000 objects are listed, and while some entries contain multiple items, many are individual.[295] This gives a staggering indication as to the material wealth accumulated by Henry at the time of his death, and of the splendour that surrounded him and his wives.

Prominent amongst the list of possessions are the jewels and precious metals owned by the King, of which there are more than 3,500 items. Foremost among these are the Crown Jewels, used by Henry and his predecessors on ceremonial occasions – most notably coronations.[296] These will be discussed fully in chapter four, but they account for a mere eighteen of the total objects listed amongst the jewels, providing tangible evidence of the King's penchant for jewels and rich objects.

[292] SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v.
[293] SoA, MS 129; BL, Add MS 46348. See also D. Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: The Transcript*, trans. P. Ward (London, 1998); M. Hayward & P. Ward (eds), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress* (London, 2012).
[294] Hayward & Ward (eds), *Textiles and Dress*; SoA, MS 129; BL, Add MS 46348.
[295] SoA, MS 129; BL, Add MS 46348.
[296] SoA, MS 129, f. 7r-8v.

The inventory is divided into multiple sections, one of which is headed 'The Quenes Jewelles'.[297] These were contained in a sealed coffer that, like the Crown Jewels, had been kept in the Jewel House at the Tower of London for safekeeping. This in itself is suggestive of the high monetary value that was placed on the jewels, and the Tower's role in storing jewels will be examined in chapter five.

'The Quenes Jewelles' refers to the jewels that were reserved for the use of the queen consort. At the time of Henry's death the right to use the jewels was bestowed on Kateryn Parr, who was entitled to use them in order to fulfil her role as Henry's consort – they were a tool that enabled her to enhance her visual royal image. Queens were an important part of the visual spectacle of royalty, as the nature of the splendid items in all of the inventories confirm.

The jewels provided for both Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr were not considered to be their personal property, but that of the Crown. It is also evident that the additional gifts of jewels bestowed upon the two queens by Henry after their marriages were considered to be a part of the queen's collection, rather than becoming the personal property of the individual queen. The evidence for this comes following Katherine Howard's fall, when all of her jewels were taken from her and inventoried in a visible demonstration of her disgrace.[298] Similarly, the jewels that Kateryn Parr later ordered and added to the collection were to become a part of the queen's collection, rather than her own property, and pieces can be identified in the collections of her successors.[299]

There is good reason, however, to suspect that Kateryn did not believe this to be the case. By the terms of Henry VIII's will, she had been gifted 'plate Iewelz and Stuff of household' to the value of £3000.[300] It seems reasonable to assume that the pieces that the King was giving to his wife were indeed the 'The Quenes Jewelles', and that Kateryn expected to be able to retain their use after she was widowed. It could be argued that they were not Henry's to bestow, and this was the belief of the new regime who refused to return them to her.[301]

[297] SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v.
[298] *L & P*, xvi, no. 1332.
[299] See D. Scarisbrick, 'Anne of Denmark's Jewellery Inventory', *Archaeologica*, CIX (1991), pp. 193-237.
[300] E 23/4, f. 15r.
[301] See SP 10/4 for a collection of letters relating to this argument.

This caused Kateryn great anguish, but this could have been because some of the jewels that she had owned prior to her royal marriage were among the queen's jewels. This may reveal nothing more than the sentimental value that Kateryn placed on these jewels in allowing them to be stored with her more monetarily valuable royal jewels. This appears to be somewhat confirmed in a letter from her fourth husband, Sir Thomas Seymour, in which he referred to 'your mothers geffte'; a diamond cross and a cache of loose pearls which Kateryn was desperate to have returned to her.[302]

Thus, the later addition to the inventory of another collection of Kateryn's belongings, taken after her death in September 1548, contains items that are completely different from those that formed her queenly inventory, and that are primarily different from those used by her predecessor.[303] Following Kateryn's death (and the execution of her husband in March 1549), the contents of her final inventory were returned to the Crown.[304] This confirms that queens had access to different sets of jewels; jewels that they adorned in order to fulfil their ceremonial role, and jewels and items that were intended for everyday use, but the line between these collections was not always clear. Further evidence to support this comes following the execution of Anne Boleyn, when the King ordered Sir William Kingston to draw up 'a composition for such jewels and apparel as the late Queen had in the Tower'.[305] This does not seem to have been the case with Katherine Howard, for Sir Ralph Sadler issued orders that whilst she was under house arrest at Syon all of her apparel should be 'without stone or pearl'.[306] By contrast, part of Anna of Cleves' annulment agreement was that she would be allowed to keep her personal jewels.[307] Presumably most of these were jewels that she had brought with her from Cleves, with the possible addition of some that were provided for her by the King and those that she commissioned during her brief reign, analysed in chapter six. This is supported by one contemporary source, which states that the King sent several of his officials to Anna 'to see her household fully established and present certain jewels and other things of great value' which the King gave her.[308]

[302] SP 10/4, f. 35r-36r. The jewels were never recovered.
[303] SoA, MS 129, f. 216v-220v.
[304] SoA, MS 129, f. 216v.
[305] *L & P*, xi, no. 381.
[306] *L & P*, xvi, no. 1333.
[307] *L & P,* xv, no. 899.
[308] *L & P*, xv, no. 925.

2.2 Content of the Inventories

Table 2: Jane Seymour's Inventory: BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r

Jewel	**Quantity**	**Pearls**	**Diamonds**	**Rubies**	**Emeralds**	**Other**
Beads	54	15 +	1 +	2 +	0	2 +Agates 3+Turquoise
Books	8	6	4	20	0	
Pomanders	5	0	0	0	0	1 Garnettes 1 + Agate
Tablets	12	0	0	0	10	1 Agate
Coffers	2	4	1	0	0	
Glass	1	0	0	0	0	
Girdles	24	0	0	0	0	
Borders	66	0	0	0	0	
Brooches	27	1 +	1 +	1 +	0	1 + Turquoise
Pairs of Bracelets	4	0	0	0	0	
Needles & Thimbles	3	0	0	0	0	
Buttons	170	0	0	0	0	
Aglettes	121 pairs +	0	0	0	0	
Chains	11	60	0	0	0	
TOTAL:	508	86 +	7 +	23 +	10	9 +

TOTAL NUMBER OF STONES: 135

Table 3: Katherine Howard's Inventory: BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r

Jewel	**Quantity**	**Pearls**	**Diamonds**	**Rubies**	**Emeralds**	**Other**
Habillements	9	439	81	181	0	6 machistes
Squares	6	469	60	89	0	
Carcanets	6	110	32	23	3	
Brooches	7	0	62	47	6	
Ouches	11	13	8	9	7	
Crosses	4	8	27	0	0	
Haches?	2	4	6	0	2	
Jesuses	3	6	90	1	3	
Flowers	5	10	60	1	1	
Collar/Partelet	1	65	16	20	0	
Rings	16	0	11	4	1	
Ship	1	1	29	1	0	
Girdles	17	476+	109+	252+	0	93 turquoises
Beads	25	180+	+	+	0	+ turquoises & Lapis Lazarus
Chains	8	223	122	157	0	
Tablets	7	36	69+	46+	10	
Pomanders	1	32	0	23	0	16 turquoises
Books	5	43	15	86	0	4 turquoises & 1 sapphire
Purses	2	0	15	0	0	
Mufflers	1	207	0	38	0	
Laces	15	1,028	36	31	0	
Goldsmith's	23	87	25	10	0	

Work						
TOTAL:	175	3,437+	873+	1,019	32	120+

TOTAL NUMBER OF STONES: 5,481

Table 4: 'The Quenes Jewelles': SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v

Jewel	**Quantity**	**Pearls**	**Diamonds**	**Rubies**	**Emeralds**
Ouches	13	15	11+	10	9
Crosses	6	14	42	4	1
Jesuses	3	6	90	1	3
Ship	1	1	2+	1	0
Initials	2	4	7	0	1
Brooches	7	0	36+	4+	1
Tablets	11	2	104+	70+	1 Also 1 Sapphire
Books	1	0	12	2+	0
Clasps	4	0	5+	1	1
Chains	10	580	200	232	0
Carcanets	7	85	28	58+	4+
Buttons	4	0	13	36	0
Necklaces	4	327	33	29	0
Habillements	24	1349	157	114	0
Girdles	11	893+	160	122	0
Pairs of Bracelets	4	0	26	58	6
Beads	8	1	0	0	0
Rings	10	0	7	3	0
Aglettes	28	0	14	14	0
Partlet	1	2116	25	47	6
Loose Stones	5	95	11	7	0
TOTAL:	164	5,488+	983+	813+	33+ 1 Sapphire

TOTAL NUMBER OF STONES: 7,318+

2.3 Kateryn's Parr's Inventory of Personal Effects, SoA, MS 129, f. 216v-220v

This inventory of Kateryn's personal effects was labelled as a 'Parcell of the Quenes Juelles and other stuff, which come from the late Admyralles howse of Sudeley, in the countie of Gloucestre'. It was described as having been 'founde in a square Coofer covered with fustian of Naples within a great standarde belonging to the late Quene', which was eventually sent to Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir James Rofforth and Nicholas Bristow.[309] It was they who were commanded 'to open the said standarde and Cofer and to make parfecte Inventory of all suche thinges as they founde in the same'.[310] In this instance the items were contained in five sections of a coffer, and the tables below have been organised to reflect this.

Table 5: 'In thupper moste rome or place of the saide Coofer'

Jewel	Number	Pearls	Diamonds	Rubies	Emeralds	Other
Rings	56	0	10	8	3	1 turq. 1 sapphire 1 amethyst
Buttons	34	17	0	0	0	0
Clasps	2	4	0	0	1	1 sapphire
Brooches	1	0	1	2	0	0
Purses	4	0	0	0	0	0
Aglettes	53 pairs 1 single	0	0	0	0	0
Books	4	0	2	29	0	0
Mufflers	1	2+	0	20	0	0
Habillements	4	0	0	0	0	0

[309] SoA, MS 129, f. 216v.
[310] SoA, MS 129, f. 216v.

Tablets	1	0	2	0	0	0
Chains	1	0	0	0	0	0
Other	77	8+	0	0	0	2 turq. 2+ other
Total:	**239**	**31+**	**15**	**59**	**4**	**8**

Table 6: 'In the seconde rome or tylle in the said Coofer'

Jewel	**Number**	**Pearls**	**Diamonds**	**Other**
Girdles	7	1+	2+	1+ red stones
Pairs of Beads	5	50+	0	1+ white stones
Total:	**12**	**51+**	**2+**	**2+**

Table 7: 'In the thirde rome or Tylle in the saide Coofer downewardes'

As well as a small quantity of jewels, the third compartment contained clothing.

Jewel	**Number**	**Pearls**	**Diamonds**	**Rubies**	**Other**
Looking Glass	1	26	1	2	2
Fan	1	2+	0	0	6 fake stones
Brooches, aglettes, & buttons attached to velvet caps	223	4+	1	0	0
Books	3	0	0	0	0
Total:	**228**	**32+**	**2**	**2**	**8**

Table 8: ‘In the fourthe rome or Tille in the said Coofer downewarde’

Jewel	**Number**	**Pearls**
Boxes	2	46
Books	12	0
Other	1	0
Total:	**15**	**46**

Table 9: ‘In the fifte rome of the saied Coofer’

Jewel	**Number**	**Pearls**	**Diamonds**	**Rubies**
Clocks	1	0	3	5
Books	4	0	0	0
Other	6	1	0	0
Total:	**11**	**1**	**3**	**5**

Table 10: Overall Total

Number of Jewels:	**Pearls**	**Diamonds**	**Rubies**	**Emeralds**	**Other**
505	**161+**	**22+**	**66**	**4**	**18+**

2.4 Comparative Tables

Table 11: Pieces in each Inventory

Inventory	**Number of Pieces**
Jane Seymour, BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r	508
Katherine Howard, BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r	175
Kateryn Parr, SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v	164
Kateryn Parr, SoA, MS 129, f. 216v-220v	505

Table 12: Genres in each Inventory

Quantity	**Jane Seymour**	**Katherine Howard**	**Kateryn Parr f. 178r-183v**	**Kateryn Parr f. 216v-220v**
Habillements	0	9	24	4
Squares	66	6	0	0
Carcanets	0	6	7	0
Brooches	27	7	7	3
Ouches	0	11	13	0
Rings	0	16	10	56
Crosses	0	4	6	0
Haches	0	2	0	0
Jesuses	0	3	3	0
Flowers	0	5	0	0
Collars/Partlets	0	1	1	0
Ships	0	1	1	0
Girdles	24	17	11	7
Beads	54	25	8	5
Chains	11	8	10	1
Tablets	12	7	11	1
Pomanders	5	1	0	0
Books	8	5	1	20
Purses	0	2	0	4

Mufflers	0	1	0	1
Laces	0	15	4	0
Goldsmith's Work	0	23	0	0
Initials	0	0	2	0
Clasps	0	0	4	2
Buttons	170	0	4	176
Pairs of Bracelets	4	0	4	0
Aglettes	121 +	0	28	132 pairs, 1 single
Loose Stones	0	0	5	0
Other	6	0	0	94

Table 13: Matching Pieces in each Inventory

Type of Jewel	**Number of Matches with Jane Seymour & Katherine Howard/Kateryn Parr**	**Number of Matches with Katherine Howard & Kateryn Parr f. 178r-183v**
Jesuses	0	3
Crosses	0	4
Ouches	0	5
Habillements	0	1
Chains	0	6
Ships	0	1
Tablets	0	2
Girdles	0	2
Beads	1	0
TOTAL:	1	24

Table 14: Potential Inventory Matches

Type of Jewel	**Potential Matches with Jane Seymour & Katherine Howard/Kateryn Parr**	**Potential Matches with Katherine Howard & Kateryn Parr f. 178r-183v**
Carcanes	0	1
Ouches	0	4
Brooches	0	2
Tablets	3	1
Books	0	1
Rings	0	10
Beads	5	8
TOTAL:	8	27

Table 15: Different Pieces in each Inventory

Type of Jewel	**Jane Seymour**	**Katherine Howard**	**Katherine Parr**
Habillements	N/A	8	23
Squares	N/A	6	0
Carcanes	N/A	5	6
Laces	N/A	15	4
Partelets/Collars	N/A	1	1
Chains	11	2	4
Ouches	N/A	0	2
Crosses	N/A	0	2
Books	7	4	0
Beads	57	20	0

2.5 Analysing the Contents of the Inventories

As a thorough comparison of the inventories reveals, there are twenty-four pieces in Katherine Howard's inventory that definitely appear in Kateryn Parr's queenly inventory (see Appendix). There are a further twenty-seven pieces that are potentially the same, but that cannot be conclusively matched. This is primarily due to the lack of detail in the description, which most commonly occurs with rings. It is quite plausible, likely even, that the items listed in Katherine Howard's inventory as 'Item xvj Rynges of golde in xj whereof be set xj diamondes in iiij, be set iiij Rubyes/and in one of them is an Emeralde', match some of those described in Kateryn Parr's inventory in the following three listings: 'Item vij Ringes of golde in euery of them a Dyamounte'; 'Item an other Ring of golde set with a rubie'; 'Item twoo other ringes of golde with rubies in them'.[311] However, the vagueness of the descriptions prevents a solid identification. This is partially because rings were often purchased in large quantities, which is reflected in Kateryn Parr's final inventory.[312] The proximity of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's reigns makes it unsurprising that matching pieces can be found in both. This is, though, in stark contrast to the other two surviving inventories.

None of the pieces in Kateryn Parr's later inventory match her earlier inventory; it is possible that one piece may once have belonged to Katherine Howard.[313] This is the item described in Katherine Howard's inventory as 'a mufler of black veluet furred with Sabilles conteignyng xxxviij rubyes/and vclxxij peerlles/betwixt euery rowe certeyn small cheynes of golde/with also a cheyne to hang the same mufler by conteignyng xxx peerlles'.[314] This could be the same piece, although altered, that is listed among Kateryn's effects as 'a Mowfler of black vellat garneshed with twentie Rubes course and fullie furneshed with peerle with a small cheyne hanging at it of golde and peerle'.[315] It was not unusual for objects to be altered and recycled, so it is plausible that this could have been the same item. The same is also true of a tablet in Jane Seymour's inventory, described as 'a Tabelet of golde anticke worke sett with x emerades with lytle white childrin'.[316] This could have been altered either prior to the reign of or by Katherine Howard, as a tablet in her

[311] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 59v; SoA, MS 129, f. 183v.
[312] Forsyth, *Cheapside Hoard*, p. 204.
[313] SoA, MS 129, f. 216v-220v.
[314] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 57v.
[315] SoA, MS 129, f. 217v.
[316] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 22r.

collection is similar and was described as 'oone Tablette of Golde with a border of antiques abought the same hauyng x Emeraldes'.[317] The theme, though, was different, having 'upon thonesyde thereof is an antiqueman standing in red and upon thothersyde an antiqueman rydyng upon alyan hauyng also oone peerll hangyng at the same'.[318] Three items in Jane's collection though, are noted as having been passed to Alard, almost certainly Alard Plomer or Plomyer, a French jeweller who was working in Henry VIII's service and will be referred to in chapter six.[319] These pieces were undoubtedly broken down and recast, and such examples show the regularity with which jewels were refashioned.

The items found in Kateryn Parr's final inventory were of a far more functional nature than the decorative jewels in her queenly collection. For example, the 'two dogges collers of crimsen vellat embraudred with damaske golde tirrettes gilt silver', and 'paire of sheeres in a case of crimsen vellat garneshed withe silver and gilt'.[320] Numerous amounts of cash also appear, such as the 'xij olde halfe pence of silver', and 'xvj pence two farthinges and two halfe pence'.[321] Earenfight asserted that inventories can be seen as 'mirrors of a woman's personality', and Kateryn's final inventory accurately reflects this.[322] The assorted nature of these items reveals exactly what sort of objects Kateryn used on a regular basis in her everyday life. Although the inventory of these effects was taken after her death, by which time she had been a queen dowager for more than eighteen months, presumably many of the items would have been in her possession whilst she was queen. By contrast, although Jane Seymour's inventory is likely to have been made up of her personal jewels it does not contain as many items of the same practicality as that of Kateryn Parr, although it does list two needles and a thimble of gold.[323] It primarily features large numbers of pieces that would have been used by Jane to adorn her person on a daily basis. Beads appear in the largest quantities, as do girdles and buttons. Certain details written in the inventory allow us to see how some of these items were worn. For example, eighteen buttons of gold had been 'sett of a gowne of cremsen satten', whilst

[317] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 67r.
[318] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 67r.
[319] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 20r; *L & P*, xxi, part 2, no. 199.
[320] SoA, MS 129, f. 217v.
[321] SoA, MS 129, f. 217v, 218r.
[322] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 179.
[323] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 28r.

eighteen pillars of gold were 'sett uppon a gowne of blacke velvet'.[324] These examples show that Jane clearly used these items regularly.

In terms of the queen's collection, Katherine Howard's inventory provides more detailed descriptions of the items it contained. For example, the identical ship jewel that appears in both inventories is described in Kateryn Parr's inventory as 'Item a Shipp garnysshed fullie with Dyamountes lacking ij small Dyamountes and set with one Rubie and a perle pendaunt'.[325] From the added detail in Katherine Howard's inventory it is possible to glean that the same jewel was described as 'Item a Ship of golde saylyng conteignyng one feir rubye in two ffysshes mouthes/and xxix diamondes greate and small in the same Ship with affeir peerle hanging at the same'.[326] As James related, ships were a popular theme for jewels in this period, and this one was worn as a pendant.[327] The variance in its description can be partially explained by the manner and the circumstances in which both inventories were recorded.

On 7 November 1541, Katherine Howard's jewels were seized from her in a very public display of her disgrace; a tangible sign that she was no longer entitled to wear the trappings of a queen. As Katherine's biographer Joanna Denny confirmed, 'There could be no greater indication that her term was over'.[328] A thorough account of the jewels was therefore made, perhaps in order to provide a record of Katherine's material wealth. The bulk of the collection was then entrusted to the safekeeping of Anne Parr, whose role in caring for them will be analysed further in chapter five.[329] By contrast, that both of Kateryn Parr's inventories were part of a far larger and more laborious task may account for the lack of detail provided; those entrusted with the compilation of the inventory could have felt that time was of the essence, and that only a basic description was necessary. In comparison to the larger and richer collection of Kateryn's royal husband, the queen's jewels may have been viewed as a relatively insignificant part of the overall collection of Henry VIII's goods. A similar lack of detail when describing items appears in Jane Seymour's inventory. Nineteen items, for instance, are described simply as 'a pares

[324] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 29r.
[325] SoA, MS 129, f. 178v.
[326] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 59v.
[327] S. James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485-1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons and Painters* (Abingdon, 2009), p. 105.
[328] Denny, *Katherine Howard*, p. 234.
[329] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r.

brouche of golde' or similar, making it impossible to identify these pieces further.[330] Most of these pieces were given to members of Jane's household, which may account for the vague descriptions. These gifts, and similar ones made by Katherine Howard, will be placed into context and explained in chapter seven.

The matching items found amongst Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's queenly jewels confirm that both queens had access to the queenly belongings of their predecessors, and that jewels were frequently recycled. It is also likely that Katherine Howard's predecessors used many of the pieces found in her inventory in their role as Henry VIII's consorts, although the nature of Jane Seymour's inventory does not permit confirmation of this.[331]

Katherine Howard's inventory provides one valuable detail that Kateryn Parr's queenly inventory neglects. In the margin, relevant pieces contain a note as to how they either entered the collection or how they left. Frequently, Katherine's husband gave the pieces as gifts. For example, the 'Jesus of golde conteignyng xxxij diamondes hauyng thre peerlles hanging at the same' was 'Gyven by the kyng at Hamptoncourte at Cristmasse anno xxxijdo'.[332] This piece also appears in Kateryn Parr's collection, but this small note in Katherine Howard's inventory allows us to ascertain that it was one of the more recent pieces in the collection that had been purchased especially for Katherine.[333]

Katherine Howard's inventory also notes that the queen altered certain items. For example, the 'Partelet or collor conteignyng xvj diamondes xx Rubyes/and lxv peerles/all set in Goldesmythesworke ennamuled hauyng a verey small Cheyne of golde upon thedge of the same'.[334] To this collar Katherine had added 'x of the same diamondes set in a Sipher by the quene'.[335] This could provide evidence of the recycling of an item that had possibly become unfashionable in a period of rapidly changing fashions, or reflect Katherine's desire to put her own stamp on the piece. Following Katherine's fall 'the king hath taken in to his handes' the same item, accentuating that many jewelled objects were unisex.[336]

[330] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 27r.
[331] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r.
[332] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 60r.
[333] SoA, MS 129, f. 178v.
[334] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 56v.
[335] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 56v.
[336] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 56v.

It is possible that Katherine Howard's predecessors had previously owned many of the items that were not listed as being specifically given to her by the King. Certainly, several pieces can be both identified and linked to specific queens. For example, a tau cross that appears in both queenly inventories can be seen in portrait miniatures of both Jane Seymour and Kateryn Parr – its distinctive style sets it apart from the other crosses in the inventory.[337] The miniatures, discussed in chapter three, confirm that the cross was a part of the collection from at least the reign of Jane Seymour, and James suggested that it may even have been owned by Anne Boleyn.[338] However, a miniature of Catherine of Aragon discussed in chapter three shows her wearing a similar tau cross, so it is equally likely that it originated with her.[339] It seems probable that Anna of Cleves also had access to these jewels for the term of her brief reign.

In addition to the crosses found in the queenly inventories are three Jesuses, all of which are the same in both Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's inventories. These may have been the IHS brooches/pendants that can be seen adorning portraits of both Catherine of Aragon and Jane Seymour, which will be discussed further in chapter three.[340] If this was the case and the Jesus was the same as that which adorns Jane Seymour, then it would fit the description of the item described as 'a Jehus of golde conteignyng xxxij diamondes hauyng thre peerlles hanging at the same', and 'a Ihesus furnysshed with xxxij Dyamountes and three perles pendaunt'.[341] It also matches a description of a jewel found in Henry VIII's 1519 and 1530 jewel inventories: 'A diamond Jhs with three hanging pearls'.[342] This could be nothing more than coincidence, but it is interesting to consider the possibility that it was given to Jane Seymour by the King before passing into the hands of her successors.

Fashions had already drastically altered since the time of Catherine of Aragon's reign, yet it is likely that one of the items listed in Katherine Howard's inventory was once the property of the King's first wife. This was the 'Gurdell of golde whereof parte ar pomegarnettes parte pillors squared and parte ragged staves fully furnesshed with small

[337] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 59r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178v; Possibly Lucas Horenbout, 'Jane Seymour', sixteenth century, Sudeley Castle; Levina Teerlinc, 'Katherine Parr', c. 1544, Sudeley Castle.
[338] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r; James, *Catherine Parr*, p. 104.
[339] Lucas Horenbout, 'Katherine of Aragon', c. 1525, NPG, NPG 4682.
[340] Lucas Horenbout, 'Katherine of Aragon', c. 1525-6, NPG, NPG L244; Holbein, 'Jane Seymour', Kunsthistorisches Museum.
[341] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 60r; SoA MS 129, f. 178v.
[342] *L & P*, iv, no. 6789.

rubyes and small diamondes hauyng a Tassell of peerlles'.[343] As the pomegranate was the symbol of the former Spanish princess, and a design she favoured in her jewels as discussed in chapter six, it is plausible that this object originated with her.[344] It does not appear in Jane Seymour's personal inventory – although it may have been among her queenly collection – but neither does it feature in Kateryn Parr's queenly inventory.[345] This suggests either that it became absorbed into the King's collection following Katherine Howard's fall, or else was refashioned by Kateryn Parr.

There is evidence in Kateryn Parr's later inventory to suggest that she believed in the properties and supposed powers of certain objects. In her later inventory, 'xij Crampringes of gold' were listed.[346] In a similar manner to the belief in the magical properties of stones, cramp rings were thought to cure ailments, and were often worn by women during pregnancy. Likewise, rings engraved with inscriptions were thought to protect the wearer.[347] Evans confirmed that the origins of cramp rings are obscure, but they were part of a major ceremony at the Tudor court, and were still believed to have healing powers by the 1540s.[348] Regular payments and receipts for cramp rings can be found in Henry VIII's expenses, made from both gold and silver, and it is likely that at least some of these were for the use of his wives.[349] As such, they served a far more practical purpose than the jewels intended for display. Kateryn's belief would explain the presence of some of the other objects found in the inventory, including 'a pece of an vnicornes horne' which was believed to protect against poison.[350] It is also possible that an ouche owned by Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr may have had similar qualities, and this will be analysed in chapter three in relation to portraiture.

The genres of jewellery in the inventories of all three queens are different in some instances, and this could be a reflection of both fashion and personal taste. As Evans emphasised, Renaissance jewels became more personal and individual, something that all of the inventories convey.[351] For example, Katherine Howard's inventory contains six

[343] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 62r.
[344] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 10.
[345] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v.
[346] SoA, MS 129, f. 218r.
[347] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 90.
[348] Evans, *Magical Jewels*, p. 37; Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 52.
[349] *L & P*, iv, no. 5341; *L & P*, xviii, part 1, no. 436.
[350] SoA, MS 129, f. 217v; Evans, *Magical Jewels*, p. 176.
[351] Evans, *English Jewellery*, p. 77.

squares, whilst Jane Seymour's and Kateryn Parr's have none.[352] Jane Seymour could have chosen not to wear such pieces on an everyday basis, though they may have appeared in her queenly collection, but in Kateryn Parr's case this could be reflective of the changing styles of dress that were becoming fashionable. This can be seen in the high-necked dresses worn by Kateryn in several of her portraits, rendering the need for squares almost redundant.[353] It is therefore possible that some of the loose stones noted in Kateryn's inventory were the product of squares and other surplus jewels that had been broken down.[354]

However, it could reveal something more. Katherine Howard's inventory shows that there were five books in her possession, one of which was later accumulated by the King.[355] By contrast, the first of Kateryn Parr's inventories reveals that there was only one book in her collection, while her later inventory lists twenty.[356] Although Katherine Howard had received an education, none of her contemporaries remarked upon her scholarly abilities.[357] The books may therefore reflect a greater degree of interest from Katherine than she has hitherto been credited with. Alternatively, they could have been inherited by her predecessors, or were collected for their decorative appeal. Although Jane Seymour's inventory lists her personal belongings, the same could also be true of her, who like her successor was not referenced by her contemporaries in terms of her academic credentials.[358] Judging by the decoration of some of the seven books in Jane's inventory, they were clearly of some value. The 'Booke of golde with viij Rooke Rubies and toow Saveou's', and the 'primer of golde enameled with Redde and eight Roock Rubies in it', are likely to have been prized as much for their appearance as for their contents.[359] By contrast, Kateryn Parr was widely renowned for her academic interests and ability; this is reflected in her later inventory.[360] Evidence in her accounts shows that she was interested in the appearance of her books, making payments for them to be 'gorgiously bound'.[361] That only one book appears in her earlier inventory could be viewed as evidence that she

[352] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 56r-v; BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v.
[353] See William Scrots, 'Katherine Parr', late sixteenth century, NPG, NPG 4618 for an example of contemporary fashions.
[354] SoA, MS 129, f. 183v.
[355] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 67v-68r.
[356] SoA, MS 129, f. 179r; SoA, MS 129, f. 216v-220v.
[357] Russell, *Young and Damned*, pp. 51-3.
[358] See Beer, 'Jane', *ODNB*.
[359] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 21r.
[360] See James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 23-36.
[361] E 315/161, f. 46r.

considered her books to be necessary everyday items that were in frequent use, hence why they were not stored with the bulk of her queenly jewels.

Whilst chapter seven discusses the many pieces of Jane's jewellery that were given away after her death, Katherine Howard's inventory shows that following her fall six items from her collection were 'Taken by the kyng wholy into his owne handes'.[362] Four of these items were tablets, one was a book, and the other was a purse.[363] Interestingly, none of these items resurfaced in Kateryn Parr's inventory, which proves that Henry VIII appropriated these unisex items for himself. This partially explains why Kateryn Parr's collection was slightly smaller than that of her predecessor.

Jane Seymour's stepdaughter Mary received several pieces from her collection after her death, and it is also possible that Mary appropriated some of Katherine Howard's jewels. In the aftermath of Katherine's fall Mary received gifts of several large parcels of jewels from her father, and while many of them do not tally with those found in Mary's inventory, there are several potential matches. [364] For example, the New Year's gift of 'a Broche of thistory of Noyes [Noah's] floode set with litle Diamondes and Rubies' that Mary received in 1543, could be that listed in Katherine's inventory as 'one broche of golde conteignyng xxxv small diamondes and xviij rubyes with thre persones and two horses in the same being the story of Noye [Noah]'.[365] This example accentuates the importance of the physical description of items in terms of identifying pieces in inventories.

Like that of Katherine Howard, Kateryn Parr's final inventory states precisely what happened to several of her items after her death. Of nine diamond rings, one that was 'sett with a longe diamount cutt full of squares was gyven by the king to the ladie Elizabeth doughter of Fraunce', while another set with 'a fayer table diamount was given by the king to the skotysh Quene'.[366] Both of these instances provide further examples of the recycling of jewels, as well as their use as diplomatic gifts that incurred no additional

[362] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 67r.
[363] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 67r-v.
[364] See F. Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary* (London, 1831), pp. 175-201. See also BL, Royal MS B XXVIII; E 101/419/15; E 101/419/19; E 101/420/2; E 101/420/6; E 101/421/4.
[365] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 183; BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 60r.
[366] The King was Edward VI. The Princess Elisabeth was at one time proposed as a marriage candidate for Edward VI. The Scottish queen was the dowager, Marie de Guise, and the occasion of the gift was her visit to England in 1551.

costs to the monarch. The use of jewels in diplomatic gift giving will be expanded upon in chapter seven.

Another entry of two rings set with emeralds was returned to its owner: 'One Emerade was deliuered 20 November 1549 by commaundement of the counsaill to sir William Herbert as his owne being sent to the quene for a tokin and nott otherwise gyven to her grace'. This shows that jewels could be returned to the giver in the case of a recipients' death.[367] In the same manner, a ruby was returned to Kateryn's brother, the Marquess of Northampton. These are, though, the only mentions of the fates of specific jewels in the inventory. The rest, as the inventory states, were 'deliuered into the kinges Secret Juellehowse in t[he] Towre', where they were presumably added to the rest of Edward VI's jewels.[368]

2.6 Materials in the Inventories

Table 16**:** Quantity of Stones in each Inventory

Type of Stone	**Jane Seymour**	**Katherine Howard**	**Kateryn Parr f. 178r-183v**	**Kateryn Parr f. 216v-220v**
Pearls	28 +	3,437+	5,488+	161+
Diamonds	7 +	873+	983+	22+
Rubies	21 +	1,019	813+	66
Emeralds	10	32	33+	4
Sapphires	0	1	2	2
Other	7 + agates 4 + turquoises	6 machistes, 113+ turquoises, 1+ Lapis Lazarus	0	6 fake stones, 1+ red stone, 1+ white stone, 3 turquoises, 1 amethyst

[367] The note that it was given for a token 'and nott otherwise gyven' is puzzling and suggests that Herbert expected to have the emerald back.
[368] SoA, MS 129, f. 220v.

As the table shows, in terms of the queenly collections Katherine Howard owned more individual pieces of jewellery, but in many respects Kateryn Parr surpassed her predecessor in terms of the quantity of stones with which they were adorned. By contrast, Jane Seymour's inventory shows a distinct lack of stones used to adorn her pieces, even in comparison with Kateryn Parr's later inventory. It is possible that more of her pieces did contain stones, and that they were not detailed when her inventory was compiled. This is supported in a note added to the listing of a pair of bracelets, which referred to 'the settyng of the stonys'.[369] Many of the pieces were made up of beads and goldsmith's work, potentially rendering the addition of stones for everyday use unnecessary.

The stones that were chosen to adorn these pieces of jewellery were varied. By the fifteenth century, sapphires, rubies, and pearls were the predominant stones used in jewellery making, whilst prior to the Renaissance diamonds only appeared in Europe in small numbers. [370] They were nevertheless highly prized for their lustre and as emblems of constancy, innocence and fortitude. [371] Their appearance in large quantities in the queenly inventories is therefore a testament to the wealth that Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr had available to them. Kateryn Parr's personal inventory reveals the startling difference in the quantity and quality of stones that she had access to in the aftermath of Henry VIII's death, as opposed to during her reign. It was not unusual for royalty to use counterfeit stones on less important pieces, and surviving recipes for artificial stones and pearls from the fourteenth century serve as evidence of such practice.[372] Their appearance in Kateryn's inventory of personal effects could be a reflection of her reduced income during her days as Queen Dowager.[373] Alternatively, the reduced value of such stones would have rendered them more suitable for everyday use. However, no such counterfeit stones are mentioned in either Jane Seymour or Katherine Howard's inventories.

The inventories for the royal jewels of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr reveal that pearls were by far the most commonly used material used to decorate the queens' jewellery. The voyages of discovery that came with the end of the fifteenth century had a

[369] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 28r.
[370] Stratford, *Richard II*, p. 18; Phillips, *Jewels and Jewellery*, p. 16.
[371] Forsyth, *Cheapside Hoard*, p. 166; Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 78.
[372] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 16.
[373] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 78.

great effect on the gem trade, with pearls becoming more readily and easily available.[374] Pearls sourced from the Far East or the Americas were incredibly popular (they were known for many centuries as 'the Queen of Gems'), and were believed to be symbolic of purity.[375] Nevertheless, they remained expensive. However, even in Jane Seymour and Kateryn Parr's personal inventories, pearls are the most frequently occurring stone, suggesting that queens had easy access to them.

Jane Seymour's personal inventory show that rubies were the most popular form of gemstone used in the decoration of her jewels, a trend that was echoed by Katherine Howard's queenly collection. Among Kateryn Parr's queenly pieces diamonds superseded rubies, and whilst the quantities of rubies may reflect a personal preference on both Jane Seymour and Katherine Howard's part, Hinton accurately contended that rubies were more common than diamonds.[376] Rubies were also cheaper, being second in value to both emeralds and diamonds.[377] Kateryn Parr's penchant for diamonds therefore, was a visual proclamation of wealth and status that she – who was acutely conscious of the importance of the royal image – would have been eager to emulate. Additionally, diamonds worn close to the heart, on the finger and next to the skin were considered to be particularly efficacious. [378] Surviving portraits, discussed in chapter three, show that Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr all wore diamonds in this way.

South American emeralds were generally popular during the first half of the sixteenth century, as were sapphires from Sri Lanka and opals from the Czech Republic.[379] It is interesting, therefore, that these stones feature far less frequently than diamonds and rubies in the inventories. The ten emeralds that appear in Jane Seymour's inventory were adorned to a single piece – the gold tablet mentioned previously that may later have been owned and altered by Katherine Howard.[380] Unsurprisingly, examples of pieces that incorporated greater quantities of emeralds can be found in the queenly inventories of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr.[381] Rings set with amethysts were far less common,

[374] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 77.
[375] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 78.
[376] Hinton, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 11.
[377] G. Hughes, *A Pictorial History of Gems and Jewellery* (Oxford, 1978), p. 25.
[378] Forsyth, *Cheapside Hoard*, p. 166.
[379] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 38. Opals do not feature in any of these inventories.
[380] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 22r.
[381] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 56r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v.

thus it is noteworthy that the only example of an amethyst ring – in fact of amethyst being used at all – appears in Kateryn Parr's final inventory.[382]

Turquoises were popular, as the quantity found among Katherine Howard's collection reveals.[383] Jane Seymour's inventory records two separate pairs of 'beydes of turquisses gauded with golde', as well as another pair featuring the stones, whilst their appearance in Kateryn Parr's later inventory could be an indication of both queens beliefs in their qualities; they were believed to turn pale as soon as the wearer was in any kind of danger.[384]

Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's queenly inventories reveal details about cutting techniques, particularly in the case of diamonds. By the fifteenth century Bruges had become the main diamond cutting centre in Europe, though its prominence was later replaced by Antwerp.[385] Nevertheless, cutting techniques were still in their infancy and could sometimes make diamonds appear black. On some occasions, though, diamonds were deliberately set on black backgrounds.[386] This can be seen in pieces worn by Kateryn Parr in a seventeenth century copy portrait of a lost original.[387] The most fashionable cut was the table-cut, and Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's two inventories all feature examples of this.[388] Point cuts were also desirable, and Kateryn Parr's later inventory contains an entry for 'a Ringe of golde with a pointed Diamounte'.[389] It is possible that many of the diamonds used in the pieces in the inventories were cut and polished abroad before they were imported to England.[390] However, in 1499 Henry VII's Chamber Books record a payment to John Shaa for 'setting and polishing of stones', demonstrating that there were those in England who had the ability to do so.[391]

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[382] Forsyth, *Cheapside Hoard*, p. 204; SoA, MS 129, f. 218r.
[383] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 38. Turquoises were often referred to as 'Turkeys' in inventories. They came primarily from Persia and the Sinai Peninsula.
[384] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18v-19r; Scarisbrick, *Historic Rings*, p. 64.
[385] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 58, 78.
[386] Reynolds, *Fine Style*, p. 73.
[387] After Master John, 'Queen Catherine Parr (1512-1548)', 1600-1770, Seaton Delaval Hall, Northumberland, National Trust, NT 1276906.
[388] Forsyth, *Cheapside Hoard*, p. 160. Lozenge, triangle and rose cuts were also popular.
[389] H. Tillander, *Diamond Cuts in Historic Jewellery 1381-1910* (London, 1995), pp. 99-105; SoA, MS 129, f. 218r.
[390] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 78.
[391] E 101/414/16, f. 53v.

All of the stones listed in all of the queens' inventories were of different sizes. On several occasions 'one small rubie' or 'foure very small dyamountes' are referred to, while when a stone was either large or a particularly fine example – which only appears in Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's inventories – it is often referred to as being 'faire'.[392] Possibly this indicates the varying quality of the stones in use; some of the smaller ones may have been cheaper to acquire, hence why there were more of them.

A revival of gem engraving as cameos began in Italy in the fifteenth century, where it was particularly popular with Lorenzo 'the Magnificent' de Medici.[393] This trend spread into England during the Renaissance, where jewels featuring cameos were well favoured, but were both rare and valuable.[394] The designs of cameos were influenced by the antique style that grew in popularity during the Tudor period, and will be discussed in greater depth in relation to jewels in chapter three.[395] Given their rarity, it is unsurprising that only one example appears in Katherine Howard's inventory; a piece that she gave to Lady Surrey as a gift.[396] Neither Jane Seymour nor Kateryn Parr's queenly inventory feature any pieces described as cameos, although evidence, which will be discussed in chapter six, shows that Kateryn did commission them. Her personal inventory does, however, list one piece: 'a paire of Beades of Camewes garneshed with gold with a Tassell of veanice golde'.[397] Though cameos themselves were rare, the classical themes that they often featured were a popular form of decoration for other pieces of jewellery. Numerous examples, frequently referred to as 'antique', appear in both queenly inventories, as well as in Jane Seymour's personal inventory.[398] These include an 'ooche of golde wherin is averey ffeir diamond holden by two antiquez personz with averey ffeir peerle hangyng at the same' listed in Katherine Howard's inventory, that was later owned by Kateryn Parr.[399] This theme was popular because such pieces, often featuring mythology, provided an alternative to biblical subjects.[400] Their appearance in all three inventories shows that this was an interest that was shared by queens.

[392] See BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r & SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v for numerous examples.
[393] Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels*, p. 10, 18.
[394] Hinton, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 12.
[395] Evans, *History of Jewellery*, p. 82.
[396] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 78; BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 57v.
[397] SoA, MS 129, f. 218v.
[398] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 56; See BL, MS Stowe 559, f. 55r-68r, SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183r; BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r.
[399] BL, Stowe MS 559 f. 59r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r.
[400] Phillips, *Jewels and Jewellery*, p. 34.

It has already been noted that Kateryn Parr's inventory of personal effects was less a record of her jewels, than an account of the objects that she used on a regular basis. This is in contrast to Jane Seymour's personal inventory, in which all of the items except six were pieces of jewellery. These included 'a litle coffer of golde with a Diamonde in it and iiij truloves of pirles', 'a litle coffer of golde with iij King of Collen', and 'a glasse with the Hymag of the Kinges Hyghnes his father and others as aperith with two Lambes of the owt syde'.[401] It is likely that Jane received the first coffer featuring the romantic trueloves from the King. The same is true of the glass (a mirror?) containing the image of Henry VII, and these three items all stand out as being the most practical objects in Jane's collection. Four items in her inventory, however, are described as being broken in some way. For example, a collection of broken aglettes, a pair of beads 'sett with Rubies and turquisses Lacking a Rubie and a turquis', and 'iij litle borders of golde broken by the Quenes comandement'.[402] For the most part these pieces are likely to be reflective of the wear and tear that was inflicted upon everyday pieces, although in a further example of recycling, the inventory records that the three borders were 'putt into Dressing of cappis Ageynst newers daie'.[403] Jane presumably gave these recycled pieces as gifts. Broken items can also be found in Kateryn Parr's inventory of personal effects, including the 'litell pece of a broken ringe of golde' and 'three frenche Crownes wherof one broken'.[404] The eight items listed as being broken in some way could indicate that Kateryn had less access to both funds and resources with which to pay for repairs during her term as Queen Dowager. Given that in the aftermath of her royal marriage her 'house was termed "a second court" of right', however, this seems unlikely.[405] There is no way of knowing how long the items in Jane Seymour and Kateryn Parr's inventories had been broken for, and it could be that neither queen had the time or the inclination to have them repaired. Similarly, the Lady Mary's jewel inventory reveals that it was not unusual for items to become broken; it mentions two pieces that Mary had ordered to be 'put to broken golde'.[406]

[401] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 21v-22r.
[402] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 30r, 18v, 26r.
[403] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 26r.
[404] SoA, MS 129, f. 216v, 217v.
[405] Mueller (ed.), *Katherine Parr*, p. 192.
[406] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 189.

2.7 Description and Design

The items that appear in Jane Seymour's personal inventory, and Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's queenly inventories reveal that some types of jewellery were more popular than others. Habillements or billiments were items that could be worn everyday in order to adorn clothing, as were aglettes; however, that habillements appear only in the queenly inventories of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr indicates that they were primarily adorned for more formal occasions.[407] That there were none in Jane Seymour's inventory does not mean that she did not use them, for she can be seen wearing a decorative habillement in her portrait by Holbein.[408] Jane was, though, known to favour the English gable hood rather than the fashionable French hood worn by Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr, and such decorations may have seemed unnecessary in her everyday life.[409] She did make use of aglettes, and large quantities can be found in her inventory as well as in both of Kateryn Parr's.[410] The lack of aglettes in Katherine Howard's inventory may be indicative that either there were none, which seems unlikely given that in a portrait that probably depicts her she can be seen wearing them, or that they were considered to be too small to consider including in her inventory.[411]

This could also have been the case with buttons, which do not appear in Katherine Howard's inventory despite being one of the most common items of sixteenth century jewellery.[412] This is attested to in Jane Seymour's inventory and both of Kateryn Parr's, whose personal inventory contained a particularly fine set: 'vj Buttons of golde made like katherin wheles'.[413] These were almost certainly made to Kateryn's specifications, for later examples show that she was particularly fond of jewels that harboured a personal meaning. Although Jane Seymour's button collection contained nothing so personal, they did include 'xij buttons lyke faces enameled' – possibly cameos – showing an alternative style of decoration.[414]

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[407] BL, Stowe MS 559 f. 55r-v; SoA, MS 129, f. 181v-182v.
[408] Holbein, 'Jane Seymour', Kunsthistorisches Museum.
[409] Hayward, *Dress*, p. 171.
[410] See SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v, 216v-220v.
[411] After Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Unknown woman, formerly known as Catherine Howard', late seventeenth century, NPG, NPG 1119.
[412] Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, p. 141.
[413] SoA, MS 129, f. 217r.
[414] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 29r.

Girdles were jewels that combined glamour with practicality, and could be used to attach smaller items. That they feature in all four inventories is a further indication of this. They could be elaborate, and the style of them meant that they frequently used a large quantity of precious stones. In one of Katherine Howard's girdles alone, twenty-four diamonds and twenty-four pearls were used.[415] It was unnecessary to use precious stones in everyday wear in such a way, and this is reflected in the make up of Jane Seymour's girdles. Although many of her girdles contained goldsmith's work, none of them were described as containing precious stones. Instead, examples such as 'a gurdell of golde enameled with blacke', and 'a gurdell of golde enameled with blacke and blewe' appear.[416]

Bracelets, although popular during the Tudor period, feature rarely among the collections of the queens.[417] This is likely to be accounted for by the fashion for long sleeves in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, which rendered them redundant.[418] This explains the lack of bracelets among Katherine Howard's possessions. They peaked in popularity later in the century, and were commonly worn in pairs. Yet Jane Seymour and Kateryn Parr were evidently fond of them, as four pairs appear in Jane's inventory, whilst not only are four pairs listed in Kateryn's queenly collection, but a pair also appeared in her later inventory.[419] Kateryn also used them as gifts, which will be discussed in chapter seven.

In many respects the two queenly inventories of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr are relatively evenly matched. Highly prized were the ouches, an elaborate type of jewel that could be used as a brooch or as a pendant. Specific ouches in the collection will be discussed in greater depth in relation to portraiture in chapter three. Unsurprisingly, no ouches are listed in either Jane Seymour or Kateryn Parr's personal inventories, confirming that they were highly prized objects that were not intended for everyday use. Ten out of the eleven owned by Katherine Howard are almost certainly the same as those owned by Kateryn Parr (five pieces match exactly, as discussed previously), who added a further two to the collection. One of these was the crown ouche, which will be discussed fully in chapter six, but is so distinctive that it is easily identifiable.[420] The other is

[415] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 62r.
[416] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 23r.
[417] Tait (ed.), *7000 Years*, p. 151.
[418] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 88.
[419] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 28r; SoA, MS 129, f. 217v.
[420] SoA, MS 129, f. 178r.

described as 'an Ouche of golde conteyning a very faire table dyamount a faire rounde Emerode and a perle pendaunt'.[421] In addition, Katherine Howard also owned three 'flowers', which were a similar type of jewel.[422]

All of the pieces contained pearls, while nine had at least one diamond, eight contained a minimum of one ruby, and six featured at least one emerald. In both inventories almost all of the ouches are described in only the vaguest of terms, providing little clue as to their overall appearance in terms of design. For example, 'one ouche or flower with a Rubie and a Dyamounte and a perle pendaunt'.[423] This makes it difficult to definitively identify specific pieces worn by the queens in portraits. However, it is likely that the ouche that Jane Seymour and Katherine Howard are seen wearing in their respective portraits by Holbein is the one described in Katherine's inventory as 'oone other ooche of golde hauyng averey ffeir table diamond and a verey feir ruby with a long peerle hangyng at the same'.[424]

Several genres of jewels in both queenly inventories have a religious theme. The most easily identifiable of these are the crosses, the most apparent symbol of piety. Kateryn Parr later inherited all four of those listed in Katherine Howard's inventory, with the addition of two more. One of the crosses owned by both queens was made of 'xij dyamountes onelye', and may have been particularly valuable for this reason.[425] However, Kateryn also added 'a Crosse of fyve Dyamountes iiij rubies one Emerode and three perles pendaunte', and 'a Crosse of golde conteyng x fair dyamountes of sundry making and three faire perles pendaunte' to the collection.[426] This last cross could have been the same as that which Kateryn's mother left her in her will.[427] The evidence suggests that Kateryn was particularly fond of necklaces in all forms, as in almost all instances she owned more neck jewellery than her predecessor. Her collection reveals that ornamental necklaces, known as carcanets, could be extremely elaborate. Her inventory contains six carcanets and numerous necklaces, including 'a Carcanet set with a faire poynted dyamounte viij

[421] SoA, MS 129, f. 179v.
[422] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 59v.
[423] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 178v.
[424] Holbein, 'Jane Seymour', Kunsthistorisches Museum; Hans Holbein, 'Portrait of a Lady, perhaps Katherine Howard', c. 1540, RCT, RCIN 422293; BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 58v. The alternative is 'one other ooche of Golde hauyng a verey feir table diamond and a ruby with a feir lose peerle to hange at the same'. In Kateryn Parr's inventory the same ouche could be one of several.
[425] SoA, MS 129, f. 178v.
[426] SoA, MS 129, f. 178v; SoA, MS 129, f. 179v.
[427] Cited in James, *Catherine Parr*, p. 55.

large Rubies and xx faire perles by cooples betwixt euery Rubie and one lardge perle pendaunt' which may have been made especially for the Queen.[428] By contrast, Jane Seymour's collection contained no such elaborate pieces, but did list eleven chains which were probably worn as necklaces, a smaller number than those found in Kateryn's collection.[429]

It is probable that the beads that feature in all four inventories were religious: they were almost certainly paternoster beads.[430] Jane Seymour had the largest collection in an assortment of colours and designs, perhaps in a reflection of her religiosity. Similarly, Katherine Howard appears to have been fond of them, and this may have been in order to emphasise that she came from a fervently Catholic family.[431]

Interestingly, religiously themed pieces appear more frequently in Katherine Howard's inventory than in that of her successor, and Jane Seymour's personal inventory. This could be seen as evidence of Katherine's piety and Catholicism, but it seems more likely to have been influenced by her predecessors. The unfortunate lack of Jane Seymour's queenly inventory for comparison prevents confirmation. The Lady Mary's inventory, however, is heavily laden with religious pieces, a clear indication of her devotion to Catholicism.[432] The firmly Protestant Kateryn Parr would have found at least one of the pieces that she inherited from Katherine Howard to her taste. This was the anti-Catholic 'Tablet of Golde conteignyng on thonesyde a goodly diamonde lozenged with divers other small rubyes and diamondes two naked boyes and a litle boy with a crosse in his hand and divers other persones one with a sawe/and scripture under the said diamonde/and on thothersyde a ffeyer Ballas and the pycture of the busshopp of Rome comyng awey lamentyng/and divers other persones one settyng his sole upon the busshop ouerthowen'.[433] The very theme of the jewel allows us to date its creation to some time between 1533-41, when it appears in Katherine Howard's inventory. It is possible that it was made for either Henry VIII or Anne Boleyn in order to mark the King's break from Rome. Its creation demonstrates the impact that the Reformation had had on jewellery design.

[428] SoA, MS 129, f. 181r.
[429] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 31r.
[430] From the mid-sixteenth century they came to be known as rosary beads. Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 42.
[431] See BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 63r-65r.
[432] See Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, pp. 191-5 for examples.
[433] BL, Stowe 559, f. 68r.

Tablets and brooches both feature in all four of the inventories.[434] Their queenly inventories show that Katherine Howard and Kathryn Parr owned seven and eleven tablets respectively, while Kateryn's later inventory contains one and Jane Seymour's lists twelve.[435] Tablets were considered to be decorative pieces that played little role in everyday life, but were popular unisex items in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: numerous examples appear in the inventories of Henry VI and Henry VIII.[436] Pieces such as these that allowed more space for decoration often reflected the interests of the owner, and the design of one of Jane Seymour's tablets was more sentimental. This was a tablet featuring 'the Kinges pictu[re] in it', and was perhaps a gift.[437] It is possible, although by no means certain, that this was the same tablet that later appears in the queenly inventory of Kateryn Parr, described as 'a Tablet of golde hauing on thone side the kinges Picture peynted and on thesame side is a roose of Dyamountes and Rubies conteyning therein v dyamountes and sixe rubies on the border thereof is v verye small Dyamountes and one Rubie in the toppe thereof and an other vnderneth and in the border thereof is foure very small dyamountes on the other side is ij men lifting of a Stone being a Dyamounte conteyning in that side xxij Dyamountes ij rubies and a faire Emerode'.[438] The piece does not appear in Katherine Howard's inventory, so if this was the same jewel then the King clearly chose not to bestow it upon his fifth wife.[439] If Jane and Kateryn Parr both owned the tablet though, it shows that it was possible for pieces to be moved between a queen's personal and queenly collection. It is equally possible that the piece that appears in Kateryn Parr's inventory was a different jewel, commissioned either by herself or her husband as a gift. In the same manner as objects such as small books and pomanders, both of which are also found in Jane Seymour's inventory, tablets could hang from girdles.[440]

All of the tablets in the two queenly inventories were richly garnished with a variety of stones, and were fashioned in assorted shapes and designs. It is possible that some of Katherine Howard's tablets were later inherited and embellished by Kateryn Parr, and this seems plausible in the instance of at least one piece. Recorded in Katherine Howard's

[434] Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence*, p. 36.
[435] BL, Stowe 559, f. 67r-68r; SoA, MS 129, f. 179r-180r; SoA, MS 129, f. 218r; BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 21r-22r.
[436] E 36/84, p. 9, 33; SoA, MS 129, f. 155r.
[437] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 21v.
[438] SoA, MS 129, f. 179v.
[439] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r.
[440] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 84; BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 21r.

inventory as 'Item one Tablet of Golde on thonesyde thereof is set a litle Roose of diamondes being vj small diamondes/with h.k. of diamondes being xiij diamondes in them bothe and an E of diamondes being v diamondes/and on thothersyde one greate Table diamonde with ij lettres in the ffoyle/and iiij other diamondes in the same with certeyn persones', this item may be the same as that in Kateryn Parr's inventory described as a tablet with 'H and K a Roose and E all of dyamountes and Osystryche Fethers and fyve small Rubies and on thother side a faire Dyamounte holden by an Image with iiij other dyamountes'.[441] If this was the case, then the rubies and ostrich feathers were a later addition. The design of the tablet with the inclusion of three initials makes it quite distinct, and it therefore seems possible that it was the same piece.[442]

Tablets were among some of the most creative pieces in the collections of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr. Unfortunately, many of those listed in Jane Seymour's inventory are simply described as 'a Tabelet of golde', which prevents further analysis.[443] One however, featured the passion of Christ, whilst another included 'toow Angelles'.[444] Designs amongst Kateryn Parr's queenly collection included 'a Clock fasshioned like an Harte', whilst another was described as 'a whistell of gold'.[445] Interestingly, both Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr owned pieces that featured clocks, and this represents the dual function of jewels and the ability to combine practicality with style and an element of novelty.[446] Kateryn Parr is known to have had an interest in clocks, and this will be expanded upon in chapter six.

Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's queenly inventories show that they both owned seven brooches, whilst Kateryn Parr's later inventory reveals that she had three others in her possession at the time of her death. Jane Seymour had twenty-seven in her personal collection. It is possible that two of the brooches in the queenly inventories are the same, and both inventories contain relatively detailed descriptions.[447] This could have been partially because of their style, but primarily they all relate a story. Examples from

[441] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 68r; SoA, MS 129, f. 179r.
[442] The 'E' stood for Elizabeth, in reference to either the King's mother or his daughter. The former is more likely.
[443] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 22r.
[444] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 21v.
[445] SoA, MS 129, f. 179v.
[446] BL, Stowe MS 559 f. 64v, 67r-v records that Katherine Howard owned beads, a tablet, pomander, and a book that featured a clock. SoA, MS 129 f. 179v shows that Kateryn Parr had two tablets featuring clocks.
[447] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 57v; SoA, MS 129, f. 178v-179r; SoA, MS 129, f. 217r, 219r.

Katherine Howard's inventory include a brooch of gold enamelled black 'hauyng iij persones one of them being a woman with a bowe and an arrowe', an enamelled brooch 'wherein is a woman and a naked boy with a verey ffeir diamond' and another enamelled example 'hauyng iiij naked men and a child stering a pott'.[448] Many of these stories were probably based on classical themes.[449]

The predominant theme in the design of Kateryn Parr's brooches was royalty. This can be seen in the 'Brouche conteyning the Image of king henry the eight with the Quene having a Crowne of dyamountes ouer them and a Rose of dyamountes vnder them and of eche side a man of dyamountes', and 'a brouche of Imagerie one being a king sitting vpon an Emerode with certeyne pottes of dyamountes and furnysshed otherwise with dyamountes' that appear.[450] It is possible that these pieces were commissioned by Kateryn, or that they were given to her as a gift. Similarly, another brooch that is likely to have been made especially for Kateryn is that described as 'a brouche wrought therin a Castell furnysshed with Dyamountes and the Image of a damsell within thesame hauing at the foote therof a faire rubie'.[451] The design was probably based on the emblem that Kateryn adopted on becoming queen: that of a maiden rising out of a Tudor rose.[452] The image of a king was a popular subject; it could have been a further demonstration of Kateryn's loyalty to her husband, and her determination to convey her royal status. Katherine Howard's inventory also records several pieces that featured a king, but are not as numerous or as prolific as those that her successor owned. That these designs were intended both to be seen and to emphasise royalty is supported by the design of those found in Jane Seymour's personal inventory. The vagueness with which most of the brooches are described prevents a definitive conclusion, but the few that are recorded in more detail confirm that they served as decorative pieces. For example, 'a grene brouche of golde sett with ony litle Diamons and with small perll', and 'a nother brouche sett with lytle Rocke Rubies and litle turquis'.[453] There are no elaborate designs in the same manner as those that appear among Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's queenly jewels, confirming that such symbolism was not necessary for everyday life.

[448] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 57v.
[449] Scarisbrick, *Historic Rings*, p. 75.
[450] SoA, MS 129, f. 179r.
[451] SoA, MS 129, f. 179r.
[452] See Starkey, *Six Wives*, p. 731.
[453] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 27r.

Two jewels of a very personal nature appear in Kateryn Parr's queenly inventory, which were worn as either pendants or brooches as they are listed between the two. These are initial jewels, one of which was a 'H and K with a large Emerode and one large perle pendaunt'. The other was a 'H with vij Dyamountes and iij perles pendaunte'.[454] These were almost certainly either commissioned by Kateryn, or given to her as gifts; neither appears in the inventory of her predecessor. As mentioned in the introduction, initial jewellery was popular in the 1530s and 1540s, and Kateryn was fond of this more personal kind of jewel.[455] Moreover, the latter jewel was probably the same as that which appears in Anna of Denmark's inventory, described as 'A Jewell of gold in forme of a Romane H hauing vij faire Diamondes, v table and two pointed; with iij faire Peare pearles pendant, hauing iiij knottes of carnation riband'.[456] If this was the case then it was an extraordinary survival, for jewels of this personal nature were usually broken up and recast for this very reason. The 'haches' listed in Katherine Howard's inventory were also initial jewels, the 'hache' meaning 'H' for Henry.[457] They are listed alongside the pendant jewels, indicating that they were intended as a neck adornment. The only comparable piece in Jane Seymour's inventory is the 'greate pomander of golde with H and J and a Crouer' that was either commissioned by Jane or given to her.[458] Although this too was a personal jewel, its function meant that it could not be worn with the same kind of intimacy as those owned by Kateryn Parr, which could have been worn as necklaces.

2.8 Conclusion

The four inventories of Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr reveal the vast assortment of jewels and everyday objects that were used by queen consorts, as well as providing compelling details as to the number and variety of stones that were used to create them. Certainly, they do not compare with the volume of jewels amassed by Henry VIII, but this is to be expected. Not only because Henry was the reigning monarch, but the queenly inventories of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr also show that pieces entered and left the collection from queen to queen.

[454] SoA, MS 129, f. 178v.
[455] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 83.
[456] Scarisbrick, 'Anna of Denmark's Jewellery', pp. 208-9.
[457] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 59r.
[458] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 21r.

The jewels in the queenly collections reveal the level of splendour that both queens became accustomed to. They offer an insight into the quantity and quality of jewellery that was available to a consort. That many of the pieces in the two queenly inventories match shows that queens were expected to handle second hand jewels, and reuse and recycle them for their own needs. This is in keeping with Ives' assertion that 'the taste of one generation is raw material to the next'.[459]

The evidence suggests that Kateryn Parr added jewels to the collection that were commissioned on her own orders. These pieces had a predominantly royal theme, thereby demonstrating both her taste, and the importance that she placed on using jewels in order to project the royal image. This theory will be explored further in chapter six.

By contrast, both Jane Seymour's inventory and Kateryn Parr's later inventory show a different side of queenship. Jane Seymour's collection, though primarily consisting of jewels, contains pieces of lower value that Jane would have worn on an everyday basis. It is markedly different from Kateryn Parr's inventory, which though also containing jewellery for everyday use, consisted of more practical items used by the consort on a daily basis. The contents of these two inventories combined reveals that they were vastly different to the jewels that were provided to assist the queen in her visual representation of majesty. Kateryn Parr's collection showcases the functionality of life in the queen's household.

The inventories of Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr are the most detailed to survive during this period, and provide the most in terms of documentary evidence for comparison. They are invaluable sources that demonstrate the material wealth of Henry VIII's queens, and are in turn a reflection of the riches of the Tudor monarch himself. Having established what some of the consorts of this period owned or had access to as queens, this chapter has demonstrated the difference between a queen's personal and ceremonial collection. Additionally, having ascertained the nature of queenly belongings and explored the meanings behind them, it has shown how jewels played a unique and vital role in the projection of majesty.

[459] Ives, *Life and Death*, p. 252.

Chapter Three: Portraiture

3.1 Introduction

James noted that 'Royal portraits were the concrete iconography of divinely authorised rule', a concept that applied to female consorts.[460] Portraits provided monarchs and their queens with an opportunity to showcase their image to their greatest advantage, using jewels as a way of emphasising their magnificence, power, authority, majesty and ideals of queenship, or in order to convey a message. In an age in which outward display meant everything, portraiture provided an ideal medium for ensuring not only that that image was projected among contemporaries, but also for posterity. It therefore served a very serious function, and this explains why both monarchs and their consorts often adopted their finest clothes when sitting for artists.

Jewels made a significant contribution to the splendour of queenship, projecting the greatness and wealth of queens, their husbands and the dynasties of which they were a part: this can be seen in the surviving examples of portraits of queens from the period 1445-1548, in which many queens chose to be painted wearing their most costly pieces.[461] Portraits also reveal a number of things about the way in which queens wished to project their images, both as individuals and as consorts. Stephen Greenblatt, who used Holbein's 'The Ambassadors' as an example of the way in which the symbolism in portraiture was constructed, explored this notion of self-fashioning, and many of the principles about which he wrote were applicable to queens.[462] This is particularly apparent with Kateryn Parr, who exploited the powers of portraiture in order to build her image. She in turn may have influenced the future Elizabeth I, who would later greatly control her image through portraiture.[463] Though there are over 100 surviving images of Elizabeth, it is clear that the trend of using portraiture to project a persona began earlier.[464]

[460] James, *Catherine Parr*, p. 119.
[461] Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 75.
[462] S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980), pp. 20-1.
[463] See C.L. Howey, 'Dressing a Virgin Queen: Court Women, Dress, and Fashioning the Image of England's Queen Elizabeth I', *Early Modern Women,* 4 (2009), p. 201.
[464] C. Lloyd, *The Royal Collection* (London, 1992), p. 261.

Portraiture highlighted rank, and aside from royalty Roy Strong argued that few sitters sat for their portrait more than once in a lifetime.[465] This emphasises that it was primarily available to only the highest ranks of society, and this is reflected in many of the surviving examples. Strong's work is among the most notable in the field, and aside from numerous articles about portraiture, including one that concentrates on jewellery, Strong has also comprehensively evaluated portraits of Henry VIII's six wives.[466] His scholarship is supported by that of Jennifer Scott, whose work provided valuable context to paintings of the period.[467] Portraits were symbolic of both wealth and power, and could be commissioned and used for a variety of reasons.[468] Reynolds' observation that 'it was customary for a portrait to show a sitter in formal attire' that consisted of 'the most expensive highly decorated fabrics' confirms this.[469] This in turn was reflected in the jewellery a sitter wore, on which both men and women placed great emphasis: kings and queens often chose the best pieces in their collections.[470] Several examples of this can be seen in surviving portraits of queens from this period, and these will be discussed throughout the course of this chapter.

Much of what we know about jewels from this period comes from portraits, or the few surviving examples of royal jewels.[471] Jewels could also be used to illustrate political preferences, cultural interests and religious faith. There are numerous examples of queens throughout this period using jewels in such a way, many of which can be seen in their surviving portraits. Moreover, during the Renaissance both men and women wore than more jewellery ever before, as the portraits and accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII bear testimony.[472] This in turn is reflected in the portraits of queens.

Portraits can be used to demonstrate how jewels were worn, and in some cases mark the transition from queen to queen. They also show how rapidly fashions changed during this

[465] R. Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits,* 2 vols (London, 1969), I, p. 9.
[466] R. Strong, 'More Tudor Artists', *BM*, 108 (1966), pp. 83-5; R. Strong, 'Hans Eworth Reconsidered', *BM*, 108 (1966), pp. 222, 225-31, 233; R. Strong, 'Three Royal Jewels: The Three Brothers, the Mirror of Great Britain and the Feather', *BM,* 108 (1966), pp. 350-3; Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, I, p. 9.
[467] J. Scott, *The Royal Portrait: Image and Impact* (London, 2010).
[468] T. Cooper, *A Guide to Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (London, 2008), p. 6.
[469] Reynolds, *Fine Style*, p. 8.
[470] Reynolds, *Fine Style*, p. 8.
[471] I. Wardropper, 'Between Art and Nature: Jewelry in the Renaissance', *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 25 (2000), p. 7.
[472] After Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Henry VIII', probably 17th century based on a work of 1536, NPG, NPG 157; BL, Add MS 7099, f. 4, 26; Starkey (ed.), *Inventory*, pp. 65-77.

short period. For example, the lozenge shaped jewel that Isabel Neville can be seen wearing in the Rous Roll in the last quarter of the fifteenth century was quickly replaced with more elaborately designed pendants within the next twenty-five years.[473] In the sixteenth century the fashion changed from simple pieces to those that were intricate and elaborate, and this too is reflected in surviving portraits.[474] Even in the two decades between the reigns of Catherine of Aragon and Kateryn Parr, surviving portraits show how jewellery designs had greatly altered. During the Elizabethan period, when portraits became 'biography not merely a likeness', portraiture was particularly emblematic, yet there is earlier evidence for this too.[475]

This chapter will explore the rise and development of portraiture and its function in relation to the queen consorts of England, in order to demonstrate its importance as a historical source when studying jewels in this period. In a similar manner to the previous chapter, it seeks to use surviving portraits as a way of tracking pieces in the royal jewel collection from queen to queen. It will then examine the various mediums in which portraits of queens appeared, analysing the way in which they wore jewels in order to show how queens were able to use portraiture as an effective medium of displaying their jewels in order to project their royal image. In so doing, it concludes by signifying how portraits provide visual evidence that supports the documentary sources in showcasing the wealth of the queens in this period.

3.2 The Rise of Portraiture

Until the turn of the sixteenth century, many of the surviving contemporary images of English queens had been created in order to depict and promote the expected ideals of queenship. In keeping with the ideas expressed by Caxton in *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, this meant being seen as the king's partner and mother to his children, rather than an individual.[476] We see an example of this in a fifteenth century manuscript which shows Edward IV being presented with a book, flanked by his son and heir, and his queen,

[473] Unknown Artist, John Rous, 'The Rous Roll', c. 1483-84, BL, Add MS 48976, f. 7cr; J. Cherry, *The Middleham Jewel and Ring* (York, 1994), p. 16.
[474] J. Anderson Black, *A History of Jewels* (London, 1974), p. 161.
[475] D. Howarth, *Images of Rule* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 107.
[476] Caxton, *Game and Playe*, pp. 26-30.

Elizabeth Wydeville in the background.[477] Queens were also portrayed carrying out their duties, evidence of which can be found on surviving seals (demonstrating their administrative duties), in manuscripts, which in the case of Philippa of Hainault highlight her success as her husband's regent in 1346, and in images depicting marriages.[478] It was not unsual for queens to be portrayed like the Virgin Mary in an association with the Queen of Heaven, and chapter four will discuss Elizabeth Wydeville's representation in this way.[479] For Elizabeth, this is likely to have been an attempt to accentuate her enhanced royal status following her marriage to Edward IV.

Richard II was the first English monarch of whom a contemporary painted likeness survives, and this provides evidence that portraiture in England was still in its infancy at this time.[480] This in turn impacted on queenship as there are no surviving examples of contemporary portraits of queens, but as the fifteenth century progressed more accurate likenesses of queens began to emerge, starting with Margaret of Anjou. The changes in portraiture and the greater interest in recording the appearance of an individual ensured that late medieval queens were depicted more as individuals than as the iconic image of an ideal queen, and their likenesses were more widely circulated.[481] However, Erin Barrett's thesis, which offers a detailed insight into the portraiture of medieval queens and the way in which they used their image to project their authority as consorts, argued that in most instances queens wanted to be associated with their husbands and used their images as ways of highlighting this.[482] It will shortly become apparent that there are some instances where this could be said to be true, but by the reign of Henry VIII at least one of his wives, Kateryn Parr, used her image as a way of projecting her own majesty. By 1500 techniques and styles of portraiture in England had changed very little, and this is apparent in the surviving contemporary and near contemporary portraits of Elizabeth

[477] Unknown Artist, 'Edward IV, with Elizabeth Woodville, Edward V and Richard, Duke of Gloucester', c. 1477, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 265, f. 6v.
[478] Benz, 'Queen consort', p. 36; Unknown Artist, 'The Battle of Neville's Cross' in Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, fourteenth century, Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, Besançon, MS 864, f. 145v.
[479] Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth Wydeville', c. 1470, Worshipful Company of Skinners' Fraternity, Guildhall Library, MS 31692, f. 32v.
[480] Unknown Artist, 'Richard II', c. 1390, Westminster Abbey. See F. Hepburn, *Portraits of the Later Plantagenets* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 13.
[481] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 185.
[482] E.G. Barrett, 'Art and the construction of early medieval queenship: the iconography of the join royal/imperial portrait and the visual representation of the ruler's consort'', unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1997.

Wydeville and Elizabeth of York in the Royal Collection.[483] Both women appear two dimensional, but what is more striking is the remarkable similarities between the two portraits. This shows a lack of the sophistication that was displayed by artists such as Michelangelo in Italy, and makes it possible that the same artist painted both women.[484] In John Fletcher's 1974 article, he argued that tree-ring analysis dated Elizabeth Wydeville's portrait firmly to the 1470s, but more recent research has shown that it actually dates from between circa 1513-30.[485] It is likely that the portrait of Elizabeth of York, which Fletcher also analysed, although over-painted, dates to the early sixteenth century, and could have been painted during her lifetime.[486]

The onset of the sixteenth century witnessed the rise of portraiture in England, but elsewhere in Europe the trend had begun much earlier. As Margaret Whinney argued, the contribution to portraiture made by artists from the Low Countries was significant, and both Isabel of Castile and Catherine of Aragon were known to have owned Flemish works.[487] In Bruges Jan van Eyck is generally considered to have been one of the great early portraiturists, who earned the patronage of Philip the Good and managed to achieve three dimensions in two dimensional painting.[488] As Whinney therefore argued, van Eyck 'introduced a new phase in European portraiture'.[489] However, it was in fifteenth century Italy that the popularity and sophistication of portraiture developed. Sandro Botticelli became renowned for displaying the 'kernel of the personality' in his portraits, which was important as John Pope-Hennessy stressed that Renaissance painting 'reflects the reawakening interest in human motives and the human character'.[490] This is in keeping with Paola Tinagli's observation of the way in which fifteenth century artists were able to develop their skills in order to convey the emotions of their subjects, thereby capturing their likenesses as individuals.[491] Profile portraits were a popular way of depiciting women, as it was believed to present the most flattering view, but the examples cited

[483] Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth Woodville', c. 1513-30, RCT, RCIN 406785; Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth of York', sixteenth century, RCT, RCIN 403447.
[484] See F. Zollner, *Michelangelo: The Complete Paintings, Sculptures and Arch* (Berlin, 2017).
[485] J. Fletcher, 'Tree Ring Dates for Some Panel Paintings in England', *BM,* 166 (1974), pp. 250-8; 'Elizabeth Woodville (1437?-1492)', www.royalcollection.org.uk. Accessed 16/07/18.
[486] Fletcher, 'Tree Ring Dates', p. 256;'Elizabeth of York (1465-1503)', www.royalcollection.org.uk. Accessed 16/07/18.
[487] M. Whinney, *Early Flemish Painting* (London, 1968), p. 23; James, *Feminine Dynamic*, p. 25.
[488] Whinney, *Flemish Painting*, p. 45, 23.
[489] Whinney, *Flemish Painting*, p. 54.
[490] J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (London, 1966), p. 30, 3.
[491] P. Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art* (Manchester, 1997), p. 4.

here show that in England the presentation was very different.[492] Tinagli asserted that the adornment of finery by women who sat for their portraits was 'not an empty gesture of vanity', but instead a deliberate strategy through which 'women made their position visible to the eyes of society'.[493] The examples cited throughout this chapter show that the same was also true of many English examples.

The beginning of the sixteenth century witnessed the peak in the careers of Italian artists such as Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael and Michelangelo.[494] What was more, these artists began to travel elsewhere in Europe: Pietro Torrigiano, discussed later in this chapter, brought his skills to England where the royal family employed them.[495] Da Vinci travelled to France, under the patronage of François I. Like England, at the beginning of the sixteenth century developments in French portraiture were not as advanced as elsewhere in Europe, and it was François who became eager to establish and develop royal iconography in portraiture. Jean Clouet, who may have hailed from the Low Countries, was employed as François's court painter in 1516, and having travelled widely, began introducing elements of Flemish and Italian Renaissance art into his paintings.[496] Peter Mellen argued that Clouet was a transitional artist, who combined both medieval and Renaissance features in his works.[497] The developments in portraiture in France and England largely coincided with one another, and Clouet's work is therefore a useful point of comparison, for he was the contemporary of Henry VIII's court painter, Hans Holbein, whom Clouet is likely to have met and may have influenced.[498]

In England the reign of Henry VIII witnessed a huge advancement in portraiture techniques and the representation of monarchs, combining old forms with recent developments in Renaissance art in a similar manner to the style Clouet had adopted in France.[499] The arrival of the German artist Hans Holbein at Henry VIII's court in the 1530s

[492] Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait*, p. 41.
[493] Tinagli, *Women*, p. 5.
[494] P. Mellen, *Jean Clouet: Complete Edition of the Drawings, Miniatures and Paintings* (London, 1971), p. 18.
[495] See A. Phipps Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiani and His Sculpture in Henrician England: Sources and Influences', in C.M. Sicca & L.A. Waldman (eds), *The Anglo-Florentine Renaissance: Art for the Early Tudors* (New Haven, 2012), pp. 49-50; A.E. Popham, 'Hans Holbein's Italian Contemporaries in England', *BM*, 84 (1944), pp. 12-15, 17.
[496] Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait*, p. 187; Jean Clouet, 'Portrait of François I, King of France (1494-1547)', c. 1530, Louvre Museum, Paris, Inv. 3256; Mellen, *Clouet*, p. 11, 18.
[497] Mellen, *Clouet*, p. 59.
[498] Mellen, *Clouet*, p. 18.
[499] Lloyd, *Royal Collection*, p. 257.

signalled a turning point in English portraiture, for as Robert Tittler summarised, 'Holbein arrived at a time when England was ready for his skills and experience'.[500] Precisely when the artist entered the King's service is unclear, as he does not appear in accounts before 1536.[501] What is evident though, is that Holbein had travelled widely and had been influenced by Italian artists, including Leonardo da Vinci.[502] He was therefore able to employ these influences into his work in England, doing so with great skill and thereby conveying a greater sense of realism in his portraits. There has been an abundance of scholarship about Holbein's work in England, much of which concerns itself with the identification of his portraits.[503] Strong wrote several articles about the artist's presence in England, whilst Paul Ganz effectively placed Holbein into the context of sixteenth century court painting, describing his position in Henry VIII's service as 'extraordinary and exceptional'.[504]

Holbein was not alone among the artists who found patronage at the English court, but his work is undoubtedly the most famous in this period.[505] Patronage was an important aspect of queenship, as it provided a way of enlarging a queen's network and was a demonstration of power and cultural influence, and the artists that Henry's consorts are known to have patronised will be discussed throughout the course of this chapter.[506] It was the belief of John Rowlands and David Starkey that Anne Boleyn was responsible for Holbein's patronage.[507] They argued that Holbein created a likeness of Anne, although he did not achieve recognition at court until after her fall.[508] Such evidence is subjective, but Anne's portraiture has attracted the notice of other scholars, and Ives also wrote an article on this topic. [509] Holbein certainly designed jewellery for Anne, and his role in doing

[500] R. Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540-1640* (Oxford, 2012), p. 17.
[501] P. Ganz, 'Holbein and Henry VIII', *BM*, 83 (1943), p. 269.
[502] Tittler, *Portraits*, p. 31; Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait*, pp. 130-1.
[503] Ganz, 'Hobein and Henry VIII', pp. 269-73; P. Ganz, 'Two Unpublished Portraits by Hans Holbein', *BM,* 20 (1911), pp. 31-3; P. Ganz, 'Henry VIII and His Court Painter, Hans Holbein', *BM*, 63 (1933), pp. 144-55; C. Winter, 'Holbein's Miniatures', *BM,* 83 (1943), pp. 266-9.
[504] R. Strong, 'Holbein in England – I and II', *BM*, 109 (1967), pp. 276-81; R. Strong, 'Holbein in England – III to IV', *BM*, 109 (1967), pp. 698-703; Ganz,'Holbein and Henry VIII', p. 269.
[505] T. Cooper, 'Making art in Tudor Britain: New Research on paintings in the National Portrait Gallery', *British Art Journal*, 9 (2009), p. 6.
[506] Benz, 'Queen consort', p. 86.
[507] J. Rowlands & D. Starkey, 'An Old Tradition Reasserted: Holbein's Portrait of Queen Anne Boleyn', *BM*, 125 (1983), p. 92.
[508] Rowlands & Starkey, 'Old Tradition', pp. 91-2.
[509] E. Ives, 'The Queen and the painters: Anne Boleyn, Holbein and Tudor royal portraits', *Apollo*, 140 (1994), pp. 36-45.

so will be analysed in chapter six.[510] This demonstrates a direct link between the patronage of artists and queens. In terms of portraiture, what is more certain is that Holbein painted at least two, and probably three of Anne's successors, evidence of his success at court.[511]

Prior to Holbein, English portraits had appeared to be both flat and two dimensional, but his skills changed this. Like other sixteenth century European artists, Holbein was fond of detail. His work was not unparalleled, but from an English perspective it was impressive. Reynolds asserted that 'Portraits bring clothing back to life', and the same is true of jewels.[512] This is particularly visible in Holbein's work, demonstrating the way in which his technqiues had advanced English portraiture. Moreover, the surviving examples of portraits of Henry VIII's queens completed by Holbein serve as evidence of these changes.

Portraits of fifteenth century queens are sparse, and even in the sixteenth century not all portraits of queens were contemporary. In addition, many portraits during this period were either mislabelled or remain unidentified. There may, therefore, be more surviving portraits of these queens of which we are as yet unaware. Furthermore, portraits of queens during this period were not restricted to those painted on wooden panels, but appeared in a variety of mediums. These include manuscripts, books, medals, funeral effigies and jewels: manuscript depictions provide the only contemporary visual representations we have of Anne Neville. Many images of the queens in this period survive from later periods, especially the nineteenth century when history entered a period of heightened romanticism.[513] However, this chapter will only examine original portraiture or that which appears to have been based on lost originals. In some cases there are numerous examples, therefore this chapter will discuss only those that render the most significance or demonstrate specific points with relation to the queen's jewel collection.

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[510] See Hans Holbein, 'Oval pendant', c. 1532-43, British Museum, SL,5308.107; Hans Holbein, 'Design for a pendant', c. 1536-7, British Museum, SL,5308.117; Hans Holbein, 'Ring with crest', c. 1532-43, British Museum, SL,5308.78 for several examples of Holbein's designs.
[511] Holbein, 'Jane Seymour', Kunsthistorisches Museum; Holbein, 'Anne of Cleves', Louvre Museum; Holbein, 'Portrait of a Lady, perhaps Katherine Howard', RCT. The identity of the sitter in the latter portrait has been disputed.
[512] Reynolds, *Fine Style*, p. 23.
[513] See R. Strong, *And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History* (London, 1978).

3.3 Functions of Portraiture

Erna Auerbach emphasised that portraits were needed as truthful records of appearance of persons, something that was of particular importance in connection with royal marriages.[514] The first example of this in this period is in 1442, when Henry VI sent an artist to paint the daughters of a French count.[515] In this instance, portraiture was used to serve a personal role that could potentially impact upon influencing a public choice. Henry VI was by no means unique, for portraits were often exchanged between the royal courts of various countries, and it became an accepted part of marriage negotiations.[516] This trend continued in the reign of Henry VII, when the King sent for portraits of both Margaret of Austria and Joanna of Naples following the death of Elizabeth of York in 1503, and likewise arranged for his own portrait to be painted.[517] Jewels were an integral part of such portraits, as they served as visual evidence of the wealth of the family from which the potential bride or bridegroom hailed. As such, they reinforced their magnificence.

The importance placed on portraiture can be seen in the marriage negotiations of Anna of Cleves, in which it played a vital role.[518] Sending Holbein abroad following the death of Jane Seymour in October 1537, the artist was charged with capturing the likenesses of several European princesses, including Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan, Anna of Cleves and her sister, Amelia.[519] That Holbein was tasked with such an important assignment signifies the faith Henry VIII had in his ability, and supports David Howarth's argument by demonstrating the way in which artists could become intimately involved in politics.[520] In August 1539 the King's ambassador in Cleves, Nicholas Wotton, was able to inform his master that 'Your Grace's servant Hanze Albein hathe taken th'effigies of my ladye Anne and the ladye Amelye and hath expressyd theyr imaiges verye lyvelye', and the result of Holbein's portrait was pleasing to Henry.[521] The decisive factor in securing the marriage treaty was political, but on a personal level Anna's portrait undoubtedly set

[514] E. Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (London, 1954), p. 49.
[515] Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, p. 49.
[516] Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, p. 74.
[517] F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 164-5.
[518] P. Hacker & C. Kuhl, 'A Portrait of Anne of Cleves', *BM*, 134 (1992), p. 172.
[519] Hans Holbein, 'Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan', 1538, National Gallery, NG2475; Holbein, 'Anne of Cleves', Louvre Museum; Amelia's portrait is lost.
[520] Howarth, *Images*, p. 96.
[521] *L & P*, xiv, part 2, no. 33.

the King's expectations with disastrous consequences.

Figure 1: Hans Holbein
Anne of Cleves
1538
Parchment mounted on canvas
Louvre Museum, Paris

Anna's portrait (Figure 1) shows her wearing two gold chains, and an elaborately jewelled necklace to which is attached a cross pendant. This could have been intended to reflect her religiosity, and her costume is adorned with a number of pearls that represent her purity.[522] She also wears five rings displaying diamonds and a ruby. However, Lorne Campbell has suggested that Holbein may not have had time to complete the entirety of Anna's portrait from life, and thus could have added the jewels at a later time.[523] If this was the case then there is no way of knowing whether the jewels in Anna's portrait were genuine items, or if Holbein had used some artistic licence. [524] When the King was confronted with Anna in person, he was unimpressed.[525] There is no evidence to suggest, however, that Holbein was criticised for his role in the creation of an image that Henry had admired.[526]

Aside from marriage negotiations, portraiture served as a useful tool for royal propaganda. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII were particularly aware of the importance of the royal image, and ordered the creation of several portraits to highlight the power of

[522] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 96.
[523] L. Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven & London, 1990), p. 85.
[524] Holbein also completed a miniature based on the same portrait. Hans Holbein, 'Box in the form of a rose, with a miniature portrait of Anne of Cleves', c. 1539, Victoria & Albert Museum, P.153:1, 2-1910. See Hacker & Kuhl, 'A Portrait', pp. 172-5 for another portrait of Anna.
[525] Warnicke, *Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, p. 131.
[526] Warnicke, *Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, p. 141.

their dynasty. The first of these was painted in around 1503-9, and shows Henry VII and Elizabeth of York with their seven children and St George and the Dragon (Figure 2).[527]

Figure 2: Flemish School
The Family of Henry VII with St George and the Dragon
c. 1503-09
Oil on panel
Royal Collection Trust

Completed after Elizabeth's death, it was never intended to present an accurate likeness of Elizabeth, but was instead full of symbolism. The inclusion of St George as patron saint of England and protector of the royal family is highly significant, for the purpose of the painting was to stress the progeny of the Tudor dynasty as a result of Henry and Elizabeth's union.[528] As Eleri Lynn pointed out however, it was misleading given that at the time of its creation two out of three of the couple's sons were dead.[529]

As the heiress of the House of York, the image of Elizabeth of York was crucial in establishing the new identity of the Tudor dynasty, and was played to full effect.[530] However, Johnson argued that Elizabeth was always shown both as Henry VII's consort whose position depended on him, and in her role as a mother.[531] It was thus made clear that from Henry's perspective, Elizabeth had earned her position through her marriage to him. Image making was not only a way of demonstrating the power of the Tudor dynasty, underlining its claim to the throne and the continuation of its line, but as Kevin Sharpe

[527] Flemish School, 'The Family of Henry VII with St George and the Dragon', c. 1503-09, RCT, RCIN 401228.
[528] Scott, *Royal Portrait*, p. 13.
[529] E. Lynn, *Tudor Fashion* (London, 2017), p. 66.
[530] C. Bolland & T. Cooper, *The Real Tudors: Kings and Queens Rediscovered* (London, 2014), p. 17.
[531] Johnson, 'Elizabeth of York', p. 48, 54.

suggested, of persuading their subjects of their right to rule in the first place.[532] For as Sharpe asserted, Henry VII's concern with public display was related to his dynastic insecurity.[533] Such display also served as a visual reminder of royal descent.[534]

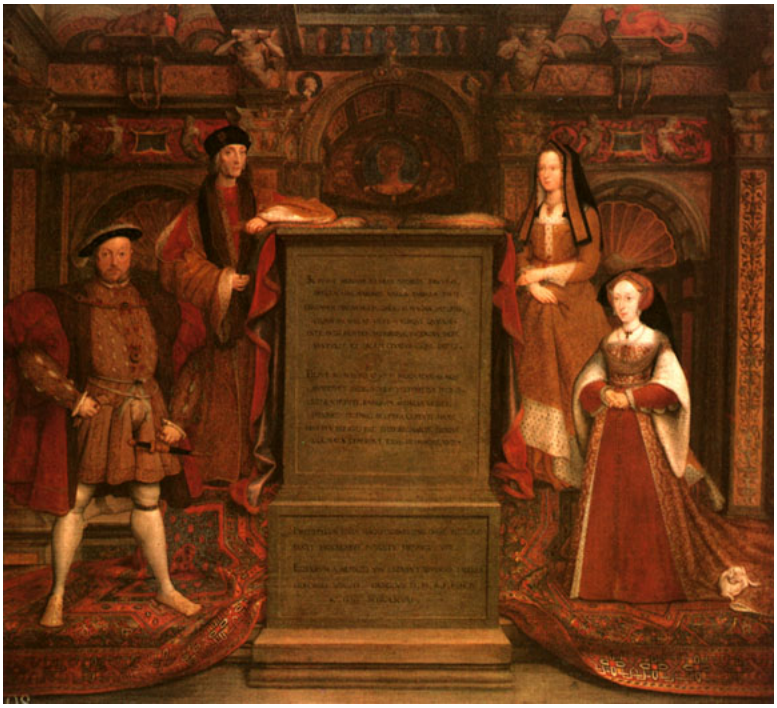

Figure 3: Remigius van Leemput
Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Jane Seymour
1667
Oil on canvas
Royal Collection Trust

This becomes apparent when studying a seventeenth century copy of the Whitehall Mural (Figure 3) – a life-sized piece that was painted on the wall of Henry VIII's Privy Chamber in the Palace of Whitehall by Holbein in 1537. The original was lost when the Palace was destroyed by fire in 1698, but the creation of a copy by Remigius van Leemput for Charles II bears testimony to its splendour.[535] Elizabeth of York and her husband stand behind their son, Henry VIII, who is depicted with his third wife and mother of his son, Jane Seymour. As Simon Schama highlighted, the purpose of the piece was to provide a dynastic tableau of the Tudor family rather than an accurate visual likeness of the

[532] Lloyd, *Royal Collection*, p. 257; K. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (London, 2009), p. 6.
[533] Sharpe, *Tudor Monarchy*, p. 66.
[534] James, *Catherine Parr*, p. 119.
[535] See R. Strong, *Lost Treasures of Britain* (London, 1990), pp. 158-62; Remigius van Leemput, 'Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Jane Seymour', 1667, RCT, RCIN 405750.

sitters.[536] This is clear given that at the time the mural was painted Henry VII, Elizabeth of York and Jane Seymour were all dead, and thus their images were based on other portraits. Smith argued that visual representations of queens were used as a means of enhancing the prestige of kings, and this is certainly in evidence in this piece.[537] The focus of the painting is not Elizabeth and her daughter-in-law, but instead Henry VIII. Interestingly, Christopher Lloyd has drawn attention to the fact that the hands of both queens are clasped and they look towards their husbands in a sign of queenly obedience.[538] Yet Sharpe argued that there is more to the portrait than that, asserting that it was 'a portrayal that not only radiated majesty and personal authority, but one that inspired awe'.[539] Sharpe also highlighted the portrait's original creation date, summarising that this, combined with Henry VIII's stance, emphasised a sexual element, for this was the King who had just produced a male heir.[540] Jane Seymour's inclusion was therefore significant and necessary, for she too had been a part of that. This is an important point, because whilst the portraits of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York had stressed reconciliation, the message conveyed by Henry VIII and Jane Seymour was one of continuation. Finally, Sharpe argued that the altar was intended to show the spiritual authority of the Tudor dynasty, concluding that this was a portrait that the King intended to be seen.[541] This too is a good point, for Scott rightly noted that 'When looking at royal imagery we must question where paintings hung and who was at liberty to see them'.[542] Palaces were the first galleries, and as such portraits hung there 'served to enhance interior displays and to imbue visitors with a sense of the monarch's presence'.[543] However, the original placement of the mural in Henry VIII's Privy Chamber suggests that it was exposed to a select audience of the King's choosing.

[536] S. Schama, 'The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17 (1986), p. 163.
[537] Smith, 'Queen-Making', p. 19.
[538] Lloyd, *Royal Collection*, p. 259.
[539] Sharpe, *Tudor Monarchy*, p. 70.
[540] Sharpe, *Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 70-71.
[541] Sharpe, *Tudor Monarchy*, p. 130.
[542] Scott, *Royal Portrait*, p. 13.
[543] Scott, *Royal Portrait*, p. 13.

Whilst Henry VIII's parents provided a way of underlining his lineage, his children were a means of demonstrating the future of the Tudor dynasty. This was important because Sydney Anglo stressed the necessity of 'rulers to make themselves, their dynasty and their possessions instantly recognizable'.[544] This can be seen in a portrait dating from around

Figure 4: Unknown Artist
The Family of Henry VIII
c. 1545
Oil on canvas
Royal Collection Trust

1545: 'The Family of Henry VIII'.[545] Intended to emphasise the solidity and strength of the Tudors, Henry is depicted with his three children – his heirs – and Jane Seymour (Figure 4).[546]

Jane's inclusion is interesting given that at the time the portrait was painted she had been dead for eight years, but in the same manner as the Whitehall Mural it was a way of highlighting that she was the mother of the King's male heir. That she was included posthumously was not in itself unusual, for in 1548 Titian produced a portrait of Isabella of Portugal, who had then been dead for nine years.[547] Such pieces were not therefore unheard of. That Jane, along with her son Edward, were depicted in closer proximity to the King than his daughters accentuates her role in creating the next – and most important – generation of the dynasty. Like the Whitehall Mural, Jane's portrait was based on previous likenesses of her painted during her lifetime, and was another example of the way in which the royal image could be used for propaganda purposes.[548] In the

[544] S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), p. 5.
[545] Unknown Artist, 'Family of Henry VIII', RCT.
[546] Lloyd, *Royal Collection*, p. 211.
[547] Tiziano Vecelli (Titian), 'The Empress Isabel of Portugal', 1548, Museo del Prado, Madrid.
[548] J.M. Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene?': Gendering Tudor Monarchy', *Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), p. 915.

same way as Elizabeth of York, Jane's image was exploited posthumously. It was used more than any of her predecessors or successors for the sole reason that it was she alone who had succeeded in providing her husband with his longed-for male heir. The jewels that Jane wears are either the same or similar to those worn in her portrait by Holbein, discussed later in this chapter. Their inclusion was therefore only significant in terms of accentuating Jane's role as queen, rather than providing an accurate depiction of specific pieces.

3.4 Manuscripts

Figure 5: Unknown Artist
Talbot Shrewsbury Book
1445
Manuscript
British Library

Four contemporary manuscripts provide likenesses of Margaret of Anjou, one of which will be discussed in chapter four. However, all are problematic in terms of assessing both Margaret's appearance and analysing her jewels. The first dates from 1445, the year of Margaret's marriage, and appears in the Talbot Shrewsbury Book (Figure 5).[549] It emphasises Margaret's role as her husband's consort and their royal union, as is in evidence by her clasping his hand. This is in keeping with the traditional expectations of queens, who were expected to act as their husband's chief supporters.[550] Caxton's *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* had emphasized many of these expectations, stating that the queen ought to sit on the king's left side, as Margaret is shown, for 'In that she is sette on his lifte syde is by the grace gevyn to the kynge by nature and of right'.[551]

Figure 6: Martial d'Auvergne
Marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou
c. 1475-1500
Manuscript
Bibliothèque Nationale de France

By contrast, the second image shows Margaret's marriage to Henry VI, and was

[549] Unknown Artist, 'Talbot Shrewsbury Book', 1445, BL, Royal MS 15 E. vi, f. 2v.
[550] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 6.
[551] Caxton, *Game and Playe*, p. 26.

produced almost forty years after the event (Figure 6).[552] This image is also likely to have been based on contemporary ideals of matrimony rather than conveying an accurate likeness. In both images Margaret is shown with blonde hair, a fashionable feature for queens at the time – this may therefore have been nothing more than a compliance with contemporary fashions.[553]

Figure 7: Unknown Artist
Margaret of Anjou
c. 1475
Manuscript
Worshipful Company of Skinners' Fraternity, Guildhall Library

Indeed, Margaret's depiction as blonde is as odds with the Milanese ambassador's description of her as 'somewhat dark', although it is important to note that he had not seen her personally, and was writing to flatter his mistress by extolling her own beauty.[554] In both images Margaret wears her crown in a symbol of her exalted status, and her wedding ring can also be seen in the Talbot Shrewsbury Book. A similar image of Margaret appears in a prayer roll in the Bodleian Library, but this will be discussed in chapter four in relation to coronations.[555] It is important to note, however, that in the prayer roll Margaret can be seen wearing not only her crown, but several rings and gold chains, which accentuate her majestic appearance.[556]

One other contemporary manuscript image provides an interesting point of comparison with those that represent Margaret as a reigning consort. This is the illumination that marked Margaret's entry into the Skinners Company of London in 1475 (Figure 7).[557] This likeness is a marked contrast to other images of Margaret, and although she is referred to as 'The Qween Margarete sutyme wyff and Spowse to kyng Harry the sexthe', that she

[552] Martial d'Auvergne, 'Marriage of Henry VI & Margaret of Anjou', *Vigiles de Charles VII*, c. 1475-1500, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 5054, f. 126v.
[553] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 52.
[554] *CSPM*, I, no. 26.
[555] Unknown Artist, 'The Prayer Roll of Margaret of Anjou', c. 1445-55, Bodleian Library, Jesus College, MS 124.
[556] See S. Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter: A Prayer Roll for Queen Margaret of Anjou', *Gesta*, 53 (2014), p. 95.
[557] Unknown Artist, 'Margaret of Anjou', c. 1475, Worshipful Company of Skinners' Fraternity, Guildhall Library, MS 31692, f. 34v.

was no longer queen at this time is in evidence. Her crown and sceptre are both removed, and placed on the altar at which a black clad Margaret kneels. Margaret is no longer depicted as a queen consort, but instead kneels in prayer, her royal apparel and jewels removed. No other jewels are in evidence, and Margaret's appearance is remarkably different from that of her successor, Elizabeth Wydeville, whose likeness appears in the same manuscript and will be discussed in chapter four.

Figure 8: Unknown Artist
Rous Roll
1483-4
Manuscript
British Library

Unknown Artist
Beauchamp Pageant
1485
Manuscript
British Library

Unknown Artist
Salisbury Roll
1483-5
Manuscript
British Library

The emphasis on queenship as opposed to queens as individuals is further apparent in the surviving likenesses of Anne Neville (Figure 8). In all three images – those in the Rous Roll, the Beauchamp Pageant and the Salisbury Roll, she can be seen wearing the Crown Jewels.[558] Like Margaret of Anjou, these images highlighted Anne's importance as Richard III's consort rather than capturing a genuine likeness. It is therefore difficult to comprehend their accuracy, and contemporary sources do little to clarify the situation. The only insight into Anne's appearance comes from the Crowland Chronicle, whose author simply asserted that 'Queen Anne and Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the dead king, who were alike in complexion and figure'.[559] If this is true then Anne may have been blonde like her niece, Elizabeth of York. Hicks supports the view that none of these contemporary likenesses can be taken as true evidence of Anne's appearance, claiming

[558] Unknown Artist, 'Rous Roll', BL, Add MS 48976, f. 7cr; A. Sinclair (ed.), *The Beauchamp Pageant* (Donnington, 2003); BL, Cotton MS Julius E 1V, f. 28r; Unknown Artist, 'The Salisbury Roll', 1483-5, BL, Loan MS 90, f. 154r.
[559] N. Pronay & J. Cox (eds), *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486* (London, 1986), p. 175.

that none of them are realistic.[560] Similarly, given that they all show Anne wearing coronation regalia, it is difficult to glean further information as to the nature of her jewellery. In the Rous Roll she can be seen wearing a necklace to which is attached a pendant, the design of which is similar to those worn in portraits of Elizabeth of York. Although this can by no means be taken as reliable evidence of an accurate portrayal of one of Anne's pieces, it does at least show an adherence by the artist to contemporary fashions.

3.5 Medals

Figure 9: Unknown Maker
Lead medal
1534
Lead
British Museum

Images of two of the queens in this period survive in the form of medals: one depicting Margaret of Anjou will be discussed in chapter four in relation to the Crown Jewels. The fashion for medals was prevalent among European rulers, who were able to distribute them in order to commemorate specific occasions: examples of medals being used in such a way appeared across Europe.[561] A medal of Anne Boleyn was created in 1534, at which time she was believed to be pregnant with a male heir: this explains the inclusion of Anne's motto, 'The Moost Happi' (Figure 9).[562] The face of the medal is badly damaged, but in a similar manner to the medal of Margaret its purpose was never to present a true likeness of Anne. When she miscarried her child the medal was cancelled, and no further copies were made.[563] This strongly suggests that the circulation of Anne's image as queen to those for whom the medals were intended – possibly her supporters or as rewards for loyalty and good service to those whom the King chose to distribute them to – was completely dependent on her ability to produce a male heir for the kingdom. Hayward has argued that the choice of the English gable hood that Anne is shown wearing was

[560] Hicks, *Anne Neville*, p. 21.
[561] Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels*, p. 48.
[562] Unknown Maker, 'Lead medal', 1534, lead, British Museum, M.9010; Rowlands & Starkey, 'Old Tradition', p. 91.
[563] Fraser, *Six Wives*, p. 219.

deliberate, for 'the aim was to present her as an English woman with English taste'.[564] A cross is attached to Anne's necklace, and this could also be significant. No other likenesses of Anne portray her wearing a cross, and it could be that this was a deliberate choice in order to stress her piety.[565]

3.6 Portraits of Queens

The most common form of portraiture was that of the painted likeness that appeared on wooden panels.[566] These had been in production across Europe since at least the fourteenth century, yet Elizabeth Wydeville was the first queen of England whom we know was painted from life – her portrait is the first near contemporary surviving example.[567] In his 1934 article, William Shaw maintained that a portrait of Elizabeth – shown in Figure 10 – whose whereabouts are now unknown was painted by John Stratford in 1463, representing Elizabeth before her royal marriage.[568] This is unlikely to be the case, for there would have been little cause or opportunity for Elizabeth's likeness to have been created prior to her marriage to Edward IV, when she was the wife of a mere knight.[569] At least ten versions of the portrait survive – all differing in style and quality – indicating that it was created during her term as queen when there would have been a greater demand for her portrait.[570]

Figure 10: Unknown Artist
Elizabeth Wydeville
Date unknown
Possibly oil on panel
Location unknown

[564] Hayward, *Dress*, p. 48.
[565] See Bernard, 'Anne Boleyn's Religion', pp. 1-20.
[566] Cooper, 'Making art', p. 3.
[567] Hepburn, *Later Plantagenets*, p. 54.
[568] W.A. Shaw, 'Early English School of Portraiture', *BM*, 65 (1934), p. 184.
[569] See Baldwin, *Elizabeth Woodville*, p. 5.
[570] The following provide a sample: Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth Woodville', sixteenth century, Queen's College Cambridge; Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth Woodville', late sixteenth century, RCT, RCIN 404744.

Figure 11: Unknown Artist
Elizabeth Woodville
1513-30
Oil on panel
Royal Collection Trust

Figure 12: Unknown Artist
Elizabeth of York
Sixteenth century
Oil on panel
Royal Collection Trust

A version painted between 1513-30 referred to briefly earlier in this chapter and now in the Royal Collection, could be that which appears in Henry VIII's inventory.[571] Although painted after Elizabeth's death it is likely to be the version that is closest to the original (Figure 11). When studying the multiple versions of this portrait, although all differ in terms of precise details, the style of clothes and jewels are similar.

The fifteenth century fashion for low cut gowns, which allowed women to wear necklaces, is reflected in Elizabeth's portraits.[572] In a further visible demonstration of her wealth, Elizabeth wears two necklaces, both of which are richly decorated.

When comparing the style of jewels worn by Elizabeth Wydeville with those of her daughter, Elizabeth of York, it is clear that fashions had already begun to change within a brief period. In the same manner as those of her mother, Elizabeth of York's portraits are of one type, based on a lost original painted in the last years of her life by a Flemish artist, Maynard Waynwyck.[573] However, Henry VIII's inventory provides evidence that several

[571] Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth Woodville', RCT; Starkey (ed.), *Inventory*, p. 238.
[572] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 36.
[573] J. Litten, 'The Funeral Effigy: Its Function and Purpose', in A. Harvey & R. Mortimer (eds), *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 48; Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, I, p. 34.

portraits once existed, one of which is likely to survive in the Royal Collection and is therefore probably an accurate likeness (Figure 12).[574] From this we can see that Elizabeth does not wear any pendants in the same way that Elizabeth Wydeville did, but instead wears a simple pearl necklace from which individual pearls and rubies are suspended. Rubies were a popular choice of stone for queens, as noted in chapter two, and feature regularly in portraits: they were admired not only for their physical qualities but also for their association with marriage.[575] As such, jewels featuring rubies that were worn by queens reflected not only their status as married women, but could have been intended to enhance their image of the embodiment of queenship, for they were also believed to combat lust – Caxton continually stressed the importance of a queen's chastity.[576] Elizabeth is also pictured wearing rings on several joints in keeping with the fashion of the day: none of these appear to be her wedding ring, which was made of gold and cost 23s. 4d.[577] Her dress is embroidered with jewels, which contrasts with the simple border of pearls that were the only jewels worn on the clothes of her mother.

Figure 13: Unknown Artist
Elizabeth of York
Late sixteenth century, based on a work of c. 1500
Oil on panel
National Portrait Gallery

The importance of Elizabeth's image in establishing the identity and legitimacy of the Tudor dynasty has already been recognised, but her individual portraits served to stress the role that Henry VII had played in uniting the houses of Lancaster and York. In all of the many copies of Elizabeth she is depicted holding the white rose associated with the house of York. This is symbolic of her heritage, and is likely to have served as a companion piece to a portrait of Henry VII in the Society of Antiquaries, in which he holds the red rose of Lancaster.[578] Together they signify the union of the two houses. Hepburn

[574] Starkey (ed.), *Inventory*, p. 237, 384-5; Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth of York', RCT, RCIN 403447.
[575] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 96.
[576] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 96; Caxton, *Game and Playe*, pp. 26-30.
[577] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 72; W. Campbell (ed.), *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII From Original Documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, 2 vols (London, 1873), I, p. 264.
[578] Unknown Artist, 'Henry VII', c. 1500, SoA, LDSAL 332; Bolland & Cooper, *Real Tudors*, pp. 16-17.

suggested that there may once have been companion portraits of Edward IV and Richard III with their queens, and surviving companion pieces of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon will be discussed shortly.[579] This does, however, confirm the popularity of such pairs. Elizabeth of York's image in conjunction with that of Henry VII is particularly important, and in a later version of the same portrait type she is shown wearing a pendant made of diamonds and rubies in the shape of a Tudor rose, symbolic of reconciliation (Figure 13).[580] The pendant also resembles a pendant cross, featuring pearls which were symbolic of Christ, and rubies and garnets representative of his blood.[581] These elements are a tangible sign of Elizabeth's piety, which will be discussed further in chapter seven, and serve to illustrate contemporary jewellery fashions.[582]

The differences between the jewels worn by Elizabeth Wydeville and Elizabeth of York become all the more striking when compared with contemporary likenesses of Catherine of Aragon, several of which survive. Catherine seems to have sat for her portrait on several occasions, which is unsurprising given the length of her reign. Doubt has recently been cast on a portrait once believed to have been of Catherine by Michel Sittow, with Mojmír Frinta suggesting that the sitter may not be royal at all.[583] It is nevertheless clear that whilst in Spain Catherine did favour Sittow, for having been shown two portraits of the Duchess of Savoy by an unspecified artist in 1505, she expressed the opinion that 'Michel would have made better portraits'.[584] This suggests either that

Figure 14: Unknown Artist
Catherine of Aragon
c. 1520
Oil on oak panel
National Portrait Gallery

[579] Hepburn, *Later Plantagenets*, p. 88.
[580] Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth of York', late sixteenth century, based on a work of c. 1500, NPG, NPG 311.
[581] Chadour-Sampson & Bari, *Pearls*, p. 53.
[582] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 17.
[583] Michel Sittow, 'Mary Rose Tudor', c. 1514, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. 5612; M. Frinta, 'Observation on Michel Sittow, *Artibus et Historiae*, 30 (2009), pp. 147-51.
[584] *CSPS*, I, no. 439.

Sittow had painted Catherine or that she was familiar with his work – at the beginning of this chapter it was noted that she was enthusiastic about Flemish art, the style in which Sittow had been trained.

Elsewhere a portrait once thought to have been Kateryn Parr was recently re-identified as Catherine of Aragon (Figure 14).[585] Dating from around 1520, the portrait formed one half of a pair of portraits, the other depicting Henry VIII.[586] The royal couple evidently favoured these companion pieces, for they also commissioned miniatures, which will be analysed later in this chapter. Similarly, after Catherine's death a pair of portraits was found among Catherine's possessions, indicating that they were treasured items.[587] The 1520 portrait shows Catherine in full court dress, wearing three strings of pearls from one of which is attached a jewelled pendant. Pendants remained popular during this period as the fashion for necklines on gowns was still low cut, but the shape and design of Catherine's pendant is very different from that worn by Elizabeth Wydeville in the previous century.[588] This serves as evidence that fashions were constantly adapting. Catherine wears jewels around the rim of her headdress, a trend that was adopted by many queens during this period as headdresses became more prominent. She also wears a single ring on her wedding ring finger that seems to be studded with a ruby – a sign of marital fidelity.

The fashion for ropes of pearls like those worn by Catherine was continued by her successor, Anne Boleyn. The most famous likeness of Anne postdates her death, but is likely to have been a copy of a lost original (Figure 15) – there was once at least one full-length portrait, listed in the collection of Lord Lumley until 1773.[589] Like images of her predecessors, several copies of this portrait exist, all slightly different but nevertheless demonstrating a demand for Anne's likeness.[590] As Anglo has underlined, the main reason for owning a royal portrait was as an expression of loyalty, thereby explaining the existence of numerous copies of various royal portraits.[591]

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[585] Unknown Artist, 'Catherine of Aragon', c. 1520, NPG, NPG L246.
[586] Unknown Artist, 'Catherine of Aragon', NPG L246.
[587] J.G. Nichols, *Inventories of the wardrobe, plate, chapel stuff, etc. of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, and of the wardrobe stuff at Baynard's Castle of Katherine, Princess Dowager* (London, 1855), p. 38.
[588] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 42.
[589] Unknown Artist, 'Anne Boleyn', late sixteenth century, based on a work of c. 1533-6, NPG, NPG 668; Ives, *Life and Death*, pp. 42-3.
[590] Unknown Artist, 'Anne Boleyn' sixteenth century, NPG, NPG 4980(15); Unknown Artist, 'Anne Boleyn', sixteenth century, Hever Castle.
[591] Anglo, *Tudor Kingship*, p. 117.

Figure 15: Unknown Artist
Anne Boleyn
Late sixteenth century, based on a work of c. 1533-6
Oil on panel
National Portrait Gallery

Figure 16: Unknown Artist
Anne Boleyn
Sixteenth century
Oil on panel
Nidd Hall

In Figure 15 Anne wears copious amounts of pearls, both on her headdress and sewn on to her neckline – chapter six discusses payments to her embroiderer for performing such tasks – perhaps indicating a preference for them, or in a declaration of her chastity. Aside from her ropes of pearls, the most notable feature among Anne's jewellery is her 'B' initialled necklace. This proclaims her pride in her Boleyn roots, and she is known to have owned several such jewels as chapter six will demonstrate. Another appears in a portrait of Anne at Nidd Hall (Figure 16), whilst her daughter, Elizabeth, can be seen wearing an 'A' pendant in the dynasty piece previously discussed (Figure 17).[592]

That Anne not only owned several of these initial jewels but chose to wear them in more than one portrait is indicative of her determination to be portrayed as a queen who was eager for her lineage to be remembered. This suggests that Anne was very conscious of image creation in the same manner as was adopted by several of her predecessors and successors. This is also implied by the choice of jewels she adorns aside from her intial jewel in the Nidd Hall portrait: her rich gold chain studded with rubies and pearls, and the pendant

[592] Unknown Artist, 'Anne Boleyn', sixteenth century, Nidd Hall; Unknown Artist, 'Family of Henry VIII', RCT.

Figure 17: Unknown Artist
Elizabeth in The Family of Henry VIII
c. 1545
Oil on canvas
Royal Collection Trust

containing three rubies and a pendant pearl are evidently high status pieces that were intended to make a statement – unfortunately, whilst the chain potentially matches two items in Katherine Howard's inventory, the pendant is likely to have been recycled or absorbed into the king's collection following Anne's fall.[593] It is interesting that Anne's daughter Elizabeth chose to wear the 'A' initial pendant for the family portrait her father commissioned.[594] This indicates not only that Elizabeth is likely to have received some of her mother's jewellery following Anne's death, but also that she chose to identify herself with Anne in this significant piece of Tudor propaganda.

Figure 18: Unknown Maker
Chequers Ring
Sixteenth century
Mother of pearl, gold, rubies
Chequers, Buckinghamshire

There is other tangible evidence in the form of jewellery to suggest that Elizabeth felt a resonance with her mother, which can be found in the form of a ring (Figure 18).[595] Inside are images of Elizabeth and a woman who is likely to be Anne Boleyn, although James has suggested that it could represent Elizabeth's stepmother, Kateryn Parr.[596] Elizabeth once owned the ring, and though it does not match with any of the pieces listed in her inventories, Ives convincingly argued that it must have been made for her, or given as a gift.[597] Whilst it is plausible that Kateryn Parr gave Elizabeth such a piece, the intimacy of the ring is indicative of an item that served a more personal

[593] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 57r: 'two other laces conteignyng xxxi Table Rubyes and vjxx xvi ffeir peerlles'.
[594] Unknown Artist, 'Family of Henry VIII', RCT.
[595] Unknown Artist, 'Chequers Ring', sixteenth century, mother of pearl, gold, rubies, Chequers, Buckinghamshire.
[596] James, *Feminine Dynamic*, p. 109.
[597] See Collins (ed.), *Jewels and Plate*; BL, Stowe MS 555; BL, Stowe MS 556; Ives, *Life and Death*, p. 373.

function, and perhaps as a memorial for Elizabeth of Anne. If this was the case, then the ring provides further evidence of the resonance that Elizabeth felt with her mother.

Anne Boleyn was certainly partially responsible for Holbein's patronage, yet one of his greatest masterpieces was his portrait of her successor, Jane Seymour.[598] Not only does Jane's likeness survive, but so too does the preparatory sketch, revealing the way in which Holbein developed Jane's image.[599] This may have been something that Holbein had learned from Clouet, who also prepared drawings of his subjects and to whose work Holbein's drew many parallels.[600] Holbein was therefore not unprecedented in this area.

Holbein's portrait of Jane allows us to see some of the great developments that the artist had introduced to English portraiture (Figure 19). The details such as the richness of her clothes and jewels, and the light and shade of the background contrast sharply with the more two dimensional images of Elizabeth Wydeville and Elizabeth of York.

Figure 19: Hans Holbein
Jane Seymour
1536-7
Oil on wood
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

The message conveyed by the portrait is clear: Jane is dressed in a rich costume with some of the most important jewels in the queen's collection, proclaiming her exulted status. Henry VIII, as chapter two suggested, could have given her the IHS brooch she wears: it certainly made a statement of Jane's piety. The beads suspended from Jane's belt could match several pairs that appear in her inventory, and serve to further

[598] Holbein, 'Jane Seymour', Kunsthistorisches Museum.
[599] Hans Holbein, 'Queen Jane Seymour', c. 1536, RCT, RCIN 912267.
[600] Mellen, *Clouet*, p. 29.

accentuate her costume.[601] None of the other jewels she wears can be identified with those in her inventory.[602] This confirms that those in the portrait were a part of the queen's collection that were reserved for the most splendid occasions, whilst the jewels in Jane's inventory may have been of lesser value. Interestingly, her clasped hands show her left hand on which she wears three rings. One diamond ring is similar to another worn by Kateryn Parr, whilst a plain gold band on the third finger of Jane's left hand is likely to be her wedding ring.[603] Above it she wears another gold ring containing what could be a ruby.[604] This may be a sign that Jane was demonstrating that she was a married woman, a state on which her status as queen depended.

The most significant piece, however, is the ouche Jane wears suspended from a necklace. It was evidently of value or held particular meaning, for as mentioned in chapter two, Katherine Howard also chose to wear it in her portrait, and it can be identified in both her inventory and that of Kateryn Parr.[605] In both Jane's portrait and that of Katherine Howard, the jewel appears in an open setting which touches the skin. Similarly, Kateryn Parr is portrayed wearing an opulent ouche in two of her portraits in the same manner.[606] That all three queens chose to wear their ouches in such a way could indicate that they were believed to have certain medicinal or healing properties, if the properties of the stone were able to touch the wearer.[607]

Figure 20: Unknown Artist
Jane Seymour
c. 1536-40s
Oil on panel
Weiss Gallery, London

Another portrait of Jane served a more personal function, and provides a sharp

[601] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-20r.
[602] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI f. 18r-31r.
[603] Master John, 'Katherine Parr', NPG.
[604] Tait (ed.), *7000 Years*, p. 239.
[605] Holbein, 'Portrait of a Lady, perhaps Katherine Howard', RCT; BL, Stowe MS 559 f. 58v; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r.
[606] Master John, 'Katherine Parr', NPG; Scrots, 'Katherine Parr', NPG.
[607] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 51.

contrast to the magnificence conveyed by Holbein (Figure 20). Possibly commissioned by Jane's family either shortly before her death or shortly after, the image may have been commissioned as a memorial.[608] The setting of the portrait supports this, for although Jane is dressed finely her jewels are restricted to two strings of pearls, creating an entirely different image to the previous example. This suggests that the portrait was not intended to impress in the same way as those likenesses that depicted Jane wearing her finest jewels. Such an example shows the impact that jewels had on accentuating the royal image and contributing to the aura of magnificence.

Given the duration of the reign of Anna of Cleves, it is unsurprising that no likenesses of her were painted during this period. Similarly, there are no definitive portraits of Katherine Howard, although for many years a portrait by Holbein in the National Portrait Gallery, based on an original in the Toledo Museum of Art, was believed to depict her.[609] In his 1910 article, Lionel Cust offered convincing evidence that Katherine was indeed the sitter, based amongst other things on the jewellery she wears, including a brooch designed by Holbein.[610] This jewel does not, however, appear in Katherine's inventory, and the identification has since been disputed, while other sitters including Elizabeth Seymour and Lady Frances Brandon have been suggested for this particular piece. [611]

Of all of Henry VIII's queens, it is Kateryn Parr of who the most portraits survive. Kateryn was extremely fond of portraiture, and commissioned more portraits of herself than any of her predecessors.[612] Perhaps more than any of them however, Kateryn was conscious of building an image, and Linda Porter has highlighted that there were more portraits of her than any other sixteenth century queen other than her stepdaughter, Elizabeth I.[613] Like her royal husband, Kateryn understood that portraiture could be a tool for royal propaganda, and took advantage of it. She was a great patron of artists, and among others patronised John Bettes and William Scrots, whose portrait of her survives.[614] This

[608] Unknown Artist, 'Jane Seymour', c. 1536-40s, Weiss Gallery, London. See M. Weiss, *Tudor and Stuart Portraits* (London, 2012), pp. 16-18.
[609] After Holbein, 'Unknown woman, formerly known as Catherine Howard', NPG; L. Cust, 'A Portrait of Queen Catherine Howard, by Hans Holbein the Younger', *BM,* 17 (1910), pp. 192-5. See also B. Dolman, 'Reading the Portraits of Henry VIII's Queens', in Lipscomb & Betteridge (eds), *Henry VIII and the Court*, p. 125.
[610] Cust, 'Portrait of Queen Catherine', pp. 192-9.
[611] Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, I, p. 43; Russell, *Young and Damned*, pp. 385-8.
[612] James, *Catherine Parr*, p. 13.
[613] Porter, *Katherine the Queen*, p. 155.
[614] Scrots, 'Katherine Parr', NPG.

all serves to convey Kateryn's determination to be seen and remembered as an important consort in spite of the fact that she was not the mother of the King's heir – using her image as a means of showcasing her exalted status following her royal marriage, and accentuating her regality.

Figure 21: Master John
Katherine Parr
c. 1544-5
Oil on panel
National Portrait Gallery

The most impressive of Kateryn's portraits is the full-length once thought to be Lady Jane Grey, reidentified in 1996 (Figure 21).[615] It is a statement piece, in which Kateryn is dressed in the full finery of a queen of England. Painted at the height of her reign in 1544-5, perhaps to commemorate her regency during her husband's absence in France, Kateryn successfully projects the image of a magnificent queen. This is arguably one of the most iconic and powerful images of a queen of England prior to the reign of Elizabeth I, who could have been influenced by her stepmother.[616] Warnicke stressed that jewels were so essential to a queen's image that artists were expected to

[615] Master John, 'Katherine Parr', NPG; James, 'Lady Jane Grey or Queen Kateryn Parr?', pp. 20-4.
[616] See D. Starkey, *Elizabeth* (London, 2000), pp. 35-41; Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York,* p. 119.

paint the jewels accurately.[617] This portrait provides exacting evidence of this, for the jewels worn by Kateryn accentuate her majesty. Not only are the jewels painted in enough detail to allow us to identify them amongst Kateryn's collection, but they also clearly demonstrate the developments that had taken place both in portraiture techniques and jewellery design since the fifteenth century.

Figure 22: Master John
Detail from Katherine Parr
c. 1544-5
Oil on panel
National Portrait Gallery

The significance of Kateryn's crown ouche forms part of the discussion in chapter six, but there are other splendid pieces from the queen's collection worn by Kateryn. These include the magnificent beads suspended from her waist, which reveal antique faces reflective of contemporary fashions (Figure 22). Kateryn was eager to be at the forefront of fashion, and thus it is no surprise that her jewels and her costume encapsulate this. Similarly, the six diamond rings she wears on her fingers display the latest trends in diamond cutting – chapter two related that these were chiefly the table cut and the pointed cut, which had evolved as the sixteenth century progressed (Figure 23).[618] Diamonds were also symbolic of fidelity, a particularly poignant message given the adulterous behaviour of Kateryn's predecessor.[619]

Figure 23: Master John
Detail from Katherine Parr
c. 1544-5
Oil on panel
National Portrait Gallery

Further evidence of the value Kateryn

[617] Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 85.
[618] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 17; Tillander, *Diamond Cuts*, pp. 99-105.
[619] Scarisbrick, *Rings*, p. 302.

placed on the jewellery chosen for this portrait appears in the form of another portrait, in which she adorned many of the same pieces (Figure 24). This suggests that they were highly prized. In the portrait by William Scrots, Kateryn wears the same ouche, although suspended from a different necklace.[620] The ouche matches the descriptions of three of those listed in her inventory, and it is therefore impossible to pinpoint it further.[621] However, it is almost certainly the same ouche described in Katherine Howard's inventory as 'oone other Ooche of Golde wherin is averey feir large ruby and a rounde diamond with a verey feir peerle hangyng at the same'.[622] This signifies the importance that details such as the size, shape and cut of a gemstone have in identifying specific jewels.

Figure 24: William Scrots
Katherine Parr
Late sixteenth century
Oil on panel
National Portrait Gallery

One of the diamond rings Kateryn wears seems to match one in the Master John portrait, although it is worn on a different finger.[623] Kateryn is also shown wearing two ruby rings, perhaps in an attempt to showcase more pieces from her collection. Her fashion consciousness is exuded in this image, in which the design of her costume is completely different from that of her previous portrait, and shows the style of clothing that other extant portraits reveal was popular in the 1540s. This could reflect Kateryn's desire to be seen as fashionable, characterised by her clothes and jewels. The detail with which her jewels have been painted provides a stark contrast to earlier paintings of queens. Not only are the more important pieces – the ouche and her necklace, beautifully painted, but so too are the aiglettes which adorn Kateryn's clothes (Figure 25). These are likely to be

[620] Scrots, 'Katherine Parr', NPG.
[621] Scrots, 'Katherine Parr', NPG.
[622] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 58v.
[623] Master John, 'Katherine Parr', NPG; Scrots, 'Katherine Parr', NPG.

those described in her inventory as 'square Aglettes golde enameled blacke whereof xiiij paire euery of them hauing a Dyamounde at thone ende and thother xiiij euery of them a Rubie at thone ende'.[624]

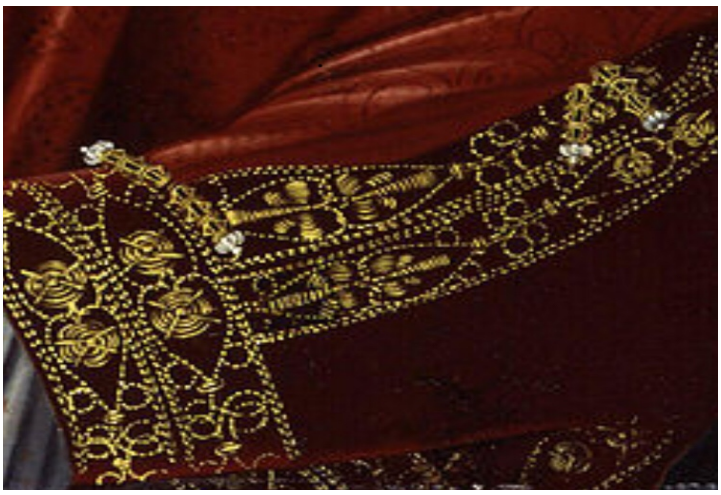

Figure 25: William Scrots
Detail from Katherine Parr
Late sixteenth century
Oil on panel
National Portrait Gallery

Of all of the queens during this period, it is from Kateryn that the message of magnificence and a consciousness of the need to impress emerge most clearly. James went as far as to describe Kateryn as 'an aggressive patron' of portraiture.[625] With a line of predominantly unsuccessful predecessors before her, this could convey Kateryn's desire to be remembered in a more positive light – particularly following her success as Regent in 1544. Moreover, as James has highlighted, with Henry VIII promoting Jane Seymour in his dynastic propaganda, Kateryn needed her own way of establishing herself as consort, and thus began building her own 'independent mask of royalty'.[626] Portraiture, coupled with Kateryn's triumphal regency and her close relationship with Prince Edward led her to hope that in the event of her husband dying whilst Edward was a minor, she would play a prominent role in his government.[627] As Woodacre argued, motherhood consolidated a queen's position not only in her lifetime but also that of the next reign, and though Kateryn was not Edward's biological mother she evidently hoped that this would be the case.[628] To her disappointment this never transpired, as she was not named to the regency council set up by her husband to govern for the young Edward VI.

It is through Kateryn's portraits that we learn the most about the choice of jewels selected for portraits. The extant jewel inventories of Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr discussed in chapter two reveal that the genres and quantities of jewels

[624] SoA, MS 129, f. 183v.
[625] James, *Feminine Dynamic*, p. 29.
[626] James, *Feminine Dynamic*, pp. 143-4.
[627] See James, *Catherine Parr*, pp. 256-7.
[628] Woodacre, 'Introduction', in Woodacre & Fleiner (eds), *Royal Mothers*, p. 1.

owned by queens were varied. Portraits do not, however, reflect all of the categories of jewels worn by queens, and this could in part be dictated by fashion. For example, pairs of bracelets appear in Kateryn Parr's inventory, but are not portrayed on any of the queens during this period, primarily because as previously observed, long sleeves rendered them redundant.[629] Portraits of queens should not, therefore, be taken as conclusive proof of all of the types of jewels that were worn, but when coupled with surviving documentary evidence they can be a useful way of visualising pieces that are described.

3.7 Miniatures

Miniatures first appeared at the French and English courts in the 1520s.[630] Unlike panel portraits, they generally served a more personal function as their portability allowed them to be carried around easily, or as Jones and Stallybrass related, actually 'turned the sitters into jewels'.[631] They were always treasured objects, and came into fashion with the court.[632] Contemporary miniatures of five of Henry VIII's queens survive, serving as evidence of the popularity of this genre of portraiture. It was with the Fleming Lucas Horenbout that the tradition of miniatures in England began, and he was commissioned by Henry VIII to complete several miniatures of the royal family.[633] These began with Catherine of Aragon, of whom two contemporary miniatures survive, probably painted from life.[634]

[629] SoA, MS 129, f. 183r-v.
[630] Bolland & Cooper, *Real Tudors,* p. 45.
[631] A.R. Jones & P. Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 41.
[632] R. Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520-1620* (London, 1983), p. 9; M. Howard, *The Tudor Image* (London, 1995), p. 65.
[633] G. Reynolds, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Miniatures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London, 1999), p. 13.
[634] Lucas Horenbout, 'Katherine of Aragon', c. 1525, NPG, NPG 4682; Horenbout, 'Katherine of Aragon', NPG L244.

The Latin inscription on the first miniature 'Katherine, his wife', shows that it was one of a pair, the other one representing Henry VIII (Figure 26).[635] Catherine can be seen wearing a border of pearls, gold and diamonds, whilst the remainder of her jewels clearly represent her piety. The brooch with the letters IHS – the first three letters of the name Jesus in Greek – and the necklace to which a tau cross is attached, could have been a deliberate choice by Catherine in order to convey her religious devotion. It is possible that the tau cross was the same as that which appears in miniatures of Jane Seymour and Kateryn Parr – it seems remarkably similar.[636] Although the crosses worn by the latter two queens show two fewer diamonds, they are otherwise identical in design and it has already been noted that it was not uncommon for jewels to be refashioned. Similarly, the same tau crosses worn by Jane Seymour and Kateryn Parr appear in both Kateryn and Katherine Howard's inventories.[637] If Catherine of Aragon had also owned the tau cross then it serves as further visual evidence that queens had access to the belongings of others, and there may be yet a further example of this. Although not identical, the IHS brooch worn by Catherine is similar to the one worn in Holbein's portrait of Jane Seymour.[638] Such designs retained their popularity until the seventeenth century, and chapter two suggested that Jane's brooch may have been given to her by her husband. However, Jane was known to be a great admirer of Catherine, in whose household she had once served.[639] If Jane's jewels had been

Figure 26: Lucas Horenbout
Katherine of Aragon
c. 1525
Watercolour on vellum
National Portrait Gallery

Figure 27: Lucas Horenbout
Katherine of Aragon
c. 1525-6
Watercolour on vellum
National Portrait Gallery

[635] Horenbout, 'Katherine of Aragon', NPG 4682; Lucas Horenbout, 'Henry VIII', c. 1525-6, RCT, RCIN 420010.
[636] Possibly Horenbout, 'Jane Seymour', Sudeley Castle; Teerlinc, 'Katherine Parr', Sudeley Castle.
[637] SoA, MS 129, f. 178v; BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 59r.
[638] Holbein, 'Jane Seymour', Kunsthistorisches Museum.
[639] Phillips, *Jewels and Jewellery*, p. 36.

deliberately chosen for their similarity, it could reflect a desire from Jane to emulate the pious example of queenship that had been set by her former mistress.

Figure 28: Lucas Horenbout
Queen Mary I
c. 1525
Watercolour on vellum
National Portrait Gallery

Painted at a similar time, Horenbout's second miniature of Catherine portrays her in less elaborate jewellery (Figure 27).[640] She wears a border of pearls around her hood and a necklace of pearls, and is dressed simply in black. This miniature could have been intended to provide a contrast to the brighter, more elaborate costume and jewellery that appear in the first image, for Catherine is more demure in appearance. Horenbout was popular with the royal family, for he not only painted Henry and Catherine, but also their daughter Mary (Figure 28).[641] In Mary's likeness she wears a brooch labelled 'The Emperor' in an indication of her engagement to Charles V, contracted in 1522. This demonstrates the way in which jewels were used in order to portray political alliances. Such a clear proclamation suggests that the miniature was intended to be seen: Mary's inclusion in Horenbout's family set could indicate that they were intended to serve a more personal function, and were perhaps suspended from jewellery. The cross pendant could be the same as that in Mary's inventory, described as a'Little Crosse wt iiij great Diamonds and oon great perle pendunte'.[642] Interestingly, her necklace and cross pendant are remarkably similar to those she wears in 'The Family of Henry VIII', implying that they held some importance to her.[643]

Figure 29: Possibly Lucas Horenbout
Jane Seymour
Sixteenth century
Watercolour on vellum
Sudeley Castle

The surviving miniature of Jane Seymour may have been a more personal piece (Figure 29).[644] This too could have been the work of Horenbout, but its

[640] Horenbout, 'Katherine of Aragon', NPG L244.
[641] Lucas Horenbout, 'Queen Mary I', c. 1525, NPG, NPG 6453.
[642] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 176.
[643] Unknown Artist, 'Family of Henry VIII', RCT.
[644] Possibly Horenbout, 'Jane Seymour', Sudeley Castle.

history is unclear and it is therefore impossible to clarify. The similarities between the tau crosses have been noted, but Jane also wears a jewelled necklace from which hangs a pendant. The pendant looks remarkably similar to the one worn by Jane in her magnificent Holbein portrait, and it is possible that this miniature was based on that larger piece.[645] What is certain is that in the same way as the majority of Jane's other portraits, this one too shows her wearing the trappings of a queen of England.

Unlike paintings, it was common for miniatures to be painted in watercolour on vellum and then placed on playing cards.[646] This is the case with a piece by Holbein now in the Royal Collection, believed to be Katherine Howard (Figure 30).[647] It has been suggested that Holbein learned this art from Clouet, who also painted miniatures.[648] This is by no means certain, but if true it demonstrates a further link between the two artists. The existence of a copy of the miniature thought to be Katherine in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch supports its identification, as there was clearly a demand for likenesses of the sitter.[649] As observed earlier in this chapter, portraiture of Katherine is controversial and therefore highlights the important role that jewellery can play in aiding the identification of portraits.[650] Other sitters have been suggested, but that the jewellery can be identified with items in Katherine's collection and that of her successor is strongly suggestive that it is indeed Katherine.[651] Moreover, as discussed previously some of the jewels also appear in portraits of Jane Seymour and Kateryn Parr. It is however, important to note that it was not until the eighteenth century that Katherine was first

Figure 30: Hans Holbein
Portrait of a Lady, perhaps Katherine Howard
c. 1540
Watercolour on vellum
Royal Collection Trust

[645] Holbein, 'Jane Seymour', Kunsthistorisches Museum.
[646] Reynolds, *Miniatures*, p. 50.
[647] Holbein, 'Portrait of a Lady, perhaps Katherine Howard', RCT.
[648] Mellen, *Clouet*, p. 42.
[649] Reynolds, *Miniatures*, p. 51.
[650] See Russell, *Young and Damned*, pp. 383-91.
[651] Reynolds, *Miniatures*, p. 52.

suggested as the sitter.[652] It has been proposed that this miniature was painted during her first winter as queen, and the richness of the clothes, including the fur sleeves, support an identification of Katherine. [653] Similarly, the sitter is richly bedecked in jewels that were fitting for a queen, and can be supported by documentary evidence in the form of Katherine's inventory. The splendid ouche that was owned by Jane Seymour for example, is listed, whilst several items in Katherine's inventory match the habillement that adorns her French hood.[654]

Kateryn Parr had a fondness for miniatures, and in 1547 her fourth husband, Sir Thomas Seymour, wrote to her requesting 'one of your small pictures if ye have any left'.[655] It is possible that Kateryn was at least partly responsible for the patronage of the female miniaturist Levina Teerlinc, who enjoyed the support of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. [656] Teerlinc's work is characterised by the small arms of the sitters, and this is apparent in her surviving miniature of Kateryn (Figure 31).[657] According to the miniature, the sitter's age at the time of painting was thirty-two, which dates it to around 1544.[658] This is in keeping with the dates of several of Kateryn's portraits, thus her regency could had prompted a flurry a portraits to mark the height of her reign. The surviving accounts for this period in her life however, do not bear this out, suggesting that payments were either made by the King or in accounts of Kateryn's that have not survived.[659] This example shows Kateryn dressed sumptuously with splendid jewels. Jane Seymour owned the tau cross, and there is a rich brooch pinned to her dress. Unfortunately however, it is impossible to tell whether it matches any of those in Kateryn's inventory.

Figure 31: Levina Teerlinc
Katherine Parr
c. 1544-5
Watercolour on vellum
Sudeley Castle

[652] J. Roberts (ed.), *Treasures: The Royal Collection* (London, 2008), p. 61.
[653] Denny, *Katherine Howard*, p. 175.
[654] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 58v, 55r-v.
[655] *CSPD,* i, no. 27.
[656] K. Coombs, *The Portrait Miniature in England* (London, 1995), p. 15.
[657] Teerlinc, 'Katherine Parr', Sudeley Castle.
[658] Teerlinc, 'Katherine Parr', Sudeley Castle.
[659] E 315/161; E 101/425/15; E 101/423/15.

That Kateryn was active in ordering miniatures is clear, as her 1547 accounts reveal two items relating to portraiture: 'Item to Lucas wife for makynge of the Quenes pykture and the Kynges'.[660] Second 'to Hewe Hawarde for drawinge of the Kynges pyktures and the Quenes by the Quenes comaundement accordinge to Mr Secretoryes lettre'.[661] Both of these images seem to have been miniatures, and though they were paid for in 1547 after the King's death, they were almost certainly commissioned and received during his lifetime. Further evidence of Kateryn commissioning portrait cameos will be discussed in chapter six, but these two examples provide the only direct documentary evidence we have for the patronage of queens and artists during this period. That Kateryn was ordering such items shows not only her great interest in art, but also a determination to circulate her image as far as possible.

3.8 Tomb Effigies

Walter Ullmann stated that a dead queen became a 'blank canvas on which to create an official image', and this is certainly true of Elizabeth of York.[662] She is the only queen in this period for who a contemporary tomb effigy survives. With the exception of Kateryn Parr, she was the only queen for whom one was ever created. This is partly reflective of the circumstances in which the queens died: for example, as fallen queens found guilty of treason Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard were not deemed worthy of a tomb, while Margaret of Anjou died in poverty in France. In other instances like those of Anne Neville and Jane Seymour, it may have been the intention of their husbands to

Figure 32: Unknown Maker
Elizabeth of York's funeral effigy
1503
Wood
Westminster Abbey

[660] E 315/340, f. 23v.
[661] E 315/340, f. 30r.
[662] W. Ullmann (ed.), *Liber Regie Capelle* (London, 1961), p. 333.

raise monuments to them at a later time.[663] Henry VIII certainly put plans in place for his own tomb, though at that time they included Catherine of Aragon.[664] Although Anna of Cleves was given the privilege of being buried in Westminster Abbey where her tomb still survives, as a table-top design it never featured a likeness of her. Elsewhere, Kateryn Parr's original tomb was destroyed during the English Civil War, and was later replaced with an effigy designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott.[665] It therefore provides no evidence as to the way in which Kateryn was depicted after her death. By contrast, not only does Elizabeth of York's tomb effigy survive, but so too does the head of her funeral effigy (Figure 32). This could have been based on a death mask, in which case it serves as reliable evidence that her surviving portraits do provide a relatively accurate likeness of the queen. The effigy was used in Elizabeth's funeral procession in 1503, but sadly the rest of the body was destroyed in 1941.[666] Nevertheless, an account of Elizabeth's funeral relates that it was once adorned with a crown, sceptre and 'her fyngers well garneshed with rynge of gold and presyous stones'.[667] This would have served as a visual reminder of the magnificence of the queen even in death, for Laynesmith asserted that Elizabeth's funeral was a 'huge celebration of the wealth and prestige of Tudor kingship'.[668] This is supported by the entry in Henry VII's Chamber Books which notes the payment of £2832 7s. 3d. 'for thentirment of the Quenes grace', as well as other payments for her funeral expenses.[669]

The double tomb in Westminster Abbey that Elizabeth shares with her husband, Henry VII, further supports this image. Sculpted by the Florentine Pietro Torrigiano in the Italian Renaissance style, the tomb was completed by 1518 (Figure 33).[670] When studying the tomb, it is evident that its intention was to highlight Elizabeth's importance as joint founder of the Tudor dynasty.[671] As such, although the effigy did once feature her crown,

[663] See Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 122
[664] C.M. Sicca, 'Pawns of international finance and politics: Florentine sculptors at the court of Henry VIII', *Renaissance Studies*, 20 (2006), pp. 1-34; G. Gentilini & T. Mozzatti, '"142 Life-size Figures … with the King on Horseback": Baccio Bandinelli's Mausoleum for Henry VIII', in C.M. Sicca & L.A. Waldman (eds), *The Anglo-Florentine Renaissance: Art for the Early Tudors* (New Haven, 2012), p. 214.
[665] Porter, *Katherine the Queen*, p. 343.
[666] Litten, 'The Funeral Effigy', p. 6.
[667] College of Arms, MS I.ii, f. 27r-32r.
[668] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 127.
[669] BL, Add MS 7099, f. 82; BL, Add MS 59899, f. 15r.
[670] Phipps Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiani', pp. 49-51.
[671] Howarth, *Images of Rule*, p. 156.

the emphasis is not on jewels.[672] It is therefore unsurprising that none are included, and instead Elizabeth and her husband are shown with their hands raised in prayer.

Figure 33: Pietro Torrigiano
Tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York
1512-19
Gilt bronze
Westminster Abbey

3.9 Conclusion

The surviving examples of portraits of queens – for some of which there are multiple versions – demonstrate a demand for portraits of the royal family that continued even after the death of the sitter, as the examples of Elizabeth of York and Jane Seymour reveal. The examples of the jewels queens wore in their portraits show how these items could be used to convey any message a queen chose, as well as enhancing her image. This would later become more apparent when Elizabeth I chose pearls in order to accentuate her image of virginity.[673] However, when studying the queens of this period it is clear that they too wanted to convey their own messages. There is more evidence for this in the case of Henry VIII's wives, due to the advances in portraiture that allowed queens to be painted as individuals and in greater detail. For Catherine of Aragon and in some respects Jane Seymour too, the prominent message was that of piety – a crucial element of

[672] F. Sandford, *A Genealogical history of the kings and queens of England, and monarchs of Great Britain, &c. from the conquest, anno 1066, to the year 1677* (London, 1677), no page number.
[673] See Howey, 'Dressing a Virgin Queen', p. 203.

medieval queenship – whilst for Anne Boleyn it was a sense of pride in her individual and familial identity. Finally, Kateryn Parr was eager to identify herself with the royal family into which she was married, and the magnificence of the queen's jewellery collection provided a tangible way for her to do so.

This chapter has shown that when combined with documentary evidence, portraits provide a powerful historical source when studying the jewellery of the queens of England during this period, as well as the queens themselves. They not only allow us to track pieces, thereby making connections between individual queens, but provide visual evidence of the trends and the way in which queens wore jewels. They are a crucial source that allows us to witness first hand the ways in which queens chose to style themselves. For not only did jewels serve to highlight and accentuate a queen's status, they were also a visible sign of her wealth and magnificence, and ultimately her character. As such, they were a fundamental part of her identity as a consort.

Chapter Four: The Crown Jewels

4.1 Introduction

'Splendour was a royal obligation' as Philippa Glanville observed, something that the very existence of the Crown Jewels clearly demonstrates.[674] By right of their rank, all ten queens in this period theoretically had access to, and were permitted to use these jewels. However, the evidence discussed in this chapter suggests that it is unlikely that the latter four wives of Henry VIII ever used them. Nevertheless, the Crown Jewels were the principal jewels in royal ownership, not only for their monetary value, but also in terms of their historical significance. This chapter will establish the contextual significance of Crown Jewels, drawing on examples from other European countries as a point of contrast to highlight their importance as a distinctive collection that played a unique role among the jewellery collections of queens. In order to do this, the specific pieces and regalia used by queens will be discussed, together with the role that they played in coronations and ceremonial occasions. It will therefore demonstrate the way in which the Crown Jewels were unique in aiding queens with the projection of majesty and asserting their divine right to reign alongside their husbands.

As the only jewels that were intended and reserved solely for the use of a king and his consort, the Crown Jewels were a unique entity. Their very creation was specifically in order to indicate rank, and this reinforces their importance.[675] Similarly, although they were functional as well as decorative, they served a completely different purpose to other jewels, and had a political role to play in the symbolism of monarchy. They were 'symbols of [monarchs'] worldly authority and the divine power bestowed on them'.[676] As a collection of jewels that were inherited by a monarch upon their accession and passed on to their successors, the Crown Jewels did not form a part of the monarch's or a consort's personal collection. They were instead pieces that were owned by the state and reserved for their use, primarily on ceremonial occasions.

[674] Glanville, *Silver*, p. 19.
[675] Tait (ed.), *7000 Years*, p. 20.
[676] Chadour-Sampson & Bari, *Pearls*, p. 49.

Crown jewels in some form have been an integral part of societies for many centuries, the evidence for which stems from surviving crowns that date from the Iron Age.[677] These examples show a longstanding association with figures of authority, one that continues to this day. The Romans and Saxons also used crowns as a way of identifying their rulers, and it was the Saxons who developed this idea.[678] Collections of royal regalia came into being, and their inclusion in the coronation ceremony that was firmly established in the seventh and eighth centuries became a crucial part of this process.[679] It was the view of Prince Michael of Greece, however, that 'Charlemagne's coronation can be called the ancestor of all European coronations', and Charlemagne was a ruler that successive French kings were eager to be associated with.[680] The ways in which they used their Crown Jewels as a way of doing this will be examined later in this chapter. By contrast to the examples set in England and France, in Sweden the first known king to be crowned was Erik Knuttson in the thirteenth century, and the concept of regalia did not appear until three centuries later.[681] This example serves to convey the differing traditions and importance placed on ceremonial by other European countries. In England though, by the Norman period the idea of regalia defined by Anna Keay as 'precious metal or jewelled objects borne by and identifying a king', was a recognised concept, but they had yet to gain the symbolic value that would later become attached to them.[682] Keay's work provides a thorough history of the English Crown Jewels, placing the concept of 'crown jewels' effectively into context and assessing their relationship with the monarchy. As she related, the symbolic value that attached itself to the Crown Jewels came in the century following the Normans, when the monks of Westminster Abbey claimed that Edward the Confessor had left his collection of jewels in their safekeeping to be used at the coronation of every future English monarch.[683] There is no evidence to suggest that this tale was true, but as Edward was greatly revered as a saint the story gathered momentum. As a result, by the time of Henry III's coronation in 1220 his crown was believed to have been used by Edward, and 'The concept of a hereditary collection of regalia had come into being'.[684] An inventory of Henry's regalia, however, reveals that his crown was referred to as 'A golden crown

[677] A. Keay, *The Crown Jewels: The Official Illustrated History* (London, 2012), p. 9.
[678] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 10.
[679] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 12.
[680] M. Prince of Greece, *Crown Jewels* (New York, 1983), p. 8.
[681] U. Landergren (ed.), *The Treasury: The Regalia and Treasures of the Realm* (Stockholm, 2009), p. 3.
[682] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 15.
[683] Keay, *Crown Jewels,* p. 17.
[684] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 17.

entirely adorned with divers stones', and it was not until 1450 that any of the royal jewels were described in inventories as 'Relics of the Holy Confessor'.[685] From that time on, the crown used at the coronation of kings was called St Edward's Crown, even though it is unlikely to have originated with the Saxon king.

English kings were not alone in their desire to associate themselves with antiquity. When Ivan the Terrible had himself crowned first Tsar of Russia in 1547, his claim that his crown dated from the tenth century was an attempt to reinforce his legitimacy.[686] Such an action accentuates the importance that was attached to the role that jewels played in enforcing majesty, and Ivan was not the only monarch to recognise this. In Scotland James V claimed that Robert the Bruce had worn his crown, in spite of the fact that it had been commissioned on James's orders.[687] The need to associate themselves with powerful monarchs from the past reveals a desire from rulers to enhance their own greatness, and jewels provided the perfect tangible tool for them to do so.

As a concept, Clare Phillips suggested that Crown Jewels as a separate entity from a monarch's personal collection derived from the French King François I.[688] Phillips' made a valuable contribution to historical scholarship on jewellery, providing a contextual overview from antiquity to the modern day. Her justification for such a claim is that in 1530 François I had declared eight pieces to be heirlooms of the French kings, and other monarchs quickly followed suit.[689] Although this was the case in France, in England the idea of a separate set of regalia for use at coronations had long been established, thereby contradicting Phillips' argument.

In the same manner as a monarch's personal jewel collection, the Crown Jewels were not so simply defined. They fell into two sub-categories: regalia used solely at the coronation of a monarch, which in England became known as St Edward's regalia during the reign of Henry III, and state regalia that could be worn for other ceremonial occasions that will be addressed later in this chapter.[690] Collectively these two sub-categories formed the Crown Jewels. The majority of contemporary sources primarily relate to the coronation regalia,

[685] L.G. Wickham Legg (ed.), *English Coronation Records* (Oxford, 1901), p. 191.
[686] Prince of Greece, *Crown Jewels*, p. 12.
[687] Prince of Greece, *Crown Jewels*, p. 80.
[688] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 78.
[689] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 78.
[690] See R. Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London, 2005), pp. 77-78.

and thus it is these pieces that will be predominantly discussed in the regalia section of this chapter. This will therefore signify the role that they played in conveying a queen's resplendence, and establishing her as a legitimate consort.

4.2 Context and Significance of the Crown Jewels

The physical appearance of the Crown Jewels that were used for coronations generally did not reflect the personal tastes of individual kings and their consorts, although this did not prevent monarchs from attempting to put their own stamp on the collection. The evidence for this comes in the addition and transition of numerous pieces to the collection over the centuries. Henry III's inventory lists twenty-two items, not all of which are pieces of regalia. 'One pair of new sandals and stockings of red samite with an orphrey' are listed, and similar items are also found in Edward III's inventory of regalia.[691] The sandals of red samite are worthy of comment, for it is possible that this stemmed from the tradition of imperial Roman regalia, whereby red boots were worn in a symbol of divine majesty.[692] Though only one crown is listed in Henry III's inventory, there were four in Edward III's collection.[693] By the reign of Henry VIII though, few of these earlier medieval pieces remained, having been replaced by various others. This was partially influenced by the lessening emphasis that was placed on the magical and mysterious ways of the monarchy that came with the Renaissance. This resulted in objects 'of a purely precious nature' being introduced to the Crown Jewel collection, such as the 'pece of an Vnicornes horne' that was found in Henry VIII's hoard.[694] Some of the new jewels did, however, serve a greater purpose. For example, either Henry VII or Henry VIII probably commissioned the Tudor State Crown that first appears in a 1521 inventory and which became the most important object in the Tudor collection.[695] Its importance is emphasised by the detail in which it is described, coupled with its appearance in many contemporary portraits.[696] It was not worn for coronations, but instead for state occasions such as the opening of Parliament. It was such an influential piece that it was believed to

[691] Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, pp. 55-6, 80.
[692] P. Longworth, 'Legitimacy and Myth in Central and Eastern Europe', in S.J. Kirschbaum (ed.), *Historical Reflections on Central Europe: Selected Papers from the Fifth World Congress of Central and East European Studies* (Basingstoke, 1999), p. 6.
[693] Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, pp. 55-6, 80.
[694] Prince of Greece, *Crown Jewels*, p. 16; SoA, MS 129, f. 7v.
[695] The original manuscript inventory is unavailable, but a transcript of it is printed in E. Trollope (ed.), 'King Henry VIII's jewel book', *Associated Architectural Societies*, 17 (1883-4), p. 160.
[696] SoA, MS 129, f. 7r; D. Mytens, 'King Charles I', 1631, NPG, NPG 1246.

be the inspiration for the crown that was made for Eric XIV of Sweden in the mid-sixteenth century.[697] This shows what an impact jewellery design could have on other European rulers, who were eager to emulate the splendour of their contemporaries.

Separate sets of coronation regalia and state regalia were made for the use of the king and queen, but it is unclear precisely when this came into being. It was not until 1450 during the reign of Henry VI that three pieces of regalia were specifically listed as being for the queen's use: 'for the coronation of the queen, a crown and two rods'.[698] These pieces may have been made especially for Margaret of Anjou, as there is evidence that will be discussed in the regalia section of this chapter that jewels were commissioned for her coronation. All that can be said with certainty is that they were added to the collection at some point between the reigns of Edward III and Henry VI. Certainly, following 1450 additional pieces of regalia were commissioned for the use of the queen's coronation. This development of the queen's regalia indicates the increasing prominence of the role that queens were expected to play, and the significance of her power. In his 1960 study of European crown jewels, Lord Twining explored the nature of the queens' use of the crown jewels in a European context, and his work supported Stafford's argument that queens were an important part of the spectacle of royalty.[699]

Unless alterations or repairs were required, the Crown Jewels rarely fell victim to the rapidly changing fashions of the time. Surviving contemporary descriptions suggest that much of the regalia used at the coronations of kings and queens between 1445-1533 was the same, demonstrating a powerful link with monarchical predecessors that kings and queens wished to uphold. This was something that, unlike other jewels, evidently took precedence over contemporary fashions, and enforces the power of tradition. Once again, it emphasises the value that was placed on antiquity, and the way in which objects that had been used by a monarch's predecessor served to underline legitimacy. Abroad, the Imperial Crown of the Holy Roman Empire was used in a similar way. Though it was claimed to have associations with Charlemagne, it was almost certainly made for the coronation of Otto the Great in 962, and retained its use in coronation ceremonies until

[697] Landergren (ed.), *Treasury*, p. 13.
[698] Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 192.
[699] Lord Twining, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe* (London, 1960); P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, *Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1983), p. 108.

the nineteenth century.[700] Although not used by Charlemagne, the age of the crown still conveys the value that successive monarchs placed on it.

Aside from their political significance monarchs did recognise the monetary value of the Crown Jewels, and as such they provided a useful tool for pawning. Evidence for this appears in Edward III's inventory, where it was noted that 'the great crown of the king which was lately pledged in the parts of Flanders'.[701] This crown was, though, apparently 'worth nothing'.[702] Pawning was a trend that was adopted elsewhere in Europe, as Christian IV of Denmark was also forced to pawn his crown in the 1640s.[703] As time progressed, in England the Crown Jewels continued to provide a valuable source of income: in the seventeenth century Henrietta Maria was forced to sell them in order to raise funds to support her husband's forces against the Parliamentarian rebels.[704] Using the jewels in such a way signifies that in times of financial crisis, the historical importance of the Crown Jewels did not outweigh their ability to resolve economic problems.

Though the Crown Jewels have been acknowledged as the most important items in the royal collection for centuries, it is the crown that has been viewed as the ultimate symbol of monarchy and remains so to this day. Though it was not common practice for queens to wear crowns and state regalia regularly, in symbolic terms the crown held great significance for them. In all of her surviving likenesses Margaret of Anjou is depicted wearing a crown: the Milanese sculptor Pietro da Milano struck her image on a medal that is likely to have been cast in 1462 – the earliest likeness of an English queen wearing an imperial crown – which conveys its importance in the eyes of her contemporaries (Figure 34). [705] The reason for the medal's creation is unclear, but Milano's patron was Margaret's father, René of Anjou,

Figure 34: Pietro Da Milano
Marguerite d'Anjou
Fifteenth century
Gilt bronze
Victoria and Albert Museum

[700] Prince of Greece, *Crown Jewels,* p. 26; E. Morgan, '"Lapis Orphanus" in the Imperial Crown', *Modern Language Review*, 58 (1963), pp. 210-14.
[701] Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 80.
[702] Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 80.
[703] Twining, *Crown Jewels of Europe*, p. 89; Prince of Greece, *Crown Jewels*, p. 92.
[704] See Strong, 'Three Royal Jewels', pp. 350-3.
[705] Pietro Da Milano, 'Marguerite d'Anjou', fifteenth century, Milan, gilt bronze, Victoria & Albert Museum (A. 182-1910); F. Hepburn, 'The Queen in Exile: Representing Margaret of Anjou in Art

so it is possible that it was made at his request.[706] During the Renaissance an interest in the Roman period led to a revival of the medallic portrait bust, and although arguably René slightly predates this it is plausible that it was from here that his interest stemmed.[707] Henry V had only recently introduced the trend for imperial, or closed crowns, and this is in keeping with Strong's argument that fifteenth century English preoccupations with the imperial crown were probably connected with England's claims to France.[708] Nevertheless, this trend was repeated throughout Europe. Frederick Hepburn argued that Margaret's depiction with an imperial crown would have automatically identified her to her contemporaries as queen.[709] He continued to assert that 'The imperial crown was, at its most basic level, the supreme symbol of sovereign authority over the inhabitants of the realm of England'.[710] This makes Margaret's image all the more significant, for though she wore her crown by right of her husband, on the medal she is shown facing left in the manner of a male sitter. Hepburn contended that this confirms the view that she was being presented not as Henry's consort, but as a more powerful ruler in her own right.[711] As the medal is likely to have been cast when Margaret was attempting to assert her authority in light of her husband's illness, it is certainly plausible that this was the case and that the medal provided a means of doing this.[712]

The association of the crown with immortality made it all the more significant. Smith however, suggested that for queens the crown represented virginity rather than authority.[713] Although in reality not all of the queens in this period were virgins at the time of their coronations – notably Anne Boleyn, who was six months pregnant – it is a valid point. That Elizabeth Wydeville was not a virgin at the time of her marriage drew disapproving comment from a foreign chronicler, who remarked that 'Although the coronation in England demands that a king should marry a virgin whoever she may be, legitimately born and not a widow, yet the king took this one against the will of all his

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and Literature', in L. Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century: XI, Concerns and Preoccupations* (Croydon, 2012), pp. 61-90.

[706] Hepburn, 'Queen in Exile', p. 62.

[707] Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels*, p. 36.

[708] Strong, *Coronation*, p. 122; See D. Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial', in D. Hoak (ed.), *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 54-103.

[709] Hepburn, 'Queen in Exile', p. 68.

[710] Hepburn, 'Queen in Exile', p. 69.

[711] Hepburn, 'Queen in Exile', p. 70.

[712] See Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 205.

[713] Smith, 'Queen-Making', p. 213.

lords'.[714] The point was that all queens needed to be seen to emulate virgins, and adorned themselves in such a way as to support this view. For example, during Margaret of Anjou's coronation procession she wore 'white damask poudred with gold', in a symbolic gesture of virginity that was adopted by the other queens in this period.[715] The way in which their jewels aided this representation will be analysed later in this chapter, but it was of the utmost importance that 'The public body of the queen at her coronation was virginal whatever the physical individual truth might be'.[716]

The association with virginity reflected a desire from queens to identify themselves with the Virgin Mary, and they were able to do this through their jewels.[717] This can be seen in surviving likenesses of Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Wydeville, Anne Neville and Elizabeth of York, in which all four queens wear crowns. An imperial crown, like that worn by Margaret of Anjou in her medal portrait, also appears in an image of Elizabeth of York in the St George's altarpiece in the Royal Collection discussed in chapter three.[718] As Weir has suggested, it bears great similarities to the crown that Anne Neville wears in the Rous Roll.[719] If this was indeed the case then it confirms the importance that this particular crown held in the queen's collection of Crown Jewels, and presumably Elizabeth Wydeville would also have had access to it. That images of Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Wydeville, Anne Neville and Elizabeth of York all feature crowns can be partially explained by the association of the Virgin Mary as the Queen of Heaven, an image that medieval queens were keen to emulate as it added to the notion of queenly authority.[720] Marian devotion was a key aspect of late medieval piety, providing a further explanation for the connection. The association of Mary with queenship stemmed from her use of the crown of twelve stars, and the influence that she had on queens and their appearance during this period can be seen across many spheres.[721] For example, although many of the queens were not virgins at the time of their coronations, this did not prevent them from

[714] Cited in L. Visser-Fuchs, 'English Events in Caspar Weinreich's Danzig Chronicle, 1461-1495', *The Ricardian*, 7 (1986), p. 31.
[715] F.W.D. Brie (ed.), *The Brut; or, The Chronicles of England*, EETS, orig. ser., 131, 136 (1906-08), ii, p. 489.
[716] J. L. Chamberlayne, 'Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking during the Wars of the Roses', in K.J. Lewis, N.J. Menuge & K.M. Phillips (eds), *Young Medieval Women* (Stroud, 1999), p. 60.
[717] Chamberlayne, 'Crowns and Virgins', pp. 47-68.
[718] Flemish School, 'Family of Henry VII', RCT.
[719] Weir, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 257; Unknown Artist, 'Rous Roll', BL, Add MS 48976, f. 7cr.
[720] Chaudor-Sampson & Bari, *Pearls*, p. 54; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 256.
[721] Chamberlayne, 'Crowns and Virgins', p. 57.

Figure 35: Unknown Artist
The Prayer Roll of Margaret of Anjou
c. 1445-55
Manuscript
Bodleian Library, Jesus College, Oxford

attempting to emulate Mary's example by wearing their hair loose in a token gesture. This is confirmed in two contemporary images of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville. That of Margaret of Anjou appears in a prayer roll in the Bodleian Library, dating from between 1445-55 (Figure 35).[722] Adorned in regalia, Margaret is portrayed in a blue robe with a red cloak representative of the Virgin Mary, and as Sonja Drimmer related, the text shows that Margaret was either seeking the Virgin's aid or was praising her.[723] Drimmer asserted that 'Queenship is figured here as a conventionally Marian enterprise', and the same is true of the image of Margaret's successor.[724]

Figure 36: Unknown Artist
Elizabeth Wydeville
c. 1470
Manuscript
Worshipful Company of Skinners' Fraternity, Guildhall Library

Elizabeth Wydeville's likeness was produced in the 1470s to mark her membership of the Skinners of London, and like Margaret's image, she is shown dressed as the Virgin Mary wearing blue and red robes (Figure 36).[725] The blue cloak in particular conveys the idea of Mary being the Mother of Mercy, and this is confirmed in the legend on the image which refers to 'oure blissed Lady and Moder of Mercy'.[726] The inclusion of a crown, orb and sceptre is significant, for though by this period it had become usual

[722] Unknown Artist, 'Margaret of Anjou', Bodleian Library.
[723] Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter', p. 113.
[724] Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter', p. 95.
[725] Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth Wydeville', Worshipful Company of Skinners' Fraternity. Reproduced in J.J. Lambert (ed.), *Records of the Skinners of London, Edward I to James I* (London, 1933), p. 82.
[726] Chamberlayne, 'Crowns and Virgins', p. 62; Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth Wydeville', Worshipful Company of Skinners' Fraternity.

for queens to be invested with a crown and sceptre, both of which also feature in the image of Margaret, they were not normally given the orb at their coronation – with the exception of Elizabeth of York, and later Karin Månsdotter, Swedish consort of Eric XIV.[727] Karin's humble origins make this depiction even more unusual. It was, nevertheless, not unusual for queens to be depicted carrying the orb, and it was intended to show that God had set the monarch as vice-regent over his great Christian kingdom.[728] As Laynesmith suggested, that queens were shown with the same regalia as Mary is indicative that there was 'a blurring of the understanding of their roles in popular perceptions'.[729]

By the time of Catherine of Aragon's reign representations of queens had begun to change, and neither she nor any other of Henry VIII's wives were visually portrayed wearing crowns.[730] The onset of the Reformation had an impact on traditional ideas, for Mary was no longer seen as an integral part of Tudor ideals of queenship. Luther and other religious reformers doubtless influenced this, seeking to 'downgrade Mary', and exploit the 'vessel' theory expressed by Emperor Constantine V in the eighth century, whereby Mary was viewed as 'no more than an empty purse' following Christ's birth.[731] Mary's degradation did not reduce the power of queens, though it did remove a means of advertising their authority by linking them to Mary. The Reformation also ensured that the mysticisms of the church that had been associated with monarchy were no longer so closely adhered to. Equally, the decreasing frequency with which queens were expected to wear their crowns could also account for the lack of visual representations.[732] Ceremonial crown wearing days were not a regular feature in the Tudor regime, although they had been an integral part of medieval monarchy. They will therefore be addressed later in this chapter. This does not indicate a lessening of importance for the crown as a symbol, for images of Henry VIII with his crown survive.[733] Indeed, the crown was still identified as a crucial aspect of sixteenth century monarchy, evidence for which appears

[727] T. A. Heslop, 'The Virgin Mary's Regalia and Twelfth-Century English Seals', in A. Borg & A. Martindale (eds), *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hobler,* British Archaeological Reports, III (1981), pp. 53-6; Landergren (ed.), *Treasury*, p. 14.
[728] Landergren (ed.), *Treasury*, p. 12.
[729] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 33.
[730] For two of the best known portraits see Unknown Artist, 'Katherine of Aragon', early eighteenth century, NPG, NPG 163 & Unknown Artist, 'Anne Boleyn', late sixteenth century, based on a work of circa 1533-1536, NPG, NPG 668.
[731] D. MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London, 2003), pp. 186-7.
[732] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 51.
[733] Unknown Artist, 'Henry VIII Procession', 1512, BL, Add MS 22306.

in Elizabeth I's coronation portrait.[734] This was however, noteworthy because of the crown's symbolism emphasising Elizabeth's status as a queen regnant, by contrast to Henry VIII's wives who were all consorts.

4.3 Pieces and Regalia

Two vital sources provide information about the Crown Jewels during the Tudor period. The first is the 1547 inventory of Henry VIII's belongings, where, as the first items listed, the Crown Jewels value is highlighted.[735] Although no reference is made to their monetary worth, their significance is clear. Of the eighteen items listed in this category, fifteen are objects related to the king, accentuating his precedence over his female consort. For example, 'the Kinges Crowne of golde', refers to the crown commissioned by either Henry VII or Henry VIII, known as the Tudor State Crown.[736] Unlike St Edward's Crown the Tudor State Crown was not used for coronations, and was instead adopted by the king for ceremonial occasions, which will be addressed shortly. As will soon become clear however, the 1547 inventory did not contain all of the regalia that was adorned by monarchs and consorts for coronations, and several items were stored separately.

The symbolic importance of the crown was such that following the coronation ceremony of Catherine of Aragon in 1509, amongst the decorations at the Palace of Westminster was a fountain topped with 'a greate Croune Emperiall'.[737] This explains why crowns were constructed of the most expensive materials, and they were indeed the most important objects a goldsmith would ever have to make.[738] Likewise, crowns were the biggest items of expenditure on luxury objects within the royal family, and could be used as an expression of a monarch's personal tastes on occasion.[739] This is conveyed with the example of Ivan the Terrible, who ordered the creation of the Crown of Kazan in 1552. The design of the crown greatly resembles the Cathedral of St Basil, which had been built by Ivan in order to celebrate his military victories.[740] Such a design shows how Ivan was

[734] Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth I', c. 1600, NPG, NPG 5175.
[735] SoA, MS 129, f. 7r-8v.
[736] SoA, MS 129, f. 7r.
[737] E. Hall, *Chronicle*, ed. C. Whibley (London, 1904), p. 510.
[738] J. Cherry, *Medieval Goldsmiths* (London, 1992), p. 61.
[739] Hinton, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 6.
[740] Prince of Greece, *Crown Jewels*, p. 136.

able to express his strength through his regalia, a point that none of his subjects could have missed.

In England, St Edward's Crown was the most important crown in the collection in historical terms. It was an object that Keay described as 'the defining symbol of English kingship', that held a similar importance to queens.[741] It was unusual for a queen to be crowned with St Edward's Crown, as its use was reserved for crowning male monarchs. However, a contemporary observed that during the coronation of Anne Boleyn, 'the archbysshop set the crown of St Edward on her head'.[742] Alice Hunt believed that this was a deliberate choice, as the visual link with St Edward articulated Anne's lawful right to rule.[743] Laynesmith supported this view, asserting that the use of regalia in this way emphasised a positive difference between Anne and most other queens.[744] This was necessary in order to reinforce her exulted status, but there is no evidence that any of the other queens in this thesis were crowned with St Edward's Crown. This oxymoronic example also shows that queens were permitted to use the same regalia as kings when it was not in use, placing them on a level with their male superiors.

The counterpart made to match St Edward's Crown, and used by queens for the coronation ceremony was Queen Edith's Crown. Described in an inventory dating from 1649 as 'Silver gilt Enriched with Garnetts, foule pearle, Saphires and some old stones', it is likely to have been this crown that was used for the coronations of all of the queens in this period, with the exception of Anne Boleyn.[745] That it was made from silver gilt rather than gold in the same manner as St Edward's Crown was a reflection of the superiority of the king, underlining that his coronation held greater importance than that of his consort.[746] Despite its name and association with St Edward the Confessor's consort, Queen Edith's crown was almost certainly made in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and differed from the queen's crown described in the 1547 inventory.[747]

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[741] Prince of Greece, *Crown Jewels*, p. 136.
[742] BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 55v.
[743] A. Hunt, *Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008). p. 52.
[744] J. Laynesmith, 'Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual? The Queen's Coronation in England 1445-87', in T. Thornton (ed.), *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 2000), p. 61.
[745] SoA, MS 108, f. 17v.
[746] See SoA, MS 129, f. 7r-8v.
[747] C. Blair (ed.), *The Crown Jewels: the history of the coronation regalia in the jewel house of the Tower of London* (London, 1998), p. 265.

Only three items in the 1547 inventory were specifically linked to the queen, foremost of which was the state crown:

> Item the quenes Crowne of golde the border sett with vj Saphires nott all of one fynes twoo lesse Saphires vj ballaces nott fyne and viij small perles Item vj crosses of gold euerie crosse sett with a Saphire a ballace and iiij/perles nott greate Item vj flower de luces of gold euerie flower de luce sett with a ballace a Saphire and v small perles the Saphire and ballace nott fyne with a Dyamounte and A crosse of golde nott garnished with a Cappe in it of purple vellat with a roll in it weying togethers liij ounces.[748]

This crown varied from Queen Edith's Crown, and did not form a part of the regalia used for the coronation of a queen. In the same manner as the Tudor State Crown used by the king, its use was probably intended for other ceremonial occasions, and it could have been commissioned at the same time as its male counterpart. Alternatively, it could have been made for the coronation of Anne Boleyn, when a contemporary account recorded that after her anointing, 'the bysshop toke the crown of St Edward from her head; and put her upon the crown made for her'.[749] This is the only reference to a crown being made specifically for one of Henry VIII's queens, and there is no documentary evidence to suggest that any of the King's other wives ever wore it. If the report of the Milanese ambassador is to be believed, its creation is likely to have been influenced by the King's separation from Catherine of Aragon. Writing on 3 June 1533 just two days after Anne's coronation, the ambassador reported that Henry

Figure 37: Anthony van Dyck
Henrietta Maria
Before 1632
Oil on canvas
Royal Collection Trust

[748] SoA, MS 129, f. 7v-8r.
[749] BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 55v.

had previously given orders 'requiring the crown for the coronation of the new queen'.[750] When Master Sadocho, who had been charged with guarding the crown, refused to hand it over because of his previous oath to Catherine of Aragon, the ambassador claimed that the King was left with no choice but to have 'another crown made for the coronation of the new queen'.[751] Sadocho's identity is unknown, but this explains why a new crown was made, which may have been the same as that recorded in the 1547 inventory. The significance of the Queen's Crown in projecting the royal image can be seen by its inclusion in a seventeenth century portrait of Henrietta Maria, which provides the only surviving visual representation of this most crucial piece of queens' jewellery (Figure 37).[752] This serves not only as evidence of its appearance, but also shows that it had passed from queen to queen since at least the reign of Henry VIII – possibly even before.

Two further pieces reserved for the queen's use are mentioned in the 1547 inventory. Firstly, 'Item a Sceptre of gold with a dove on the knoppe for the Queene weying vj oz quarter'.[753] It is unclear precisely when this item was made, but descriptions of the coronations of Elizabeth Wydeville, Anne Neville and Elizabeth of York all refer to sceptres, and given its inclusion in images of Margaret of Anjou it is probable that both she and Catherine of Aragon also used them.[754] Similarly, a contemporary account made reference to Anne Boleyn being handed 'the Scepter of golde in her right hande, and the rodd of justice with the dove in her left hande'.[755] This second item is likely to be the same as that listed in the 1547 inventory. The sceptre also appears in a shorter inventory created in 1606, in which it is described as 'Item a small Scepter for the Queene with a Dove vpon the Top'.[756] Both the 1547 and the later, detailed 1649 inventory listed sceptres that were specifically allocated for the queen's use, and here there was an obvious reflection in the king's superiority. Whilst the king's sceptre was made of gold, the *Liber Regalis*, which set out the protocol for the crowning of a king and his consort, stated that a queen's sceptre should be made of gilt.[757] However, Elizabeth Wydeville is

[750] *CSPM*, I, pp. 557-8.
[751] *CSPM*, I, pp. 557-8.
[752] Anthony van Dyck, 'Henrietta Maria', 1632, RCT, RCIN 404430.
[753] SoA, MS 129, f. 7r-8v.
[754] Smith (ed.), *Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville*, p. 15; Sutton & Hammond (eds), *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 278; BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 18v.
[755] BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 55v.
[756] Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 243.
[757] Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records,* p. 123; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 105.

known to have used St Edward's staff, which was the same as that used by kings.[758] It is likely that St Edward's was the same sceptre as that used by Elizabeth of York, described as 'the scepter of gold in her right hand', and the one referred to in similar terms that was used by Anne Boleyn.[759] That Elizabeth Wydeville and Anne Boleyn were given permission to use this item is significant, and underlines how jewels played a crucial role in assisting with the reinforcement of a queen's status.[760]

The final item of queen's jewellery listed in the 1547 inventory was 'a Serclett of gold for the quene sett with a faier Emerade foure faier Saphires foure rooses of Dyamountes foure ballaces all sett in Rooses and xiiij perles like of one sorte weying with the Silke xviij oz di'.[761] This circlet was the same as that worn by Catherine of Aragon in her coronation procession, described as 'a gold circlet, newe made for her, set with an emerald, sapphires, rubies, diamonds and pearls'.[762] From this description we can ascertain that the circlet dated only from the reign of Catherine of Aragon. It was probably the same circlet that a contemporary observer of Catherine's coronation saw when relating that the Queen wore 'on her hedde a Coronall, set with many riche orient stones'.[763] Its inclusion amongst the Crown Jewels suggests that Anne Boleyn also used it, for in her coronation she was seen to have been wearing a 'circlet as she had the Saturday', described simply as 'a Circlet of golde, garnished with precious stones'.[764] Catherine's circlet later disappeared into the collection of Lord Protector Somerset in 1550, and from there its fate is unknown.[765]

With the abolition of the monarchy in 1649, so too vanished the importance attached to the Crown Jewels. It was because of their association with the monarchy that they were 'totallie Broken and defaced', in a visible attempt to destroy all objects affiliated with royal authority.[766] As a result a collection that was hundreds of years old was destroyed, for as Claude Blair related, by 1650 'both the venerable Regalia of St Edward and the rich crowns and ensigns of Tudor and Stuart monarchy, symbols of a very different absolutism

[758] Smith (ed.), *Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville*, p. 15.
[759] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 803; BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 55v.
[760] See Laynesmith, 'Fertility Rite', p. 61.
[761] SoA, MS 129, f. 7r-8v.
[762] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 803.
[763] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 508.
[764] BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 55r; BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 58v.
[765] J. Loach, 'The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Past and Present,* 142 (1994), pp. 43-68.
[766] See Strong, *Lost Treasures*, pp. 118-125; SoA, MS 108, f. 16v.

from that of the eleventh century, were no more'.[767] Their historical value was of little importance to the Parliamentarians, but the government did at least recognise their monetary value. It was for this reason that a further inventory of the Crown Jewels was compiled, in order to establish their worth before they were destroyed.[768] The 1649 inventory reveals that few of the Crown Jewels listed in the 1547 inventory had undergone any significant changes.[769] However, the monetary values placed on each item did not reflect their historical or symbolic significance. They do nevertheless prove that the king's regalia was considered to be more valuable than the queen's: whilst the Tudor State Crown was valued at £1,100, at £338 the queen's was believed to be worth about a third as much.[770] This is partially because the king's crown contained more stones and was heavier, another clear indication of status. By contrast, the iconic St Edward's Crown was valued at £248, whilst 'Queene Ediths Crowne formerly thought to be of Massy gould but vpon triall found to be of Siluer gilt' was believed to be worth just £16.[771] Jennifer Loach, whose work about the court of Henry VIII provides an excellent starting point for understanding the ceremonial aspects of display during this period, argued that so few people had seen St Edward's Crown at close range prior to its destruction that its appearance remains a mystery.[772] Certainly there are few contemporary descriptions of it, and no images. Neither St Edward's nor Queen Edith's crowns appeared in the 1547 inventory, and the reason for this seems to have been because they were held in storage at Westminster Abbey, as discussed in chapter five, rather than being a part of the main ceremonial collection in the custody of the monarch.

The destruction of the Crown Jewels means that we no longer have the majority of the physical objects to use as sources for this period – all that survives is the medieval Coronation Spoon.[773] When the present collection was remade in 1660 in preparation for the coronation of Charles II, it was largely modelled on the appearance of the old collection, confirming that fashions were not a decisive factor in their composition.[774] More important was the association with dynastic continuity at a time when the monarchy had only recently been re-established. For the most part though, we are

[767] Blair (ed.), *Crown Jewels,* p. 346.
[768] SoA, MS 108, f. 4r-19r.
[769] SoA, MS 108, f. 4r-19r.
[770] SoA, MS 108, f. 14r-v.
[771] SoA, MS 108, f. 17v.
[772] Loach, 'Function of Ceremonial', p. 68.
[773] See Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 20.
[774] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 20.

primarily reliant on the surviving inventories, contemporary descriptions and images, which provide a relatively complete picture of the collection as it once was.

4.4 Coronations and Royal Ceremonial

Surviving accounts of the coronations of queens during this period support Strong's assertion that 'a coronation had become the greatest festivity of any reign'.[775] The first full account of an English queen's coronation is that of Eleanor of Provence in 1236, and surviving contemporary accounts reveal that as time progressed so too did the level of ceremony.[776] Earenfight argued that whilst a king's coronation legitimated his right to rule, 'a queen consort's coronation legitimised only their union and the offspring of the marriage'.[777] There are numerous examples during this period that contradict this line of thought. When Elizabeth of York gave birth to her first child in September 1486 her coronation had not taken place, yet the legitimacy of her son was beyond question.[778] Similarly, though Jane Seymour had not been crowned when her son was born in October 1537, both his legitimacy and the validity of Jane's marriage were undoubted.[779] Additionally, neither Anna of Cleves, Katherine Howard or Kateryn Parr were crowned, yet nobody questioned their right to rule as consorts. It is clear then, that the coronation of a queen was something more, and unrelated to her marriage.

The coronation was an important confirmation of royal authority, and the Crown Jewels formed an integral part of that process. A coronation confirmed a monarch's right to rule, and as such it was often the case – although not always and by no means compulsory – that a king's spouse should undergo the same ceremonies. For queens the coronation was of particular importance, for as Laynesmith argued, it was 'the one rite of passage which queens did not share with other women and it most explicitly established their unique role. This was also the occasion upon which the widest variety of ideologies of queenship were expressed'.[780] It was a ritual that set a queen apart from her female contemporaries, and confirmed her superior status. Earenfight supported this assertion, expressing the

[775] Strong, *Coronation*, p. 101.
[776] See Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, pp. 57-65; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*; T. Rose, *The Coronation Ceremony and the Crown Jewels* (London, 1992), p. 36.
[777] Earenfight, 'Persona', p. 12.
[778] See Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 75.
[779] Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp. 584-616.
[780] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 82.

belief that 'a coronation symbolised the intimate association with the powerful mythical quality of royalty, transmitted enormous power and elevated her status among women'.[781]

As was both customary and expected, the first six queens in this period enjoyed the privilege of a coronation, but – in a break from tradition – the latter four were denied the opportunity. Plans for Jane Seymour's coronation were in train before her marriage had even taken place; in May 1536 John Husee reported that 'A new coronation is expected at Midsummer', and by all accounts it was to be a grand occasion, for another contemporary noted that 'the King intends to do wonders'.[782] This demonstrates the confidence that Henry VIII had in his marriage to Jane before it had even taken place, but it was not scheduled until October. It was then observed that 'The Queen's coronation which was to have taken place at the end of this month is put off till next summer, and some doubt it will not take place at all. There is no appearance that she will have children'.[783] Although the true reason behind the postponement of the coronation was an outbreak of plague, that such rumours were circulating shows how the coronation of a queen was believed to be closely linked with her ability to produce children.[784] In a European context, Holly Hurlburt has shown that childbearing and the queen's coronation were closely linked, because with the responsibility of bearing an heir came too the possibility of a regency.[785] Thus, coronations carried 'direct political import'.[786] In Jane's case there does seem to be an element of truth in the link between the coronation and her ability to bear an heir, because although there were murmurs of plans for Jane's coronation, by the time of her death in October 1537 no firm arrangements had been made. This could have been a strategy Henry intended to employ with his following wives, with the exception of Anna of Cleves. Despite Henry's obvious distaste for Anna, it is clear that a coronation was both planned and expected. In March 1540 the French ambassador reported that it would take place at Whitsuntide, and the following month referred to the preparations.[787] It was the lack of these plans materialising that drew attention to the fact that all was not well in

[781] Earenfight, 'Persona', p. 11-21.
[782] *L & P*, x, no. 952; *L & P*, x, no. 909.
[783] *L & P*, xi, no. 528.
[784] C. H. Williams (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, V (1485-1558) (London, 1967), p. 519; See also Starkey, *Six Wives*, p. 8.
[785] H.S. Hurlburt, 'Public Exposure? Consorts and Ritual in Late Medieval Europe: The Example of the Entrance of the Dogaresse of Venice', in M.C. Erler & M. Kowaleski (eds), *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca & London, 2003), p. 185.
[786] Hurlburt, 'Public Exposure', p. 185.
[787] *L & P*, xv, no. 401; *L & P*, xv, no. 485.

Anna's marriage, underlining the importance this ceremony was believed to have. As Warnicke asserted, Anna's coronation was not only necessary in order to 'offer the appearance of divine approval for her queenship but also provide an affirmation of Henry's commitment to her as his consort'.[788] However, Warnicke correctly argued that as the King had been unable to consummate his marriage with Anna, 'absolutely no chance existed that this highly sacred and expensive ritual would appear on the royal schedule that spring'.[789] Anna's example shows the way in which the King allowed his personal feelings to dictate his policy, and reveals his determination to be rid of his wife.

There is no evidence to suggest that plans were made for Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr to be crowned, although in 1541 rumours circulated that the former would be crowned in York if she produced a male heir.[790] This is indicative of talk that was spreading at court, and could reflect the King's own feelings that Katherine would only be crowned if she produced a child. In circumstances such as these, coronations, in the words of Parsons, 'consecrated queens as lawful royal consorts and mothers of legitimate royal heirs'.[791] If this was true then given Henry's marital history it is hardly surprising, and demonstrates his unwillingness to spend money on a coronation unless he was given something in return. The lack of coronations for the latter four of his wives is, however, all the more remarkable given that the next queen consort, Anna of Denmark, was given a coronation alongside her husband James I in 1603.[792] At this time Anna had already produced two male heirs. Although none of Henry VIII's latter four queens were crowned, it is clear that they were still considered to be queens by their contemporaries, and were addressed as such. Even so, their lack of coronation serves to highlight the differences between a reigning monarch, for whom a coronation was obligatory, and a consort, whose coronation was optional. It was the decision of their husband as to whether or not a coronation was staged.

Although their rank automatically gave them access to the Crown Jewels, there is no evidence that the latter four of Henry VIII's wives ever used them. Not only is this supported by their lack of coronations, but also because the stately occasions on which

[788] Warnicke, *Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, p. 184.
[789] Warnicke, *Marrying of Anne of Cleves*, p. 184.
[790] *L & P*, xvi, no. 1183.
[791] Parsons, 'Family', p. 8.
[792] I.W. Archer, 'City and Court Connected: The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480-1625,' *HLQ,* 71 (2008), p. 160.

crowns had been used in the past were in decline by this period. This is indicative of the change in times, for Kateryn Parr in particular found other ways to highlight her status as chapters two and three have shown. Majesty could be expressed not solely through the Crown Jewels, but also in a queen's personal and queenly collection. Kateryn's commissioning of jewellery that reflected this ethos will be discussed in chapter six.

Consorts were frequently crowned in the same ceremony as their husbands, and this was a practice that was employed for the coronations of Anne Neville in 1483, and Catherine of Aragon in 1509. As both women were married at the time that their husbands were crowned, it was naturally expected that the king's consorts would share the same coronation ceremony. Given Henry VIII's marital history however, such a practice was only applicable to Catherine of Aragon, and it was expected that most of his later consorts would receive a coronation. The precedent for a double coronation had been employed regularly over time, though the coronation of Anne Neville and Richard III was the first double coronation since that of Edward II and Isabella of France in 1308.[793] This probably explains both why its details were so well recorded by contemporaries, and it attracted such interest.[794] For both Anne Neville and Catherine of Aragon though, the emphasis was primarily on their husbands. This is evident when studying the surviving wardrobe accounts, which reveal that the majority of preparations that were put in place were for the king.[795] Equally, most contemporary accounts of Richard III's coronation, which was viewed as extraordinary due to his usurpation, focus on the King rather than his consort.[796] The same was true of the jewels used, and for Henry VIII included 'the crowne the septre and the Rodde with all things thereto pertyning to be deliuered unto the king by the Clerke of the Juell howse when Seint Edward's Crowne is taken of his hed after wards'.[797]

Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Wydeville, Elizabeth of York and Anne Boleyn were crowned separately from their husbands, and all underwent slightly different conventions and levels of ceremony. Taking place the same year as her marriage to Henry VI, the preparations for Margaret of Anjou's coronation were approached with the utmost

[793] See Rhodes, 'Wardrobe of Queen Isabella', pp. 517-21.
[794] Sutton & Hammond (eds), *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 270-82.
[795] LC 9/50.
[796] See Sutton & Hammond (eds), *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 270-82; Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, pp. 193-7.
[797] LC 9/50, f. 218r.

seriousness, as is reflected in the cost. The exorbitant sum of £7,000 was taken from a half-fifteenth granted in the Parliament of 1445 to pay off debts incurred for jewels and clothing for the queen's coronation.[798] However, this was deemed necessary as Margaret's coronation needed to demonstrate an extraordinary level of splendour. This was because her marriage signalled the cementing of a crucial alliance for peace between England and France, orchestrated by Henry VI and the Duke of Anjou – and one that had been unpopular in England due in part to the lack of a dowry on Margaret's part.[799] This did not prevent Henry VI from spending lavishly on jewels for his new queen, and a letter to the King's treasurer shows that he had ordered 'a Pusan of Golde, called Ilkyngton Coler, Garnished with iv Rubees, iv greet Sappurs, xxxii greet Perles, and liii other Perles. And also a Pectoral of Golde garnished with Rubees, Perles and Diamonds, and also with a greet Owche Garnished with Diamondes, Rubees, and Perles'.[800] It seems likely that these jewels were intended to form a part of Margaret's personal collection rather than becoming Crown Jewels, because Henry gave orders that the first two of these pieces ought to be given 'unto oure saide Wyf of our Guft'.[801] Although the sum spent on jewels for Margaret was extraordinary, it could be that some new jewels were purchased for the coronation of each queen. In support of this, in 1465 the London goldsmith Matthew Philip, who will be discussed in chapter six, provided a gold cup and basin for the coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville.[802] Similarly, the earlier example of Anne Boleyn shows that it was possible for new crowns to be made for queens.

In the instances of all six queens who were given coronations, the ceremony did not simply take place on one day, but was instead celebrated over the course of several days. This not only gave the king the opportunity to showcase his wealth and magnificence, but was a chance for him and his consort to be seen by their subjects, and 'to provide the populace with entertainment'.[803] Elaborate levels of ceremonial served to bind people to their monarch.[804] The pageantry that accompanied such occasions necessitated an

[798] Myers, 'Household of Queen Margaret', p. 9.
[799] See Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, pp. 25-7.
[800] T. Rymer (ed.), *Rymer's Foedera*, XI (London, 1739-45), p. 81.
[801] Rymer (ed.), *Foedera*, XI, p. 81.
[802] See C.L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, 2 vols (London, 1923), I, p. 375.
[803] C.A. Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals, and Civic Ceremony in Later Stuart Coronations', *HLQ*, 53 (1990), pp. 311-36; Loach, 'Function of Ceremonial', p. 43.
[804] R. Strong, *The Culture of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1977), p. 114.

impressive display of jewels, and contemporary records show that no expense had been spared for Elizabeth of York's coronation.[805]

The coronation became key to legitimising a queen's status in her realm, and this is the crucial point when highlighting how it differed from her marriage to a king.[806] Additionally and vitally, it also 'secured her prominence in the royal family as part of a monarchical couple'.[807] This was particularly important, necessary and apparent in the coronations of Elizabeth Wydeville (26 May 1465) and Anne Boleyn (1 June 1533), both of whom were given sumptuous individual coronations. Detailed descriptions of both of these occasions survive, signifying that there were many parallels in the ways in which they were both conducted.[808] These were the only instances that commoners were ever crowned queens of England, and although a high level of pageantry and display were standard in coronation celebrations, at these times they were deemed especially necessary in order to highlight the rapidly exulted status of the queens'.[809] In these circumstances they also served as a useful tool to distract the populace's attention from Elizabeth and Anne's humble origins. This view is supported by Okerlund, who described Elizabeth Wydeville's coronation as Edward IV's attempt to present 'his beautiful Queen as a jewel ensconced in a setting of regal pomp and circumstance'.[810] Anne Boleyn's coronation provided an opportunity not only to reaffirm Henry VIII's authority and confirm Anne's status as queen, but also to draw support and dispel some of her unpopularity.[811] Moreover, as Hunt argued, her visible pregnancy 'contributed to the establishment and legitimation of the new Tudor supremacy'.[812] However, the ploy to increase Anne's popularity was unsuccessful.

The protocol and procedure for a queen's coronation had been laid out in the *Liber Regalis* (Royal Book) in the late fourteenth century, which stipulated the rules for both a double coronation, and 'the day on which the queen is to be crowned by herself'.[813] The lower status of a queen compared with her husband was reflected in the coronation

[805] E 101/425/19, pp. 1-10.
[806] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 247.
[807] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 84.
[808] Smith (ed.), *Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville*, pp. 14-25; BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 49r-59v.
[809] See Blair (ed.), *Crown Jewels*, p. 193.
[810] Okerlund, *Elizabeth*, p. 61.
[811] See Starkey, *Six Wives*, p. 344.
[812] Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, p. 39.
[813] *Liber Regalis* in Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 128.

orders. For example, the *Liber Regalis* clearly stated that if a queen were to be crowned in the same ceremony as her husband, then 'a throne must likewise prepared for her on the left hand side of the king's throne, which must be somewhat higher'.[814] Additionally, in theory either a priest or a bishop could perform the coronation ceremony of a queen, whereas only a bishop was permitted to crown a king. In spite of this, there is no record of a priest ever performing a queen's coronation ceremony.[815]

In keeping with the terms of the *Liber Regalis,* the coronation of a queen began with her ceremonial procession from the Tower of London to the Palace of Westminster. Traditions that had been in place for years were adhered to during this display, for in an indication of the value that was placed on the *Liber Regalis*, each of the queens complied with the rules that had been laid out. These stipulated that a queen should wear her hair 'decently let down on to her shoulders' in a symbol of virginity, and that she 'shall wear a circlet of gold adorned with jewels to keep her hair the more conveniently in order on her head'.[816] The earlier discussion shows that both Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn wore a circlet – possibly the same one, and prior to her coronation Margaret of Anjou was reported to be wearing 'a coronall of gold, riche perles and precious stones'.[817] This could have been the same coronet worn by both Anne Neville, described as 'a rych serkelet of golde with many preciouse perles and stones sett therin', and Elizabeth of York, who wore 'a Circlett of golde richely garnyshed with perle and precious stones'.[818] The generalization in the description of these items makes it impossible to clarify if they were the same. It is certainly possible, however, that they were different: from at least the late fourteenth century it had been customary for the crown worn by a queen in her coronation procession to be given to her by the king, so it may be that the circlets worn by all of the queens were different.[819] If indeed all, or at least some of the queens were gifted their coronets and circlets by their husbands, it demonstrates the personal as well as dynastic nature that ceremonial jewels could adopt – the coronet was not a part of St Edward's regalia, and thus it was not used in the coronation ceremony. Further evidence of this can be seen in the example previously discussed, whereby Henry VI gave Margaret of Anjou jewellery for her coronation. Queens were expected to continue wearing their coronet or

[814] *Liber Regalis* in Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 122.
[815] Rose, *Coronation Ceremony*, p. 63.
[816] *Liber Regalis* in Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 122.
[817] Brie (ed.), *Brut*, ii, p. 48.
[818] Sutton & Hammond (eds), *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 276; BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 17v.
[819] Weir, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 255; Rhodes, 'Wardrobe of Queen Isabella', pp. 517-21.

circlet as their coronation ceremony began: the stipulations for Anne Neville's coronation related that she should be 'bareheded weringe a rounde circle of gold set with perill and precious stones' from the moment she left the Tower.[820] The *Liber Regalis* stated that when 'the circlet which she wore on her head has been laid aside', she could be anointed with holy oil.[821] This signifies that it was only at this most holy of moments that a queen was required to be unadorned with jewels, and at every other important point in the ceremony she would be equipped with some form of regalia.

Following her anointing, the *Liber Regalis* ordered that 'Then shall the ring be given to her by the consecrator', followed by a prayer.[822] In England the ruby became the traditional stone for coronation rings, a trend started by Henry III and reflective of the belief that it inspired love and reverence towards its wearer.[823] 'A golden ring with a ruby' can be found in Henry's inventory, but it does not appear in later inventories.[824] This is highly suggestive that the ring did not hold the same historical significance as other pieces of the coronation regalia, and was not passed to successive monarchs. It indicates that it was instead commissioned by individual monarchs with their own personal tastes in mind, to use at their disposal and stored separately from the coronation regalia. Evidence in support of this can be found for Henry VI, whose ruby coronation ring was delivered to goldsmith Matthew Philip, discussed in chapter six, 'to make anew for the Queen's wedding ring'.[825] This serves as a further example of recycling and the dual purpose of jewels. Additionally, in both Henry VIII's 1519 and 1530 inventory of personal jewels can be found 'A ruby ring wherewith the King was sacred', further proof that the ring was stored separately.[826] Very little is known about the ring provided for the queen's use, and it is impossible to clarify whether successive queens used the same one. No mention is made of a ring during the ceremony of Elizabeth Wydeville, but given the emphasis on the *Liber Regalis* it is likely that there was one.[827] The only detail given about Anne Neville's coronation ring is that it was provided by Lord Lovell in his capacity as Chamberlain of the King's Household, and this lends credence to the possibility that it was a piece that was

[820] Sutton & Hammond (eds), *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 214.
[821] *Liber Regalis* in Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 123.
[822] *Liber Regalis* in Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 123.
[823] Scarisbrick *et al* (eds), *Brilliant Europe*, p. 30.
[824] Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 56.
[825] Rymer (ed.), *Foedera*, XI, p. 122.
[826] *L & P*, iii, no. 463; *L & P*, iv, no. 6789. The 1519 entry also describes the ring as being 'enamelled white'.
[827] See Smith (ed.), *Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville*, pp. 14-25.

commissioned especially for her use.[828] The *Little Device* was a document that set out the expectations for a coronation and was used by Henry VII, who it was assumed would be crowned with Elizabeth of York.[829] This related that the Queen would be presented with 'a riche Ring' that had been blessed.[830] It is likely that this was conformed to, but the only detail that was noted in the contemporary account of Elizabeth's coronation was that it was placed 'upon her fourthe finger'.[831]

Once the queen had been given her ring, 'Then shall the crown be blessed', before 'the Archbishop or Bishop shall place the crown on the queen's head'.[832] As discussed previously, for the most part the crown that was used by queens during this period was Queen Edith's Crown. Initially a queen would only be invested with the crown and a ring, but the changing and increasing prominence of a queen's status can be seen over time, when gradually more regalia was introduced into a queen's coronation ceremony.[833] This was in keeping with the stipulations of the *Liber Regalis*, which stated that once a queen had been invested with the crown, she ought to be delivered 'the sceptre into her right hand, and the rod into her left'.[834] Both of these pieces were topped with a dove with its wings displayed as specified in the *Liber Regalis*, symbolizing the quality of gentleness attributed to a queen.[835] The sceptre also signified the royal power of command and was a reminder to the sovereign of the importance of justice.[836] For queens, this became particularly important as their roles as intercessors with their husbands grew in prominence.[837] The inclusion of the sceptre in a queen's coronation ceremony was therefore significant. By contrast to two of her contemporaries, who, as related earlier, were presented with St Edward's staff usually reserved for the king's use, Anne Neville used only the crown and a ring, as well as a sceptre and a rod.[838] This can be explained by reason of Anne sharing her husband's coronation, thereby ensuring that the most important regalia was reserved for his use.

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[828] Sutton & Hammond (eds), *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 239.
[829] See S. Anglo, 'The Foundation of the Tudor Dynasty: The Coronation and Marriage of Henry VII', *Guildhall Miscellany*, II (1960), p. 5.
[830] *Little Device* in Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records,* p. 235
[831] BL, Egerton MS 985, f. 18v.
[832] *Liber Regalis* in Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records,* p. 123.
[833] Rose, *Coronation Ceremony*, p. 63.
[834] *Liber Regalis* in Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 123.
[835] *Liber Regalis* in Wickham Legg (ed.), *Coronation Records*, p. 123.
[836] Scarisbrick *et al* (eds), *Brilliant Europe*, p. 29; Rose, *Coronation Ceremony*, p. 38.
[837] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 11.
[838] Sutton & Hammond (eds), *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 228-9.

The coronation was undoubtedly the most important occasion on which a queen would wear regalia. In a clear demonstration of the majesty of the occasion, she was likely to continue wearing it throughout her coronation banquet in Westminster Hall. During the coronation banquet of Elizabeth Wydeville, for example, it was noted that the queen removed and replaced her crown on several occasions.[839] The use of the Crown Jewels was not, however, restricted solely to a monarch's coronation. During the medieval period crown wearing days were a regular occurrence, and were at their peak during the reign of Henry VI. Growing increasingly elaborate, by the reign of Henry VI the king formally wore his crown on six important religious feasts: Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Whitsun, All Saints and one or both of the feasts of St Edward – this was a demonstration not only of the king's piety, but was another way of projecting majesty.[840] These were based on the medieval beliefs in the mysteries of a monarch's power, but changing times meant that by the reign of Henry VII the importance of this ceremony had declined.[841] This was reflected when the king wore his crown on just one occasion each year – both Henry VII and Henry VIII only wore it at Epiphany.[842] Nevertheless, on one of these occasions a contemporary writing in 1488 observed that 'The King and the Quene wer coronned'.[843] This suggests that queens followed the same traditions as their husbands, and were expected to share in this spectacle in order to enhance the king's majestic image. The crowns worn by kings and their consorts on these occasions were a part of the state regalia, rather than that used for coronation ceremonies. It is likely that they were created for occasions such as this, when image was of the utmost importance. Kings also donned crowns at the state opening of Parliament, and this is an indicative sign of the formality of the occasion.[844] Queens were not generally a part of this ritual, and were therefore not expected to participate. On one occasion however, a contemporary observed that when Edward IV came to open Parliament, 'wheder come the quene crowned'.[845] This example emphasises a queen's role in supporting her husband at important moments.

[839] Smith (ed.), *Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville*, p. 19.
[840] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 28.
[841] See F. Kisby, 'The Royal Household Chapel in Early-Tudor London, 1485-1547', unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London, 1996, p. 146.
[842] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 28.
[843] J. Leland, *Antiquarii De Rebvs Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 6 vols (London, 1774), iv, p. 235.
[844] See Hans Holbein, 'Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons', c. 1543, Worshipful Company of Barbers, Barber-Surgeons' Hall, London, for one example.
[845] C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), p. 383.

Crowns were also worn on other occasions when a monarch and their consort wanted to make an important statement. In 1483 for example, whilst in York it was reported that Richard III was wearing his crown and sceptre, 'after whom marched in order quene Anne his wife likewyse crouned'.[846] At ceremonial events such as this, the use of the crown is reflective of the importance that was placed on the projection of the royal image and majesty. Such a move was a very deliberate attempt to curry support for Richard and Anne's accession: the regalia played an essential part in assisting with this and showcasing the couple's magnificence.

For queens, crowns could serve a very different purpose and were often given to brides as wedding presents.[847] This could have been the case with both Margaret of Anjou and her predecessor, Katherine of Valois, for whom images survive depicting their marriages. An image of the marriage of Henry V and Katherine of Valois, taken from the *Chroniques de France*, depicts both the King and his bride wearing crowns, as does that of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, discussed in chapter three.[848] Significantly, though, no mention is made of a crown in the payments made for jewels in preparation for Margaret's arrival.[849] This suggests that either Margaret did not receive a crown as a wedding gift, or that the record for payment is no longer extant. Anna of Cleves, although not wearing a crown, was observed to have been wearing 'a rytch cronett of stones and pearle sett with rosemarie' at her wedding to Henry VIII, and she is the only one of Henry's wives for whom such a detail survives.[850] This could reflect a general pattern that such coronets or crowns were also adopted for the other five wives, in an indication of their newfound status.

The trend for using crowns to mark marriages is reflected in two surviving crowns from this period, at least one of which is likely to be of English origin. Originally made for Anne of Bohemia, the crown of Princess Blanche, daughter of Henry IV, was intended to serve

[846] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 380.
[847] Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 70.
[848] BL, Royal 20 E. vi, f. 9v; Martial d'Auvergne, 'Marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou', Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 5054.
[849] See Rymer (ed.), *Foedera*, XI, p. 122.
[850] C. Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors from 1485 to 1559,* Ed. W.D. Hamilton, I (London, 1875), p. 111.

as a wedding coronet when she married Ludwig III of Bavaria.[851] Though it was of vital importance that the crown should express the wealth of Blanche's family, its primary purpose was more personal, and regarded as 'essential to the wedding ceremony'.[852] Interestingly, though, there was a distinct lack of wealth within the families of some foreign princesses marrying into England, as has been previously observed with Margaret of Anjou.[853] The same was not true of Catherine of Aragon, whose dowry partially consisted of jewels and will be discussed further in chapter seven. The appearance of Princess Blanche's crown provides visual evidence as to the design and make up of medieval crowns, and unlike the crowns worn by queens at their coronations, crowns such as this which were more personal in nature could be fashioned from gold rather than gilt.[854] This was not exclusive and was not true of the other surviving crown from this period, which was made slightly later for Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy (Figure 38).[855] Made from silver gilt, Margaret's crown not only incorporated personal elements, such as the inclusion of her name, but also political allegiances. This can be seen in the addition of the enamelled white roses, which proudly declared Margaret's heritage. It is possible that Margaret wore this piece at her wedding to Charles, Duke of Burgundy, as a contemporary account described her as being 'rychely coroned'.[856] Likewise, queens could also wear crowns at the weddings of their offspring. Isabel of Castile, for example, wore

Figure 38: Unknown Maker
Coronet of Margaret of York
Late fifteenth century
Gilt
Aachen Cathedral

[851] Unknown Maker, 'Crown of Princess Blanche', fourteenth century, gold, Munich Residenz; E. Harper, '*Pearl* in the Context of Fourteenth-Century Gift Economies', *Chaucer Review*, 44 (2010), pp. 421-39; Cherry, 'Late Fourteenth-Century Jewellery', pp. 137-40.
[852] Harper, '*Pearl*', p. 421.
[853] See N. Saul, 'Anne [Anne of Bohemia]', *ODNB*.
[854] Harper, '*Pearl*', p. 421.
[855] Unknown Maker, 'Coronet of Margaret of York', late fifteenth gentury, gilt, Aachen Cathedral.
[856] BL, Cotton MS Nero C IX, f. 175r.

her crown at the wedding of her son Juan to Margaret of Austria in 1496.[857] This was a demonstration not only of her regal status, but of the solemnity of this significant royal occasion.

Crowns could be adopted at other important moments in a queen's life. *The Beauchamp Pageant* depicts Katherine of Valois wearing her crown following the birth of her son, the future Henry VI.[858] It is improbable that Katherine really wore her crown at this time, but her portrayal in this way emphasises the magnitude that was placed on royal regalia in projecting her queenly status at this integral moment: she had provided her husband with a male heir, and the image of the crown enhanced her triumph. There is no evidence that any of the queens in this period wore their crowns or adopted state regalia at such times, or were depicted in such a manner. This can be partially explained by the peak in popularity of crown wearing in the fourteenth century, but by the end of the century fashions had begun to change. The result was that headdresses became more popular, as is reflected in surviving portraits of Elizabeth Wydeville and her successors, and the use of coronals was not as common.[859] They were, though, still worn on state occasions as an important part of reflecting majesty.

The gravity of the crown rested in more than just material terms. This is in evidence in the transition between Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. The sometimes unreliable author of the *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England* noted that even prior to her marriage to Henry VIII, Anne insisted that Catherine ought to surrender her jewels and crown – a right only afforded to the queen. In support of this, the reports of the Imperial ambassador related that

> Tallebout (the earl of Shrewsbury) keeps in his hands, as belongs to his office, the queen of England's crown; and since neither he nor any of his house ever incurred reproach, he would take care not to allow it to be put upon any other head.[860]

The King willingly complied with Anne's demands, leading the author of the chronicle to report that Catherine retorted '"Although they take my crown,' said the blessed lady, "I

[857] Twining, *Crown Jewels of Europe*, p. 611.
[858] BL, Cotton MS Julius E IV, f. 22v.
[859] See Unknown Artist, 'Elizabeth Woodville', RCT, RCIN 406785, for example.
[860] *L & P*, v, no. 120.

shall never cease to be Queen."'[861] The physical crown was viewed as the ultimate materialistic symbol of queenship, but Catherine's behaviour reflects her belief – and that of many of her contemporaries – that it was only a symbol, and not a physical requirement of being a queen.

The gravity attached to crowns in life was also in evidence in death. The account of Elizabeth of York's funeral describes her effigy as being richly adorned with 'her very rich crowne on her hed'.[862] She had a sceptre, in an important reinforcement of her position as queen, and 'her fyngers well garneshed with rynge of gold and presyous stones'.[863] These symbols served as important reminders of majesty and Elizabeth's superior status, and were not afforded to any other queens in this period with the possible exception of Anne Neville. They could also have been intended as a subtle acknowledgement of Elizabeth's dynastic legitimacy: unlike any of the other queens in this period, Elizabeth had a claim to be a queen in her own right, although her cousin the Earl of Warwick was heir to the House of York in the male line.[864] Anne Neville could have been afforded a similar degree of ceremony, for though no details of the proceedings for her funeral survive, the Crowland Chronicler reported that she 'was buried at Westminster with no less honours than befitted the interment of a queen'.[865] This indicates that Anne was buried with some degree of pomp. The concept of funeral regalia was not exclusive to England. In Bohemia pieces survive dating from the fourteenth century, whilst in France Queen Jeanne d'Evreux instructed that following her death her crown ought to be placed on her head.[866] Similarly, a crown of Isabel of Castile's that was probably a funeral ornament still survives in Granada Cathedral, and these examples all serve as evidence of the importance that was attached to a monarch's regalia in ensuring that their royal image continued after their death.[867] It was also possible for a monarch to be buried with their crown, as the excavations of Gustav I Vasa of Sweden and his three wives revealed.[868]

[861] Hume (trans.), *Chronicle of King Henry VIII*, p. 44.
[862] College of Arms, MS I.ii, f. 27r-32r. See also Litten, 'The Funeral Effigy', pp. 6-7.
[863] College of Arms, MS I.ii, f. 27r-32r.
[864] Chamberlayne, 'Crowns and Virgins', p. 50; C. Carpenter, 'Edward, styled Earl of Warwick', *ODNB*.
[865] Pronay & Cox (eds), *Crowland Chronicle*, p. 175.
[866] Twining, *Crown Jewels of Europe*, p. 221.
[867] Twining, *Crown Jewels of Europe*, p. 613.
[868] See R. Brus, *Crown Jewellery and Regalia of the World* (Amsterdam, 2011), p. 200.

4.5 Conclusion

The Crown Jewels were the singular most important set of jewels in a monarch's possession. Although not owned by them personally, they formed an integral part of state property that helped to ensure that the monarch and his consort were able to fulfil their ceremonial duties. Unlike other jewels, St Edward's regalia within the Crown Jewel collection were the only jewels that could be worn by queens at their coronation, and as such were only used by six of the queens in this period. Similarly, this was the only occasion on which a queen had access to St Edward's regalia, as its use for coronations rendered it redundant elsewhere in a queen's life. The same was true of regalia used at the coronations of other European monarchs, demonstrating that England's traditions were by no means a unique entity.

By contrast to coronation regalia, state regalia that included the Queen's State Crown could be worn alongside other items of jewels that formed a part of the queen's collection. Examples of these items can be found in the inventories of Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr.[869] Whilst the later medieval queens wore crowns on occasions besides their coronations, there is no evidence to suggest that any of Henry VIII's wives ever did so. This can be explained by the decline in ceremonial occasions such as crowning wearing days, influenced by the Renaissance and the Reformation, which brought with it a desire for less ornate ritual. Following Henry's break with Rome he also felt a greater need to assert his authority in his kingdom as an individual. Though none of his wives seem to have made regular use of the state regalia that included the State Crown, they did at least make full use of the queen's collection of jewels that each one in turn was given upon acquiring their role. Evidence for this can be seen in surviving portraits of Henry's queens, discussed in chapter three. Here they are shown wearing items that can be identified in the queenly collection that form part of chapter two. That they had easier access to these objects, which were in their custody, than the state regalia that was not, is also likely to account for their prominence.

The Crown Jewels played a vital role in assisting both king and queen with the projection of majesty that was an integral part of fifteenth and sixteenth century monarchy. They contributed to the aura of sovereignty, and this was most clearly in evidence on

[869] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r; SoA, MS 129, f. 178r-183v.

significant occasions such as coronations, when the jewels were clearly displayed in an attempt to emphasis the monarch's splendour. Over time the appearance and use of the collection changed, in a reflection of the times. Nevertheless, Hunt asserted that 'the objects of the regalia are inextricable from the right of the office that they symbolise', and therefore the Crown Jewels remained the epitome of sovereignty.[870]

[870] Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, p. 30.

Chapter Five: The Storage of Jewels, the Keeper and the Master of the Jewel House

5.1 Introduction

The storage of a queen's jewels, both ceremonial and personal, and their care were closely linked. Jewels were among the queen's most prized possessions as well as incredibly valuable, and it is therefore unsurprising that the utmost attention was given to ensuring that they were securely kept. Interlinked with this were those who were responsible for their care, and what is clear is that, as this chapter will establish, the nature of this office changed over time. This is apparent when comparing the systems set in place for Margaret of Anjou and the surviving evidence for Henry VIII's wives, both of which will be analysed in this chapter. The nature of the collection also dictated the manner in which it was cared for – as noted previously the Crown Jewels used for coronations that were discussed in chapter four were treated as a separate entity from the remainder of the queen's ceremonial collection. Similarly, a queen's personal collection was cared for in a different manner from her ceremonial pieces. Whilst the first part of this chapter will examine the storage facilities that were put in place for different parts of the queen's jewel collection, the second part seeks to establish the role of the Master of the Jewel House and his responsibility in caring for a queen's collection. Additionally, it examines those who, though not appointed in an official capacity in the same manner as the Master of the Jewels, were charged with caring for some of the more personal pieces in a queen's collection. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to add to our understanding of the way in which both a queen's ceremonial and personal jewel collection were stored, and to shed light on the way in which they were cared for. This in turn reinforces the importance of a queen's jewels in both her public and personal life, by emphasising the value and reliance that a queen placed on them to allow her to fulfil her role as a consort.

5.2 Storage

The accounts of Henry VII and the inventory of Henry VIII confirm that jewels were largely stored in coffers, and surviving accounts from Kateryn Parr's reign record payment for the

making of 'one Juelle coffer for the use of the quenes grace'.[871] In turn, jewel coffers were housed in a variety of royal palaces, and depending on which part of the collection they formed, both the king and the queen's jewels were stored in different facilities. Prior to the Reformation, the coronation regalia was stored within the old State Treasury in Westminster Abbey, now known as the Pyx.[872] The Dean and Chapter cared for it, setting it apart from the rest of the royal jewellery collection and enforcing its sole and unique function.[873] That it was stored at Westminster Abbey served to highlight its association with the coronation of a monarch that took place within the Abbey. Until the Reformation the coronation regalia were the only pieces in the ceremonial collection whose care was not the responsibility of the Master of the Jewels, whose role will be discussed shortly. As such the regalia was rarely seen, underlining its value and elements of mystery. This procedure of storage had started as a tradition following the death of Edward the Confessor, who had supposedly entrusted the monks at Westminster with their care. [874] That this practice continued for centuries suggests a desire to conform with custom, and accentuates the unique role played by the coronation regalia, discussed in chapter four, in royal ceremonial. At some point during the Reformation however, the coronation regalia was removed to the Tower of London.[875] There it remained for the remainder of Henry VIII's reign and became the responsibility of the Master of the Jewel House. From then on the Tower became the main repository for the Jewel House. This demonstrates the impact that religious change had on long established royal traditions, including the storage of the coronation regalia.

Royal ceremonial jewels that did not form part of the coronation regalia, but were used by king and queens on stately occasions such as crown wearings, were stored elsewhere. Throughout the medieval period, one of the main facilities in place was the Jewel House at the Palace of Westminster.[876] This is unsurprising, given that until early in the reign of Henry VIII Westminster was foremost among the royal residences, surpassing even the Tower in its importance. The sole function of this rare surviving example of the royal palace complex was to store the jewels and valuables of the royal household.[877] As Jeremy Ashbee related, within the jewel house at Westminster the most valuable items were

[871] E 101/415/3, f. 20v; Starkey (ed.), *Inventory*, pp. 77-88; E 101/425/17, f. 2v.
[872] Blair (ed.), *Crown Jewels*, p. 264.
[873] Blair (ed.), *Crown Jewels*, p. 301.
[874] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 17.
[875] Starkey (ed.), *Inventory*, pp. 4-5.
[876] See J. Ashbee, *The Jewel Tower* (London, 2013).
[877] Ashbee, *Jewel Tower*, p. 3.

housed on the top floor of the tower, and the same system was in place at Henry VIII's secret jewel house at Hampton Court Palace. [878] This suggests that the same may also have been true within the other palace jewel houses. Ashbee suggested that following the fire of 1512 that destroyed most of the Palace of Westminster, the Jewel House – although not destroyed by the fire – became less important.[879] However, it is evident that its importance had declined prior to that, for Keay asserted that a theft at the Palace of Westminster in the fourteenth century highlighted the need for greater security measures.[880] As such, the ceremonial jewel collection was moved to the Tower of London where it remained throughout the Tudor period. Here Henry VII's Chamber Books record that in 1501 Robert Vertue was paid for 'making of a tour with in the Tour of London', which is likely to have been for more storage for this purpose – as well as for money.[881] This is supported by a payment made to Vertue the following year for 'making of a newe chamber within the Toure of London' – a reference to the King's own rooms, where jewels are likely to have been stored.[882] Little more is known of these rooms, but Henry VIII paid for repairs to them in 1533 as well as to a building specifically described as the 'jewel house'.[883] The need for security is also true of the queen's collection, for Henry VIII's inventory shows that Kateryn Parr's ceremonial jewels were being stored at the Tower in 1547.[884] Though it was breached in 1381 during the Peasants' Revolt, by the sixteenth century the Tower was considered to be 'the strongest castle in the kingdom', and thus its choice reflects the need for security and underlines the value and importance of these jewels.[885] Likewise, its location in London made it a convenient base for storing the jewels.

During the reign of Henry VII the Palace of Sheen contained a jewel house, which was destroyed along with the palace in a fire in 1497.[886] This had a devastating effect on the jewel collection of both Henry VII and presumably Elizabeth of York, as the chronicler John Stow recorded that 'a great part of the old building of the palace was burnt, with

[878] Ashbee, *Jewel Tower*, p. 10; See T. Borman, *The Private Lives of the Tudors: Uncovering the Secrets of Britain's Greatest Dynasty* (London, 2016), p. 199.
[879] Ashbee, *Jewel Tower*, p. 28.
[880] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 28.
[881] E 101/415/3, f. 74r.
[882] BL, Add MS 59899, f. 4v. See H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works* (London, 1963), pp. 263-4.
[883] *L & P*, vi, no 5.
[884] Starkey (ed.), *Inventory*, pp. 77-80.
[885] R. Wingfield, *Vita Mariae Reginae,* trans. D. MacCulloch, Camden Miscellany XXVIII, 4th series, 29 (London, 1984), p. 270.
[886] C.L. Kingsford (ed.), *Chronicles of London* (London, 1905), p. 222; S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (London, 1993), p. 177.

hangings, beds, apparell, plate, and many jewells'.[887] Consequently many important jewels appear to have been lost, although Henry VII's accounts reveal that £20 was given in reward to 'them that founde the Kings juels at Shene'.[888] Though some jewels were evidently recovered, it is unclear precisely what these were. This could though, account in some part for the King's great expenditure on jewels, which will be discussed in chapter six. Henry VII was determined to rebuild his burnt palace, naming it Richmond Palace in honour of his previous earldom.[889] There is little evidence that Henry VIII continued to use this jewel house though, for Hayward has observed that Henry VIII established five jewel houses in palaces that did not include the Tower: those at Whitehall Palace, which was somewhat confusingly referred to as Westminster, Hampton Court Palace, Windsor Castle, Greenwich Palace and Oatlands.[890] That they were installed in these particular palaces is indicative of the frequency with which the King used them, for Simon Thurley suggested that it was only the most important palaces that contained jewel houses.[891] These jewel houses were in regular use, as is indicated in 1521 when Henry VIII paid a smith for mending the locks at Whitehall.[892] The Jewel House did not solely store the monarch and consort's ceremonial jewels, but also plate – classified as a jewel.[893] We see examples of this in Henry VIII's inventory, such as the 'paire of pottes of siluer gilt paned striken with a Murryons hedde and A B' that came from Windsor Castle and are likely to have belonged to Anne Boleyn.[894]

In addition to the main jewel houses previously mentioned, during the reign of Henry VIII both Whitehall and Hampton Court contained a 'Secrete Juelhous', the name of which suggests that its existence was known to very few.[895] This may however, actually reflect the King's increasing desire for privacy, which is borne out by the location of the Secret Jewel House at Hampton Court. It was located on the top floor of the Bayne Tower, a new three-storey tower of private rooms for the King's use.[896] By contrast, at Whitehall the precise location of this jewel house is unknown, although Hayward confirmed that it lay

[887] J. Stow, *The Annals of England*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), I, p. 481.
[888] BL, Add MS 7099, f. 44.
[889] See E 101/414/16, f. 62r; BL, Add MS 59899, f. 18v, 90r for examples of payments for the new palace.
[890] Hayward, 'Possessions', p. 99.
[891] Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, p. 75.
[892] *L & P*, iii, p. 1544.
[893] Ashbee, *Jewel Tower*, p. 26; Glanville, *Silver*, p. 20.
[894] SoA, MS 129, f. 84v.
[895] Starkey (ed.), *Inventory*, p. 18.
[896] Borman, *Private Lives*, p. 199; L. Worsley & D. Souden, *Hampton Court Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (London, 2005), p. 31.

off of the old gallery 'next the pryvey garden'.[897] The Secret Jewel House was being used to store large quantities of jewels and plate at the time of the King's death, all of which are recorded.[898] Certainly at Hampton Court, the location of the Secret Jewel House is not only suggestive of the proximity with which the jewels were to the King's person, but also of the frequency with which he used these items. Indeed, Starkey argued that Henry regularly accessed money in his Secret Jewel House at Whitehall.[899] In this Secret Jewel House many of the items had links with Henry's wives, particularly Jane Seymour. For example, 'twoo Spones of gold with H and I at thendes of theym', a basin that had been ordered by the late queen, discussed in further detail in chapter six, and 'one paier of Cruettes of Siluer gilte with aungelles vppon their garnettes and H I in their busselles'.[900] Interestingly, many pieces featured the arms or initials of Anne Boleyn, evidence that the King did not scruple to continue using items that had been created in honour of his executed second wife.[901] There is no evidence to suggest that any of Henry's queens used these items, and neither is there any evidence that they had individual jewel houses, secret or otherwise. What is more probable is that, as mentioned previously, the most important pieces in their collections were often in safekeeping in the Tower, whilst the jewels they used more regularly remained in their custody. This will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Jewel houses were not exclusive to royal palaces, for Margaret Beaufort's Northamptonshire residence, Collyweston, is known to have had one.[902] Although Margaret was the King's mother and thus in a semi-regal position, this evidence shows that it was not just monarchs who incorporated a storage facility for jewels into their homes. This confirms the care that was given to ensuring that precious items were kept secure at all times.

The differing storage arrangements for separate sets of jewels reflect the varied roles that they played in the lives of monarchs and their consorts. There is also evidence to show that jewels regularly followed queens between residences. The Queen's Book, recording

[897] Hayward, 'Possessions', p. 127; SoA, MS 129, f. 10v.
[898] See Starkey (ed.), *Inventory*, pp. 11-12 for example.
[899] D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in D. Starkey, D.A.L. Morgan, J. Murphy, P. Wright, N. Cuddy, & K. Sharpe, *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London & New York, 1987), p. 97.
[900] SoA, MS 129, f. 25r, 26r, 44v.
[901] SoA, MS 129, f. 25r, 26v, 44r.
[902] Jones & Underwood, *King's Mother*, p. 155.

the expenses for the surviving year of Elizabeth of York's life, for example, record various payments for the transportation of the Queen's jewels.[903] In July 1502 they show that two grooms, Thomas Woodnote and John Feld were charged with 'wayteng upon the Quenes joelles from Richemount to Grenewiche', returning them to Richmond, and conveying them to Westminster.[904] The following month the same two men were paid for transporting the Queen's jewels whilst she was on progress.[905] Both Woodnote and Feld were 'gromes of the quenes chambre', and Woodnote certainly fulfilled other duties on Elizabeth's behalf.[906] Whilst Feld's name only appears in relation to the transportation of the queen's jewels, Woodnote was entrusted with the care of the queen's greyhounds, receiving regular payments for their upkeep.[907] Both of these responsibilities entailed a great deal of trust, thus demonstrating that Woodnote was evidently a valued member of Elizabeth's household. Although neither directly refer to jewels in the same manner as those of Elizabeth of York, similar payments can be found in the accounts of both Anna of Cleves and Kateryn Parr. Both sets of accounts are badly damaged in places, but we can still see that in June 1540 for example, a groom of the queen's chamber was paid for carrying Anna's coffers from Greenwich to London, whilst on another occasion they were taken from Westminster to Baynard's Castle.[908] Similarly, Kateryn Parr's accounts record a payment for transporting the Queen's chest from Westminster to Hampton Court, whilst on another date in a similar manner to her mother-in-law, Kateryn's belongings were transported whilst she was on progress.[909] Neither Anna nor Kateryn's accounts directly state that it was their jewels that were being moved, but it is certainly plausible that jewels were included in the coffers. What is more, when combined with the accounts of Elizabeth of York, this evidence shows the regularity with which the queen's jewels were moved between palaces. Comparable references survive in Henry VII's Chamber Books, signifying that this was common for both kings and queens.[910]

What is interesting to note is the differing staffing arrangements in place to transport the queens' belongings. Anna of Cleves' accounts make no reference to the name of the

[903] See E 36/210, f. 44, 50. Printed in N.H. Nicolas (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York* (London, 1830), pp. 28-9, 40.
[904] E 36/210, f. 44.
[905] E 36/210, f. 50; E 36/210, f. 52.
[906] E 36/210, f. 50.
[907] E 36/210, f. 46 for example.
[908] E 101/422/16, f. 733r; E 101/422/15, unfoliated.
[909] E 315/161, f. 22r, p. 129.
[910] See BL, Add MS 7099, f. 7, 29 for example.

groom who moved her coffers, so there is no way of knowing whether this was a member of her household who was regularly employed in such tasks. It has already been noted that Elizabeth of York had two named grooms to transport her jewels, and by contrast, Kateryn Parr's accounts show that she used two yeoman and one groom to carry her belongings. Like Elizabeth of York, these were generally the same three men, all of whom were members of her household: John Hickman and Adam Beton were yeoman, whilst Robert Slatworthe was a groom.[911] Not only does the addition of an extra staff member to carry the Queen's belongings indicate a heightening of importance in the role, but so too does the fact that two of these were yeoman, who were of higher status than grooms. This was clearly standard practice in Kateryn's household however, for a later receipt shows payment to another member of her household for an 'allowance for ii yeoman and a grome for caringe oof the Quenes coffers from St James to Westminster and from Westminster to Greenwich'.[912] Unfortunately, the lack of comparable evidence for the remainder of Henry VIII's queens prevents us from seeing when the staff changes between the reigns of Elizabeth of York and Kateryn Parr took place, or if they had been at Kateryn's instigation. What this does show, however, is the emphasis Kateryn placed on the security of her belongings, and this in turn was another way of emphasising her majesty. What the accounts of these three queens also demonstrate is that they managed the transportation of their jewels independently of their husband's, further underlining the control that they had over their own finances. This is supported by similar payments that are found in Henry VIII's accounts, which make no mention of his wives jewels but provide further evidence that it was not unusual for jewels to be moved regularly between palaces.[913] Such payments in Henry's accounts, those of his mother and his wives are likely to reflect the transportation of jewels that were in regular use by the individuals, and thus probably constituted their personal jewel collections.

5.3 The Keeper of the Jewels, Master of the Jewel House and his Staff

At the start of this period, the title 'Master of the Jewel House' did not exist. Instead, Margaret of Anjou had a treasurer of the chamber who was also keeper of her jewels, whose employment was separate from the household of her husband. Similarly, Henry VI

[911] See E 315/161, p. 173, 184. The names of Beton and Slatworthe are variously spelt throughout Kateryn's accounts.
[912] E 314/22, p. 9.
[913] *L & P*, iii, pp. 1535-6.

had an individual keeper of the jewels, John Merston. In April 1447 John Norris, who was succeeded by Edward Ellesmere in 1452, filled this role in Margaret's household.[914] Interestingly, prior to his appointment as treasurer of the chamber, Ellesmere had worked as Margaret's clerk of the jewels, a role in which he had been employed since 1445.[915] This shows that there were at least two people within the Queen's household who played some role in the care of her jewels, and Ellesmere's experience is likely to have given him the practical knowledge he needed to fulfil his new post. Additionally, the records of the Goldsmiths' Company make reference to a Robert Ellesmere who was a goldsmith, who was probably a relative.[916] The treasurer of the chamber and keeper of the jewels occupied the more senior position, supervising the role of the clerk. This was reflected in the wages received by both men, for whilst the three surviving accounts dating from John Norris's time in office show that he received £20 a year, as Myers stated, Edward Ellesmere received £13 6s. 8d. in this first year of his post.[917] This reduction in wage may have been as a result of Margaret's poor finances, which Myers explained were badly depleted by 1452.[918] By contrast, the role of clerk of the jewels, occupied by James Fynaunce following Ellesmere's promotion, merited a wage of £6 13s. 4d.[919] The differences between the clerk and the keeper have been explained by Myers, who related that the clerk of the queen's jewels kept records of the queen's purchases, her gifts and personal expenditure, all of which can be seen in Margaret's surviving jewel accounts.[920] The role of the treasurer and keeper of the jewels entailed a great deal more responsibility, for it was he who supervised the queen's expenditure in this area. Not only did the treasurer and keeper purchase jewels on the queen's behalf, but he also oversaw payments for repairs.[921] Thus his role was primarily one of large scale accounting, for as discussed in chapter seven, Margaret purchased gifts of jewels in large quantities.

The evidence for the care of Margaret of Anjou's jewels provides the only known example in this period of a queen who had a titled official in this role who was separate from the

[914] E 101/409/14; E 101/410/8.
[915] E 101/410/8.
[916] GC, London, MS 1520, f. 35v.
[917] E 101/409/14; E 101/409/17; E 101/410/2; Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', p. 121; E 101/410/8.
[918] Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', p. 114.
[919] E 101/409/14; Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', p. 121; E 101/410/8.
[919] E 101/409/14.
[920] Myers, 'Household of Queen Margaret', p. 149; E 101/409/14; E 101/409/17; E 101/410/2; E 101/410/8; E 101/410/11.
[921] Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', p. 118.

household of the king. Elizabeth Wydeville's surviving accounts are scant but make no reference to either a keeper of the jewels or a clerk of the jewels.[922] Given that in 1464 her husband employed William Porte to fulfil this role on his behalf, it is possible that following their marriage his queen had one of her own too.[923] It is likely, however, that it was during the reign of Henry VII that the arrangements for the care of the queen's jewels altered, and this will be discussed later in this chapter.

It was not until the latter half of the fifteenth century that the office of the Jewel House began to take shape and evolve, with Edward IV's Household Ordinances describing exactly what the role entailed:

> The office of the Jewel House hath an architectour called Clerk of the Kings' or Keeper of the King's Jewels or Treasurer of the Chamber. This officer taketh by indenture betwixt him and the King, all that he finds in his office of gold, silver, precious stones and the marks of everything. Also he receiveth the yearly gifts by record of the Chamberlain.[924]

This shows that the main responsibility of the Keeper of the Jewels was to ensure that the royal jewels were safeguarded, and to take custody of the gifts given to the monarch each year. There is no reference to a particular individual appointed to care for the queen's jewels, but given that the Ordinances refer specifically to the king's jewels it seems likely that the same system was in the place for the queen. It was the Keeper who was charged with caring for all of the jewels and regalia in the royal collection, but contrary to the assertion of Keay, the Keeper seems to have been primarily responsible for the care of the ceremonial jewels rather than the personal ones.[925] This is borne out by later evidence, which will be discussed in due course. It is therefore apt to consider the care of the ceremonial jewels at this point, before returning to the care of the personal collection.

It was Henry VII who, reorganising his household upon his accession to the throne in 1485, separated the Keeper of the Jewels from the Treasurer of the Chamber.[926] The role of Treasurer effectively became the most important financial office in the country, for, filled

[922] E 36/207. See also Myers, 'Household of Queen Elizabeth', pp. 207-15.
[923] *CPR*, 1461-7, p. 326.
[924] A.R. Myers (ed.), *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), pp. 121-2.
[925] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 27.
[926] G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 104-5.

by John Heron in 1492, it was he who was responsible for keeping many of the King's accounts.[927] Unsurprisingly therefore, Heron's name appears regularly in Henry VII's Chamber Books.[928] The offices relating to the jewel house remained closely linked with the king's chamber, but as Geoffrey Elton asserted, the key position within it was classified as 'a minor but not unimportant place'.[929] Nevertheless, the Keeper of the Jewels was still entrusted with great responsibility, and it is unsurprising that only those who were highly favoured were appointed. This is evident when the identities of the men who fulfilled this post under the Tudor kings are considered. On 3 July 1486 Henry VII granted 'the office of keeper of the king's jewels' to Sir William Tyler.[930] Tyler had the support of two yeoman, whilst the following year Sir Henry Wyatt was appointed 'clerk of the king's jewels'.[931] That it was a less prestigious position than that occupied by Sir William Tyler was reflected in the pay both men were granted: while Tyler received £50 per year – the standard salary for the role throughout the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII – Wyatt's salary was £13 6s. 8d.[932] Interestingly, this was a marked increase in the rates paid to Margaret of Anjou's jewel staff, reflecting the greater financial responsibilities that a role in the king's household entailed.

As Agnes Conway has shown, it was Wyatt who was responsible for most of the actual work that this role required, whilst Tyler was largely engaged on royal business in the north.[933] Thus the separation of the roles of treasurer and keeper that had taken place under Henry VII meant that the responsibilities of the Keeper of the Jewels had changed: the primary perk was the attractive salary and the prestige that the title brought with it. As later examples show however, this was variable and not always exclusively the case. The importance of the Clerk of the Jewels ought not to be underestimated, for as a member of the Privy Council, Wyatt was a prominent member of both Henry VII and Henry VIII's court, as well as being one of Henry VII's executors.[934] This was in evidence immediately after Henry VIII's succession, when Wyatt was promoted to 'Master and

[927] P.R.N. Carter, 'Heron, Sir John', *ODNB*.
[928] See BL, Add MS 59899, f. 16v & E 36/214, f. 25v for examples.
[929] Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p. 104, 99.
[930] *CPR*, 1485-94, p. 110.
[931] *CPR*, 1485-94, p. 110; *CPR*, 1485-94, p. 136.
[932] *CPR*, 1485-94, p. 110; CPR, 1485-94, p. 136; Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p. 100.
[933] A. Conway, *Henry VII's Relations with Scotland and Ireland 1485-98* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 69.
[934] C. Burrow, 'Wyatt, Sir Thomas', *ODNB*. See also S. Gunn, *Henry VII's New Men and the Making of Tudor England* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 41-4.

Keeper of the Jewels', emphasising the high regard in which the King held him.[935] It is at this point, however, that the title became inconsistent, and the same position is referred to variously throughout the reign of Henry VIII as Master of the Jewel House, Treasurer of the Jewels and Keeper of the Jewels when citing the same person.[936]

As there is greater evidence for the reign of Henry VIII, it is more straightforward to consider the way in which the Jewel House staff were structured at this time. It is clear that at various times Wyatt controlled at least three staff under Heron. Described in 1510 as 'yeoman of the Jewel House', this role was filled by Richard Lee, John Trees and John Porthe.[937] No further description of this position survives, but it seems possible that these were the men appointed to guard and supervise the care of the ceremonial jewels in storage at the Tower. Even among them there seems to have been a hierarchy in terms of status. The evidence for this comes in the form of the wages of the royal household, which show that in 1520 John Porte earned 20s. per quarter, closely followed by John Trees who earned 20s. 8.d. Lee was the highest earning yeoman, with a wage of 33s. 4d.[938] It is unclear whether this difference in pay was indeed a reflection of their status within the Jewel House, or perhaps in recognition of the length of time each man had been employed. It was at this time that there was also a reference to a groom of the jewels, Robert Draper.[939] No further details of what his role entailed are known, but that it was clearly similar in prestige to the role of yeoman is testified by his quarterly wage of 25s.[940] This is the only surviving occasion on which such a title was referenced in Henry VIII's reign, but Draper's presence, together with that of the yeoman reinforces the importance of the Jewel House in Henry's reign. They all demonstrate that there was a hierarchy within this pocket of the royal household, with the Master of the Jewels at the top.

Further evidence for this comes in the form of the Eltham Ordinances, created in 1526. Devised by Cardinal Wolsey in an attempt to improve the functioning of the King's Privy Chamber, the Ordinances show that the Master of the Jewels was allowed stabling for five

[935] *L & P*, i, no. 54.
[936] *L & P*, i, no. 54; *L & P*, v, no. 1331.
[937] *L & P*, i, no. 563; *L & P*, i, no. 20.
[938] *L & P*, iii, no. 1114.
[939] *L & P*, iii, no. 1114.
[940] *L & P*, iii, no. 1114.

horses at court, as well as a bed for one servant.[941] Interestingly, they also show that the allowance for the bouche of the Master of the Jewels was the same as that for members of the queen's household, notably her chancellor, secretary, almoner and her gentlewomen.[942]

It is from Wyatt's period of office as Master of the Jewels that more direct evidence of the role played by the Master of the Jewels survives. Wyatt was expected to take a more active approach in practical affairs than his predecessor, Sir William Tyler. For example, in 1514 Wyatt accompanied the King's sister, Mary, to France for her wedding to Louis XII, where he signed a warrant of jewels delivered to the French King on behalf of his English master, presumably as part of Mary's dowry.[943] Wyatt's presence and participation may be partially explained by his previous role as Clerk of the Jewels, which had given him more practical experience, but it shows that he had taken responsibility for the possession and delivery of royal jewels. This was standard practice, as an earlier warrant dating from 1508 shows a parcel of jewels that were 'Receyved of the kinges grace' into Wyatt's custody, for his sister, 'my Lady Mareys grace'.[944] Inventoried and signed by Wyatt, it was his job to ensure that these pieces were delivered to the King's sister, providing evidence of the way in which jewels were delivered between the King and other members of his family.[945] It seems likely that this was also a practice employed between Henry and his consorts, although no similar documentary evidence survives to confirm this.

On 20 April 1526 Robert Amadas, who was granted the 'usual fee' of £50 a year, succeeded Wyatt in his role.[946] Amadas was an interesting choice, as he was not a member of the court in the same manner as those who had previously occupied the position, but was instead a London goldsmith who had been supplying both king and court with gold and jewels since the reign of Henry VII.[947] His role in this field will be discussed further in chapter six, but the work of Samantha Harper has shown that it was not unusual

[941] J. Nichols (ed.), *A Collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household, made in divers reigns: from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary, also receipts in ancient cookery* (London, 1790), p. 198.
[942] Nichols (ed.), *Ordinances*, p. 198.
[943] *L & P*, i, no. 3360.
[944] E 101/416/16.
[945] E 101/416/16.
[946] *L & P*, iv, no. 2114.
[947] See E 36/214, f. 59v for an example in 1506.

for such merchants to be closely connected to the court.[948] However, Amadas' post required him to give up his trade, and instead many of the jewels made for the use of Henry VIII and his wives were commissioned from Cornelius Hayes, also discussed in chapter six.[949] This confirms that Amadas' new role was consuming much of his time.

Through Robert Amadas there is further evidence of some of the responsibilities the role of Master of the Jewels entailed. Like Sir Henry Wyatt before him, Amadas played a very practical role. There is evidence to show that in 1529 he was delivering large quantities of jewellery to Cornelius Hayes for refashioning, and receiving jewels from the goldsmith in return.[950] Many of these pieces were intended for the King and his courtiers, but no mention is made of either Catherine of Aragon or Anne Boleyn. The involvement of Amadas in delivering and taking possession of royal jewels shows the high level of responsibility that his position entailed, but it is interesting to consider that his name was always linked with that of the King, rather than the queen. This may be because at the time of his appointment Catherine of Aragon was on the verge of being superseded by Anne Boleyn, who was still not queen when Amadas died in 1532. Thus, any duties Amadas may have been required to carry out for Anne were done at the behest of the King. Amadas was also responsible for dispensing the royal plate, and details of this are shown in an inventory containing details of plate delivered by him to Cardinal Wolsey.[951]

The Household Ordinances of Edward IV make it clear that the Master of the Jewels was expected to take possession of the gifts given to the monarch at New Year, but there seems to have been a slightly different procedure in place with Henry VIII's consorts, perhaps in a reflection of the changing times.[952] We find evidence of this at New Year 1535, when the representative of Lord Lisle, John Husee, reported to his master that 'On New Year's day, by the hands of Mr Taylor, the Queen's receiver, I delivered your gift to her Grace'.[953] George Taylor was Anne Boleyn's receiver general.[954] We can infer from this

[948] S. Harper, 'Royal Servants and city fathers: the double lives of London goldsmiths at the court of Henry VII', in M. Allen & M. Davies (eds), *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in honour of James L. Bolton* (London, 2016), pp. 177-93.
[949] *L & P*, iv, no. 5341.
[950] *L & P*, iv, no. 5341.
[951] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 96; E 36/171.
[952] Nichols (ed.), *Ordinances*, p. 42.
[953] *L & P*, viii, no. 15.
[954] See D.L. Hamilton, 'The Learned Councils of the Tudor Queens Consort', in C. Carlton, R.L. Woods, M.L. Robertson, & J.S. Block (eds), *State, Sovereigns and Society in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of A.J. Slavin* (Stroud, 1998), p. 96.

that it was not always compulsory for the Master of the Jewels to collect the queen's New Year gifts and deliver them. If this was the case with all of Henry VIII's consorts, then it explains the lack of evidence connecting queens with the Master of the Jewels, and suggests that it was one of the queen's officials who was responsible for receiving her jewels. It also demonstrates that queens were accountable for appointing a member of their own household to complete such tasks, rather than relying on those who served the King.

On 14 April 1532, Thomas Cromwell succeeded Robert Amadas in his role.[955] It was for this reason that Cromwell ordered an inventory of the Jewel House at the Tower to be taken, underlining a determination to be thorough and ensure that matters were in good order.[956] This shows that competent records of jewels were made, but in this instance of ceremonial jewels and ones that were primarily for the King's use, rather than that of his consort. Cromwell considered his new position to be so prestigious that he chose to mark it by having his portrait painted by Holbein.[957] This reflects the status and importance of the role, as well as Cromwell's growing power at court. By contrast to Sir Henry Wyatt and Robert Amadas, whose approach was more practical, Warnicke suggested that when Cromwell was in office it was the Clerk of the Jewel House who fulfilled his orders.[958] She argued that the Master of the Jewels was more of a title and symbol – as it had been during the reign of Henry VII – but that the real task of caring for the jewels fell upon the Clerk.[959] The identity of the Clerk at this time is unknown, but in some respects Warnicke had a point: as the 1530s progressed Cromwell was overseeing the Dissolution of the Monasteries as well as taking an increasingly active role in royal government.[960] It was at this time that the collection of royal jewels grew extensively thanks to the confiscated treasures, which is reflected in inventories.[961] However, Elton has shown that Cromwell was responsible for the refashioning of the King's plate and jewels, and this is also

[955] *L & P*, v, no. 939.
[956] E 36/85.
[957] Strong, 'Holbein in England – I and II', p. 276; after Hans Holbein the Younger, 'Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex', early 17th century, based on a work of 1532-3, NPG, NPG 1727.
[958] Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 84.
[959] Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 84.
[960] G.W. Bernard, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries', *History*, 96 (2011), p. 396.
[961] W.B.D.D. Turnbull (ed.), *Account of the Monastic Treasures confiscated at the Dissolution of the Various Houses in England* (Edinburgh, 1836); Collins (ed.), *Jewels and Plate*, p. 86.

reflected in several inventories of jewels that Cromwell was required to deliver to the goldsmiths Cornelius Hayes and Thomas Alvard for refashioning.[962]

Despite Cromwell's other responsibilities, he was still required to oversee certain duties in his role as Master of the Jewels. In the same manner as his predecessors, he was expected to take possession of parcels of jewels, settle goldsmiths' bills, and in January 1533 – just prior to their marriage – Henry VIII commanded Cromwell to deliver various parcels of plate to Anne Boleyn.[963] This shows that while the Clerk and other staff still performed the more menial tasks of the Jewel House, overall responsibility for the way in which it was run belonged to Cromwell. Following his execution in 1540, three subsequent men filled the role of Master of the Jewels until the death of Henry VIII in 1547: Sir John Williams, Sir Anthony Rous and Sir Anthony Aucher.[964] Both Williams and Aucher were mentioned in Henry's inventory in reference to caring for his jewels.[965]

It has already been noted that Henry VIII's consorts seem to have had little interaction with the Master of the Jewels, and in terms of their personal jewel collection there is evidence to suggest that they were kept close to them. Hayward asserted that the care of a monarch's jewels – including their maintenance and transportation – was the responsibility of a team of men, which often consisted of those close to him.[966] This can be seen in the early years of Henry VIII's reign in the instance of Sir William Compton, the King's Groom of the Stool. In October 1519, the King's personal jewels were in Compton's keeping, and a similar arrangement is likely to have been put in place for Henry's wives.[967]

This may have started with Henry's mother, Elizabeth of York, for it was almost certainly then that a new system of responsibility for the jewels was put into place in keeping with her husband's reorganization of the household. In neither the Queen's Book of Elizabeth of York or Henry VII's Chamber Books is there any reference to the individual who cared for the Queen's jewels, and the only evidence comes in the form of the two grooms were who appointed to transport her jewels, discussed previously.[968] What is possible is that the care of the queen's personal jewel collection was entrusted to one of the ladies of her

[962] Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p. 110; BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 41r-48r.
[963] *L & P*, vi, no. 6.
[964] For Williams see Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, p. 100.
[965] SoA, MS 129, f. 4r, 7r.
[966] Hayward, 'Possessions', p. 47.
[967] *L & P*, iii, no. 463.
[968] E 36/210, f. 44; E 101/414/6; E 101/414/16; E 101/415/3; E 36/214; BL, Add MS 59899.

household. Certainly, the Queen's Book of Elizabeth of York provides plenty of examples of a number of her ladies handling her money.[969] This shows that it was not unusual for Elizabeth to delegate important roles to her ladies. Neither the household lists of Catherine of Aragon, or the wage lists found in the accounts of Anna of Cleves and Kateryn Parr support the theory that the queen had a named official employed in a formal capacity relating to jewels, and there is other evidence to show that the likelihood is that they were entrusted to their ladies.[970]

Evidence to support this theory can be definitively found for three of Henry VIII's wives: Jane Seymour, Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr. At the top of Jane's jewel inventory, the following note appears: 'Beydes in the custodie of Mrs Litster'.[971] The name 'Lady Lyster' appears at various points throughout Jane's inventory, allowing us to establish that it was she who had custody of the Queen's jewels.[972] This is supported by a further entry in *Letters and Papers*, which relates that Lady Lister and her husband, Sir Michael Lister, were given

> Acquittance and discharge of the jewels, treasure, and money of the late Queen Consort Jane, which the King, at the said Queen's desire, committed to the custody of the said dame Margery, and which she delivered into the King's own hands.[973]

This confirms that Lady Lister had indeed been appointed to care for Jane Seymour's jewels, and can therefore be taken as evidence of the favour in which she was held. This also shows that a member of her household cared for the queen's personal jewels. Furthermore, given that Lady Lister had served in the household of Henry's first two queens – she was the 'Mrs Margery' to whom Catherine of Aragon had bequeathed money in her will, referenced in chapter one – it is possible that she had fulfilled similar

[969] See E 36/210, f. 39.
[970] *L & P*, i, no. 82; E 101/422/16, f. 63r-64r; E 315/161, f. 3r-6r; E 315/340, f. 49r-57v; E 101/426/2, unfoliated. *CSPS*, I, no. 439 mentions that throughout Catherine of Aragon's widowhood following the death of Prince Arthur, her jewels and plate were cared for by a male member of her household, William Lebron.
[971] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r.
[972] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 31r.
[973] *L & P*, xii, part 2, no. 44.

duties for them.[974] Certainly in relation to Anne Boleyn there are implications that she was connected with the queen's wardrobe.[975]

More evidence to show that the care of a queen's jewels fell to a member of her household appears at the time of Katherine Howard's fall in November 1541. After the disgraced Queen's jewels had been inventoried, they were given into the keeping of Lady Anne Herbert 'safely to keep the same'.[976] Katherine's inventory relates that Lady Herbert had been responsible for the safekeeping of the jewels prior to their being inventoried, although she had briefly relinquished this role to Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhitt between September and December 1540, whilst she left court to have a child.[977] When Lady Herbert returned the jewels to the King in April 1542, it was reported that the collection of the former Queen had been 'at her [Katherine's] request, committed to the custody of the said Anne'.[978] That Katherine had chosen to give her jewels into Lady Herbert's care shows that, although they were her queenly jewels rather than her own personal property, they had been kept in Katherine's possession prior to her fall – presumably because they had been in use.

There is no evidence that Lady Herbert performed the same role for her sister when Kateryn Parr became queen in 1543. Whilst Kateryn's queenly jewels remained in the Tower following the death of Henry VIII, the inventory of her personal belongings discussed in chapter two shows that a number of less valuable pieces remained in her custody. This is reflected in the inventory taken at Sudeley Castle following Kateryn's death in September 1548, which, as discussed in chapter two, contained pieces of lesser value and quality than the ceremonial collection.[979] This confirms that the queen did indeed keep jewels close to her person, albeit ones that often served a more functional purpose than the ceremonial collection.

[974] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216r; *L & P*, vii, no. 9. She was Margery Horsman at this time and was not married until after July 1537.
[975] *L & P*, x, no. 499.
[976] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r.
[977] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r.
[978] *L & P*, xvii, no. 283:35.
[979] SoA, MS 129, f. 216v-220v.

5.4 Conclusion

The use of the Jewel House as an individually named entity reinforces the value that was placed on jewels – both ceremonial and personal – and the need to ensure that they were securely kept at all times. Furthermore, the variation in storage facilities was reflective of the functions they served for monarchs and their consorts. It is evident that in terms of storing the royal jewels, a number of procedures were put in place in order to ensure their security. Prior to the Reformation, the sacred nature of the coronation regalia accounted for its storage within Westminster Abbey. Its removal to the Tower following the Reformation reflected not only the need for security, but a desire to sever some of the ties with the Abbey following the decline in the mysticism which had once been so prominent in the Middle Ages. The need for added security also explains why the Tower was chosen to store the rest of the ceremonial jewel collection. Meanwhile, jewels that were in frequent use by monarchs and their consorts could be stored in the jewel houses located within palaces, thereby ensuring that they were easily accessible when kings and queens required them.

During the reign of Margaret of Anjou, the role of treasurer and keeper of the jewels was a combined official title, and is likely to have continued to be so throughout the reigns of Elizabeth Wydeville and Anne Neville. It was with Henry VII however, that the role of treasurer and keeper of the jewels was separated, and this developed further under Henry VIII. By this time the Master of the Jewels, whose role and title continually evolved and changed throughout the period, cared for the ceremonial jewels. This continued following the death of Henry VIII, and during the reign of his successor, Edward VI, the role became more prestigious. This is reflected by the participation of the Master of the Jewel House in coronation ceremonies: from 1547 he delivered the bracelets during the ceremony.[980] This not only reinforces the importance of the position, but the diverse nature of the duties it involved. Between the reigns of Henry VI and Henry VIII however, the role appears to have been largely consistent in its basic function.

As far as consorts were concerned, it was almost certainly during the reign of Elizabeth of York that, in keeping with the changes her husband made to the royal household, new arrangements were put in place for the care of the queen's jewels – arrangements that

[980] Keay, *Crown Jewels*, p. 23.

continued into the reigns of Henry VIII's consorts. No longer did queens have an official salaried treasurer and keeper of the jewels in the same manner as Margaret of Anjou, but instead the task of caring for the queen's personal jewels fell on trusted members of their households. It has been shown that in the households of Jane Seymour and Katherine Howard, these were high-ranking ladies, and the same is likely to have been true for the rest of Henry VIII's queens.

This chapter has demonstrated the way in which all parts of a queen's jewel collection were stored, and has examined the changing manner in which they were cared for. It is now clear that throughout this period the task of caring for the royal jewels was an honourable one that reflected the office holder's favour with the monarch and consort. This in turn emphasises the integral role that such individuals played in assisting the queen with the provision of the jewels – jewels that were necessary in all aspects of her life, in order for her to fulfil her duties as a queen consort.

Chapter Six: Goldsmiths and Commissioning Jewels

6.1 Introduction

In 1534 the Imperial ambassador wrote to his master of Henry VIII that 'This king is getting plate of all sorts manufactured, and all the goldsmiths are fully occupied', a testimony to the importance of royal patronage.[981] Given the penchant for jewels among monarchs and their consorts, for many centuries there has been a natural connection between the royal court and goldsmiths. As Hayward has highlighted though, the words 'goldsmith' and 'jeweller' were often interchangeable during this period, and there are examples of both titles being applied to the same person.[982] Monarchs were credited with having started new trends, and the court was at the very centre of fashion.[983] This provided the ideal outlet for goldsmiths to showcase their work in the hope of securing preferment, for royal patronage was crucial.[984] As this chapter will demonstrate, it was not unusual for kings and queens to have favoured goldsmiths and they often fulfilled a variety of tasks on behalf of their royal patrons besides creating jewellery.[985] For example, in 1510 Robert Amadas, later Henry VIII's Master of the Jewels, was paid £100 for 'goldsmith's work upon 100 guard jackets', while in 1543 Henry Coldewell was commissioned 'for the impression and making of the great seal and the privy seal of the Court'.[986] These examples convey the diversity of a goldsmith's role. Similarly, goldsmiths were often on hand to create special commissions, and examples of this appear throughout this period. Goldsmiths also sold smaller, less bespoke items in their shops, thereby making their products accessible to a wider range of people.[987] This chapter will contextualise the prominence and the role of the goldsmith in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, thereby underlining their importance in the lives of queens. It then examines the jewels that queens commissioned, seeking to show that it was a common occurrence for them to employ the services of goldsmiths to create jewels, either for themselves or others. This in turn accentuates the power that queens wielded over the creation of their own image, and the jewels that they chose in order to project their own sovereignty.

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[981] *L & P*, vii, no. 957.
[982] Hayward, *Dress*, p. 336.
[983] Reynolds, *Fine Style*, p. 15.
[984] Cherry, *Medieval Goldsmiths*, p. 61.
[985] Anderson Black, *History of Jewels*, p. 133.
[986] *L & P*, ii, p. 1446; *L & P*, xviii, part 2, no. 231.
[987] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 22.

6.2 Goldsmiths

In 1327 the Goldsmiths' Company was founded in London as a guild for the goldsmith trade, but that same century the sumptuary laws had stipulated that the wearing of gold jewellery was limited to the noblest sections of society, thereby maintaining a social hierarchy in terms of display.[988] The result was that the majority of commissions a goldsmith received came either from royalty or the nobility, thereby placing a high level of dependence on these clients. The invaluable work of Jessica Lutkin has shown that Henry IV had a great interest in luxury items, and spent great sums on goods from goldsmiths.[989] This was continued by his successors, but by the end of the fifteenth century attitudes towards the sumptuary laws had begun to change: other levels of society adorned themselves with jewellery, thereby broadening a goldsmith's potential clientele. Even so, personal commissions from goldsmiths were still much in evidence at the royal court, bringing queens into regular contact with the craftsmen. Harper has therefore rightly argued that members of the Goldsmiths' Company enjoyed better access to court than many merchants of others trades, as a result of the valuable nature of the goods that they sold.[990] Furthermore, Harper related that goldsmiths – unlike other tradesmen – were likely to have personal interaction with the monarch in order to discuss the specifications of commissions.[991]

There is evidence that Jane Seymour and Kateryn Parr chose to employ one goldsmith, Peter Richardson, whilst the accounts of Elizabeth of York show that in the final year of her life she employed several, including a gentleman named Lybart, Henry Wurley, John Vandelf and Alexander Hove.[992] Similarly, the accounts of Anna of Cleves reveal that she employed the services of a number of goldsmiths, including Peter Richardson, Cornelius Hayes, Robert Copper and John Hawes.[993] The employment of numerous goldsmiths by these two queens indicates that they played an integral role in their lives, and is suggestive that queens employed the services of goldsmiths on a regular basis. In a

[988] Tait (ed.), *7000 Years*, p. 140.
[989] J. Lutkin, 'Luxury and Display in Silver and Gold at the Court of Henry IV', in L. Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century IX* (2010), pp. 157-8.
[990] Harper, 'Royal Servants', p. 177.
[991] Harper, 'Royal Servants', p. 178.
[992] E 36/210 f.66-7; *L & P*, xi, no. 519:17; *L & P*, xix, part 2, no. 688.
[993] E 101/422/15, unfoliated.

further sign of great favour, on one occasion Elizabeth of York made a gift of a buck to two of her goldsmiths, John Vandelf and Lybart.[994]

London was the chief centre for jewellery production in England, followed by York, Chester, Norwich and Exeter.[995] This meant that quality pieces were available across the country, but there was a high concentration of goldsmiths in London, where the goldsmiths' quarter centred on Foster Lane, off Cheapside.[996] Some of the most prominent goldsmiths of the period, including Bartholomew Rede, John Shaa and Robert Amadas – all of whom worked for either Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII and Henry VIII – all had shops in Cheapside.[997] The reign of Edward IV had a profound impact on jewellery production and the goldsmith trade as a result of the Common Seal that was granted to the Goldsmiths' Company by the King in 1462.[998] This ensured that the eminence of goldsmiths and their industry continued to rise, for the Company had the power to inspect and regulate all gold and silver in the City of London, appointing wardens to oversee this.[999] As such in 1469 there were as many as 112 foreign master goldsmiths so recognised, all of whose names appear in the Goldsmiths' Company records.[1000] The important work of T.F. Reddaway added valuable context to this eminent guild, whose 1469 numbers demonstrate the importance of the goldsmith trade to the royal court.[1001] This shows how integral goldsmiths were to the royal projection of splendour and magnificence.

At the English court it was not uncommon for English and foreign-born goldsmiths to work for kings and queens. This is confirmed by the surviving names of those who worked there during this period, several of who worked for consecutive monarchs. As mentioned in chapter four, Matthew Philip, goldsmith to Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, provided plate for the coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville, whilst Hugh Brice had worked for Edward IV and later served Henry VII.[1002] Similarly, it was not unusual for patronage to pass

[994] E 36/210, f. 83.
[995] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, p. 34.
[996] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 22; Forsyth, *Cheapside Hoard*, p. 22.
[997] GC, MS 1521, f. 28r.
[998] Evans, *English Jewellery*, p. 51.
[999] W.A. Steward, 'Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' Work – Past and Present', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 81 (1933), p. 870.
[1000] Evans, *English Jewellery,* p. 51; GC, MS 1520.
[1001] T.F. Reddaway, 'The London Goldsmiths Circa 1500', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (1962), pp. 49-62.
[1002] Scofield, *Edward the Fourth*, I, p. 375; *CPR*, 1461-7, p. 268; *CPR*, 1485-1509, p. 38.

between members of the same family. John Amadas was named as Elizabeth Wydeville's goldsmith in her surviving accounts, whilst his nephew Robert Amadas later became goldsmith to both Henry VII and Henry VIII, and Master of the Jewels as discussed in chapter five.[1003] Numerous examples of family members apprenticed to goldsmiths appear in the Goldsmiths' Company books, suggesting that this was not uncommon.[1004]

A number of goldsmiths are listed in Henry VII's Chamber Books, including Robert Amadas, John Vandelf, John Shaa and Bartholomew Rede.[1005] As Harper has shown, several of these were particularly prominent members of the King's court who all served as royal servants, and some became Mayor of London.[1006] Similarly, Rede served as a warden of the Goldsmiths' Company, ensuring that high standards were being met within the trade.[1007] This shows both the diversity of a goldsmith's role, and the status with which they were afforded.

Henry VIII was also served by a number of goldsmiths, including Peter Van Utricke who hailed from Antwerp.[1008] Cornelius Hayes, whose work will be discussed shortly, was a favoured goldsmith, whilst from 1539 Morgan Wolf was given the title of 'the King's Goldsmith'.[1009] Neither was it purely goldsmiths who received royal patronage: from at least 1539 to 1545 Henry VIII employed Richard Atsyll as his official 'graver of precious stones' – Atsyll was also referred to as 'polisher of stones'.[1010] Likewise, Alard Plomer or Plomyer, a French jeweller referenced in chapter two in relation to the recasting of part of Jane Seymour's collection, was called 'the King's jeweller' in 1542.[1011] As this chapter will demonstrate, he also undertook work for Anna of Cleves.

As well as employing goldsmiths at court, Henry VII and Henry VIII both purchased jewels from goldsmiths abroad.[1012] Paris was the largest centre for goldsmiths north of the Alps, with many goldsmiths' shops located near Notre Dame, whilst Bruges was another

[1003] E 36/207, p. 36; E 36/214, f. 27r; P. Glanville, 'Cardinal Wolsey and the goldsmiths', in S.J. Gunn & P.G. Lindley (eds), *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, state and art* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 141.
[1004] GC, MS 1520; GC, MS 1521.
[1005] E 36/214, f. 63r; E 101/414/6, f. 36r; BL, Add MS 59899, f. 26v; BL, Add MS 59899, f. 93v.
[1006] Harper, 'Royal Servants', p. 177.
[1007] GC, MS 1520, f. 177r, 253r.
[1008] *L & P,* ii, p. 1444.
[1009] *L & P,* xviii, part 1, no. 436.
[1010] Tait (ed.), *7000 Years*, p. 220; *L & P*, xvi, no. 380.
[1011] *L & P*, xvii, no. 220.
[1012] See *L & P*, ii, p. 1465.

important European centre.[1013] Florence, Venice and Prague were also prominent, showing a broad European demographic.[1014] Frustratingly, the names of the goldsmiths the king's bought their jewels from are often absent, and Henry VII's Chamber Books contain frequent references to 'a Jueller of Fraunce', or on one occasion to 'Piers Danyell Jueller off Fraunce', for 'Juelles and other stuff'.[1015] Other payments show that he paid for 'certain Juelx bought beyonde the See', whilst in December 1505 he 'sent over the see in Fraunce and Flaundres for to be emploied vpon certen Juelles and plate'.[1016] These examples demonstrate the developments in trade, and the European centres for jewellery production that the court had access to. There is no evidence that queens followed the examples set by their husbands in this quarter, though they were certainly exposed to and patronised foreign goldsmiths in England. [1017]

6.3 Commissioning Jewels

This thesis has continued to emphasise that both kings and their consorts were enthusiastic about jewels, wearing them regularly in a statement of both majesty and wealth. The accounts of Edward IV, Henry VII and Henry VIII all reflect this passion, and those of Henry VII and Henry VIII show that they often bought large quantities of jewels at a time, some of which are likely to have been intended for their wives.[1018] Howell suggested that buying jewels in quantity related to a deep-rooted social convention in the life of the royal court.[1019] There is certainly evidence to support this in the accounts of Henry VII, who laid out sums of money for jewels at regular intervals, and in order to mark specific occasions when the splendour of the monarchy needed to be accentuated. For example, in 1500 the King paid £14,000 'for diverse & many Juells brought oute of Fraunce agenst the marage of my lorde prince [Arthur]', conveying the importance of the marriage and the need to impress.[1020]

[1013] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 22; C. Weightman, *Margaret of York: The Diabolical Duchess* (Stroud, 2009), p. 29.
[1014] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 22.
[1015] E 101/415/3, f. 2r; BL, Add MS 59899, f. 62r.
[1016] E 101/415/3, f. 19r; E 36/214, f. 10v.
[1017] Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence*, p. 5.
[1018] See E 404/74/2; E 36/214, N.H. Nicolas (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Eighth from 1529-1532* (London, 1827).
[1019] Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 79.
[1020] BL, Add MS 7099, f. 68.

There is ample evidence that queens followed the examples set by their husbands, and were active in commissioning jewellery from goldsmiths', some with greater frequency than others. Chapter three referred to patronage as a key aspect of queenship in relation to portraiture, and the surviving evidence shows that many queens in this period also fulfilled this in terms of commissioning jewels. There are exceptions: although Anne Neville certainly wore jewels and is likely to have commissioned pieces, the lack of surviving evidence makes it impossible to confirm her activities.[1021] It has been suggested that the Middleham Jewel, a high status Agnus Dei featuring a sapphire and religious inscriptions, once belonged to her, or else to Cecily Neville.[1022] Laynesmith even proposed Joan Beaufort as a possible owner, whilst Anthony Pollard provided compelling evidence that Anne Beauchamp, mother to Anne Neville, was responsible for commissioning the jewel.[1023] Such an important piece was undoubtedly made by special commission, and probably for reasons that were personal to the owner. In support of this are the religious engravings and inscription it contains, all thought to aid women in childbirth.[1024] It is however, impossible to pinpoint an owner with any certainty.

The accounts of Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Wydeville, Elizabeth of York, Anna of Cleves and Kateryn Parr provide confirmation that queens made regular use of goldsmiths'. From the period 1452-3, Matthew Philip was owed £125 10s. for jewellery and goldsmith work for Margaret.[1025] Although the details of her purchases are unrecorded, this was a sizeable sum and is reflective of Margaret's tastes. Lightbown highlighted that Margaret's father, René of Anjou, had a great enthusiasm for goldsmiths work, which in turn could have influenced his daughter.[1026] Philip was well favoured by both Margaret and her husband, and besides various commissions for Henry VI, had been paid £200 for breaking down the ruby ring Henry had worn at his coronation in Paris 'to make an other Ryng for the Quenes Wedding Ring'.[1027] This ring later passed into the ownership of Henry VIII, where it was recorded in his 1530 inventory; 'A silver-gilt box, containing the ring wherewith Henry VI

[1021] Hicks, *Anne Neville*, p. 217.
[1022] Cherry, *Middleham Jewel*, p. 12; J. Cherry, 'Healing through faith: the continuation of medieval attitudes to jewellery into the Renaissance', *Renaissance Studies*, 15 (2001), p. 157.
[1023] Laynesmith, *Cecily*, p. 14; A. Pollard, 'The Smethon Letter, St Penket and the Tablet of Gold', in M. Aston & R. Horrox (eds), *Much Heaving and Shoving: Late-Medieval Gentry and Their Concerns, Essays for Colin Richmond* (London, 2005), p. 40.
[1024] Unknown Maker, 'Middleham Jewel', Yorkshire Museum; Cherry, *Middleham Jewel*, p. 34.
[1025] E 101/410/15; Myers, 'Household of Queen Margaret', p. 10.
[1026] Lightbown, *European Jewellery*, p. 39.
[1027] Rymer (ed.), *Foedera*, XI, p. 76.

espoused his Queen'.[1028] After this it disappears, and its fate is unknown. It was not unusual for queens to employ the same goldsmiths as their husbands, which, as discussed shortly, Elizabeth of York and Anna of Cleves sometimes did. This underlines the high regard in which these craftsmen were held.

Margaret of Anjou's jewel bill is even more extraordinary when compared with the payments of her successor, Elizabeth Wydeville. Elizabeth's household was less extravagant than Margaret's, and her only surviving accounts show that in 1466-7, £54 was paid to her goldsmith, John Amadas – less than half the amount previously outlaid by Margaret.[1029] This is only representative of one year, and may not therefore be typical of Elizabeth's spending habits. Like Margaret, there is no itemised bill to explain what this sum covered, but the comparatively low amount could be explained by the differing approaches from the two queens. Whilst Margaret as a foreign princess evidently relied on jewellery as a way of broadening her network, as discussed in chapter seven, as well as accentuating her own splendour, as an English widow Elizabeth Wydeville did not have the same concerns. This was certainly the view of Anne Crawford, who believed that Elizabeth never attempted to spend money on expanding her network as Margaret had done.[1030] Nevertheless, £54 was a significant sum, but is perhaps a reflection of Elizabeth's own thriftiness by contrast to her predecessor. Equally, it could be that Edward IV paid for some of Elizabeth's jewels. Elizabeth's jewel expenditure does, however, seem to have been the exception rather than the rule, and further evidence in support of this appears in the surviving accounts of her daughter, Elizabeth of York.

Elizabeth of York's accounts not only provide an interesting point of comparison with those of her two predecessors, but also with those of her husband. The sums spent by Henry reflect his enthusiasm for jewels and display, and accounts survive covering most of his reign.[1031] By contrast, Elizabeth of York's surviving expenses cover just the last year of her life.[1032] They are nevertheless interesting because like her predecessor Margaret of Anjou, they reveal that she was capable of spending significant sums on jewels, albeit at

[1028] *L & P*, iv, no. 6789.
[1029] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 217; E 36/207, p. 36.
[1030] A. Crawford, 'The King's Burden?: the Consequences of Royal Marriage in Fifteenth-century England', in R.A. Griffiths (ed.), *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces: In Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1981), p. 50.
[1031] See E 101/414/6; E 101/414/16; E 101/415/3; E 36/214; BL, Add MS 59899.
[1032] E 36/210.

key moments. Unlike the accounts of both Margaret and Elizabeth Wydeville though, Elizabeth of York's are itemised in several places, allowing us to develop a clearer picture of the way in which she spent her money. They therefore provide more complete evidence of a queen's relationship and interaction with goldsmiths than any of her predecessors in this period.

Table 17: Elizabeth of York's Jewel Payments: E 36/210

Year	**Description**	**Amount**	**Folio**
11 June 1502	'to William Antyne Coper smyth for spangell[es] sett[es] Square pec[es] sterrys Dropes and point[es] after siluer and gold for garnisshing of Jakett[es] against the disguysing'	20s	40
13 November 1502	's[ir] Richard Lewes knight for a Cheyne of golde w[i]t[h] vij knott[es] wayeng vij onz'	26s 8d	64
17 November 1502	'Lybart goldsmyth for contentac[i]on of a bill signed w[i]t[h] thande of the Quene for certain p[ar]cell[es] of stuf of his occupac[i]on by him deliuered to the quenes gr[ac]e as appereth by the same bill'	£19 7s 1d	66
23 November 1502	'to Henry Wurley of	£60	66

	London goldsmyth in p[ar]tie of payement of a Warrant and bill[es] signed w[i]t[h] thandes of the quenes grace' for 'certain stuf of his occupac[i]on'		
24 November 1502	'John Vandelf and Alexaundr[e] Hove goldsmythes in full contentac[i]on and payement of a bill signed w[i]t[h] thande of the quenes g[ra]ce', for certain pieces 'against the mariage of my lord prince decessed'	£67	67
7 February 1503	'Henry Coote of London goldsmyth in p[ar]tie of payement of C m[a]rk[es] to him due for certain plate deliuered to the quenes g[ra]ce '	£20	86

Elizabeth's accounts reveal that she had regular personal contact with goldsmiths, as the numerous bills signed by her own hand confirm. Interestingly and predominantly, this contact occurred in November 1502. This does not, however, suggest that this was when she made the greatest amount of jewel purchases, as three out of the four entries are bills for items previously ordered by Elizabeth – indeed the final entry, dated 24 November in relation to the marriage of her son, Prince Arthur, was a year old, as the wedding had taken place in November 1501. This indicates both that Elizabeth had been slow in settling

her goldsmiths' bills, and that it was not unusual for her to receive such bills months after her purchases had been made. Unfortunately, these bills are frustratingly vague, preventing any further analysis of the nature of Elizabeth's purchases.

Elizabeth's accounts do not reflect any preference for specific goldsmiths. In the same manner as Henry VII, they show that she used a variety of goldsmiths to complete commissions. Like Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI who favoured Matthew Philip, both Elizabeth and Henry VII employed John Vandelf, with Henry settling regular accounts with the goldsmith.[1033] That some of the goldsmiths employed by Elizabeth differed from those used by her husband – Alexander Hove, for example – suggests that he did not influence her when it came to choosing who would create her jewels, and thus her choices were made independently. As Elizabeth's accounts only survive for one year, and her goldsmiths' payments are largely clustered around the marriage of Prince Arthur, it is difficult to ascertain how regularly she used goldsmiths under normal circumstances. Her payments and those of her husband do show though, that it was not unusual for monarchs and consorts to purchase pieces from members of the nobility, as Elizabeth did from Sir Richard FitzLewes.[1034] Henry VII's Chamber Books show that he in turn paid the Marquess of Dorset £100 for 'a ring of gold'.[1035] When compared with those of her husband, Elizabeth's accounts reveal that the sums she was spending on jewels were considerably lower, most likely in a clear reflection of their financial circumstances. They were though, slightly higher than those of Margaret of Anjou. This can be explained by the occasion of Prince Arthur's marriage, which merited the largest of Elizabeth's costs. Given the lack of the remainder of Elizabeth's accounts, it is impossible to ascertain whether this was an exception, or normal behaviour on Elizabeth's part. Gifts of jewellery given to her son Henry however, discussed in chapter seven, indicate that she could be generous.

There is less evidence for the spending habits of some of Henry VIII's queens. The wardrobe accounts of Catherine of Aragon from 1515-17 make no mention of jewels, thereby confirming that clothes and jewels were entirely separate entities.[1036] Her badly damaged household accounts, referenced by Hayward, show only that in 1520 she

[1033] See BL, Add MS 59899, f. 3v, 7v, 44v.
[1034] E 36/210, f. 64.
[1035] BL, Add MS 7099, f. 6.
[1036] E 101/418/6; See Beer, 'Practices and Performances', p. 91.

employed a goldsmith named Fernando Gawo, who was probably Spanish.[1037] However, a list of New Year's gifts given by Catherine in 1522, analysed in chapter seven, reveal that she used the services of seven goldsmiths, including Morgan Wolf and Robert Amadas, to produce her gifts.[1038] This indicates that Catherine may have used Gawo for creating her own jewellery, but patronised a number of others when it came to larger commissions.

The lack of documentary evidence prevents confirmation in regards to specific commissions, but there is ample evidence that Catherine had a preference for objects that displayed her badge of the pomegranate. It appeared on books, in stained glass and on architecture, serving as 'visual shorthand' for Catherine's status as Queen of England.[1039] This badge also appeared on jewels, and such pieces were clearly made especially for Catherine in a reflection of her heritage. There are many examples in the jewel inventory of Henry VIII, but whether Catherine or her husband commissioned these is unknown. For example, 'A golden girdle, well wrought, with roses and pomegranates', and 'A garter with letters of gold; castles and pomegranates', both of which were an acknowledgement of Catherine's roots.[1040] Likewise, a surviving silver-gilt vase that may once have belonged to the King is also decorated with the pomegranate.[1041] Other pieces appear in an inventory of the goods of the Duke of Richmond, and may have been given as gifts by Catherine.[1042] Hope Johnston has argued that Catherine's use of the pomegranate provided a distinct way in which she could identify herself with her Spanish roots, despite her role as Queen of England.[1043] This would also explain why she potentially employed a Spanish goldsmith. What is more, Henry VIII's jewel inventory shows the influence that Catherine's heritage had on his choices, for several pieces were noted as being 'of Spanish work' or contained some reference to Spain.[1044] The collar of gold that Catherine bequeathed to her daughter, Mary, in her will was also noted as having been brought from Spain.[1045] The evidence is therefore indicative that Catherine had a preference for Spanish craftsmanship when it came to commissioning her jewellery. Similarly, Catherine's subjects were able to use her badge as a way of demonstrating their

[1037] See Hayward, *Dress*, p. 336; BL, Cotton MS Appendix LXV.
[1038] *L & P*, Addenda I, no. 367.
[1039] H. Johnston, 'Catherine of Aragon's Pomegranate, Revisited', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 13 (2005), p. 155.
[1040] *L & P*, iii, no. 463.
[1041] T. Schroder, 'A Royal Tudor Rock-Crystal and Silver-Gilt Vase', *BM*, 137 (1995), p. 256.
[1042] Nichols (ed.), *Inventories*, p. 5.
[1043] Johnston, 'Catherine of Aragon's Pomegranate', p. 154.
[1044] *L & P*, iii, no. 463.
[1045] BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216r.

loyalty. An example of this can be seen in a sixteenth century silver-gilt chape found in the Thames in 1989, which features engravings of the pomegranate.[1046]

Henry VIII's inventory contains numerous items that featured the initials H and K, such as the pair of gilt flagons 'with Rooses H and k knytt together', but it is impossible to tell which of Henry's three wives who shared this name these were made for.[1047] It is however, likely that an item given to the Lady Mary by the King on 12 December 1542 once belonged to Catherine of Aragon. This was the 'Boke of golde with the Kings face and hir graces mothers'.[1048] Such items and those in the King's inventory show that even after Catherine's death, items containing traces of her were still extant.

Like Catherine of Aragon, jewellery was made especially for Anne Boleyn, the most recognisable of which were her famous initial jewels, discussed in chapter three. Initialled pieces or items featuring a monogram or emblem show that they must have been commissioned especially for that person, and thus Anne's jewels would have been crafted either at her own instigation or as a gift. As discussed previously, similar initial pieces appear in Kateryn Parr's inventory. As these examples do not appear in Katherine Howard's inventory, Kateryn must have commissioned them or received them as gifts. One such example is the, 'one H and K with a large Emerode and one large perle pendaunt'.[1049] Henry VIII's inventory lists several items of plate and jewellery that featured Anne Boleyn's arms, such as 'one glasse of birrall garnished with gold with the late Queene Annes armes vppon the cover', and 'one Tablet of golde set with small Emerauldes perles and one Dyamounte with H and A'.[1050] Moreover, on one occasion the King made his son the Duke of Richmond a gift of 'a grete Jugg with a cover gilt, with letters H and A crowned'.[1051] Other items appear in the King's inventories featuring his and Jane Seymour's combined initials, demonstrating that this was something Henry put into practice with many of his wives.[1052]

An inventory of some of the King's jewels compiled after Anne's death reveals the nature of some of the pieces that are likely to have been commissioned for her. These included a

[1046] H. Forsyth, 'An Inscribed Sixteenth-Century English Silver-Gilt Chape', *BM*, 138 (1996), p. 392.
[1047] SoA, MS 129, f. 86v.
[1048] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 178.
[1049] SoA, MS 129, f. 178v.
[1050] SoA, MS 129, f. 28v, 188v.
[1051] Nichols (ed.), *Inventories*, p. 13.
[1052] BL, Royal Appendix MS 89, f. 21r-v.

gold enamelled ring with a table diamond featuring the word 'MOSTE' that formed part of Anne's motto, as well as a gold brooch with the letters R.A [Anna Regina] in diamonds.[1053] There is no evidence as to whether Anne or her husband ordered these specific pieces, but we do know that Henry ordered and paid for jewels on her behalf. One such payment was made on 7 April 1532, during the couple's courtship: 'Item the same day paid to the said Rasmus for garnishing of a desk with laten and gold for my lady Anne Rochford xliiij li. xviij s'.[1054] Likewise, an inventory of the King's jewels that were to be broken down contains several marginal notes referencing diamonds and rubies that were to be reserved 'for my ladye marques'.[1055] Such payments evidently continued after their marriage, as another in the King's accounts recorded: 'delyuerde to his saide highnes a bolle of fyne golde bought of Thomas Trappes goldesmithe, havinge Quene Annes sipher upon the toppe of the cover'.[1056] Trappes was a popular contemporary goldsmith who was favoured by Henry VIII, and employed to fulfil various commissions.[1057]

Several further examples of Henry paying for items adorned with jewels for Anne Boleyn can be found in his accounts, including a receipt dating from around 1536 from his embroiderer, William Ibgrave, 'for the Quenes hindre part of a kirtell the nombre of perles' that were sewn on to this particular garment.[1058] Another receipt acknowledged jewels received by Ibgrave from Anthony Denny on the King's behalf, which were to be embroidered on other garments.[1059] Finally, a receipt dated 10 May 1536 referenced work done by Ibgrave for embroidering pearls on to the King's doublet and 'the quenys graces slevys'.[1060] Ibgrave was clearly a favourite of the royal couple, and he had also worked for Catherine of Aragon.[1061] It was evidently not unusual for him to receive joint commissions from the king and queen, payment for which came from the King's coffers.[1062]

Henry VIII patronised many goldsmiths and jewellers, but during Anne Boleyn's ascendancy and reign, Cornelius Hayes received both her patronage and that of the King. There is numerous evidence that attests to the work Hayes completed for them, including

[1053] BL, Royal Appendix MS 89, f. 32v, 33v.
[1054] Nicolas (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 123.
[1055] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 41r-v.
[1056] Turnbull (ed.), *Monastic Treasures*, p. 97.
[1057] *L & P*, vii, no. 10.
[1058] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, p. 33.
[1059] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, p. 36.
[1060] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, p. 37.
[1061] See Hayward, *Dress*, p. 327; Beer, 'Practices and Performances', p. 110.
[1062] E 315/242/3, f. 22v.

the gems he was ordered to deliver to Anne as gifts from the King at various points in their relationship.[1063] In a further testament to the high regard in which the King held Hayes, in 1534 he was entrusted with the task of repairing one of the Crown Jewels; 'a sceptre with the dove broken off', though whether this was the king's or queen's is unknown.[1064] Although much of the work Hayes completed was for Anne, the examples of which are discussed in chapter seven in relation to gifts, the commissions and payments came directly from the King. In 1534 for example, Thomas Cromwell settled Hayes' bill 'for plate delivered to queen Anne' on the King's behalf.[1065] Due to Anne's lack of surviving household accounts it is impossible to say whether this was an exclusive arrangement, or whether she ordered and paid for separate commissions from Hayes and other goldsmiths – it is probable that she did. Neither is it possible to say whether the generosity Henry displayed to Anne was extended to his other wives, though given the numerous gifts he gave to Katherine Howard, discussed in chapters two and seven, it is a strong possibility. Hayes was particularly prominent in his role of resetting gems for Anne Boleyn, of which there is numerous evidence in the gifts she received from the King. Pressures of court finances are likely to have been responsible for jewellery being recast rather than being newly commissioned, and this explains why there are surviving lists of jewels that were delivered to Hayes on behalf of the King.[1066] Similar lists from both Hayes and the goldsmith Thomas Alvard survive, revealing the return of completed pieces of jewellery to the King.[1067] What is unclear however, is whether these jewels came from Catherine of Aragon and were recast for Anne, or whether they came from the King's own supplies. It is certainly possible that they had once been Catherine's, for a list of Catherine's belongings refers to two items that were 'Delyvered to the Quenes grace', one of which was a cup made of horn.[1068]

Hayes' favour with Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn was highlighted further in 1534 when he was tasked with a particularly important commission. This was to create a silver cradle in readiness for the royal baby that Anne was expecting (and miscarried), complete with 'stones that were set in gold in the cradle'.[1069] That it was a dual commission emphasized its importance, for Hayes was to work alongside 'Hance, painter' – Holbein, who was

[1063] *L & P*, v, no. 276.
[1064] *L & P*, vii, no. 10.
[1065] *L & P*, vii, no. 137.
[1066] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 48r.
[1067] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, p. 53; BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, p. 35.
[1068] Nichols (ed.), *Inventories*, p. 39.
[1069] *L & P*, vii, no. 1668.

employed 'for painting the same Adam and Eve' on the cradle.[1070] This accentuates the high regard in which both men were held, for this was a momentous piece: its commission signifies the importance that was placed on Anne producing a legitimate heir, who was to be showcased in a piece of such magnificence. It was not unusual for artists and jewellers to collaborate on projects, and Rowlands explained that Holbein designed jewels for Anne Boleyn, although there is no evidence that any of the pieces were actually made.[1071] Nevertheless, many of Holbein's jewellery designs from this period still survive, and are thus 'a record and an advertisement for the latest style in jewelry'.[1072] Interestingly however, Susan Foister suggested that these sketches may not actually have been designs, but rather 'individually owned jewels' that Holbein planned to incorporate into portraits of the owner.[1073]

Figure 39: Hans Holbein
Jane Seymour's Cup
c. 1536
Pen and ink
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Holbein not only designed a cup for Jane Seymour, but it was also created, though unfortunately sold abroad by Charles I in 1625.[1074] Nevertheless, the surviving sketch coupled with the description in Henry VIII's inventory conveys its magnificence (Figure 39). Described as 'one faier standing cupp of golde garnished with Diamountes and perles and this worde bounde to obeye and serve and H and J knytt togethers and in the topp of the cover the kinges armes and Quene Janes armes holden by twoo boyes vnder a crowne Imperiall', though the cup was a celebration of the King's union with Jane, it is unclear whether it was commissioned on her orders or her husband's.[1075] Whatever the circumstances it may reflect Holbein's desire to earn the patronage of the queen – as discussed in chapter three, he was responsible for painting Jane's magnificent portrait.

[1070] *L & P*, vii, no. 1668.
[1071] J. Rowlands, *Holbein: The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger* (Oxford, 1985), p. 88; Hayward, *Dress*, p. 188.
[1072] Hans Holbein, 'Drawing', c. 1532-43, British Museum, SL, 5308.37 for example; A.R. Jones & P. Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 41.
[1073] S. Foister, *Holbein and England* (New Haven & London, 2004), p. 40.
[1074] Hans Holbein, 'Jane Seymour's Cup', c. 1536, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1863.424; See J.F. Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism, 1540-1620* (London, 1976), pp. 299-300 for another piece potentially designed by Holbein.
[1075] SoA, MS 129, f. 15v.

Jane Seymour may have been more conscious of projecting an image of majesty than she has hitherto been credited with. The evidence for this comes in the form of another splendid piece of plate listed in Henry VIII's inventory, which was, according to the entry, 'made by Commaundement of late quene jane'.[1076] Described as

> A Bason of golde having in the bussell a Sheelde enameled wherein is the kinges armes crowned borne vpp by a lion crowned and a dragon having a Scripture aboutes the bussell Dieu et mon droit and foure small rooses of gold the border having allso iiij rooses of golde enameled white and redd and the same poysey Dieu et mon droit and an Ewer of golde with an handle to the same standing vppon three dragons heddes the foote chased with braunches haches and Erres enameled redd and in a bordre above that enameled blewe Dieu et mon droite the cover having an aungell standing vppon the knopp holding a sheeld wherein are the kinges armes the bordre thereof chased and garnished with vj rooses white and redd a worme and a fowle with a ring in his mowthe.[1077]

Although this piece was made on Jane's orders, the emphasis in the design is her husband's magnificence, rather than her own. As Benz argued, a queen's status made her inseparable from the crown, and thus this object accentuating Henry VIII's power could have been commissioned by Jane in an attempt to signify her own subservience to him, in keeping with her motto, Bound to Obey and Serve.[1078]

Jane's employment of the Dutch jeweller Peter Richardson was mentioned earlier in this chapter, and he is known to have made 'juells, woorks, and dyvyses' for her.[1079] It is interesting to consider Richardson's employment by two of Jane's successors, Anna of Cleves and Kateryn Parr when studying the interaction they had with goldsmiths. This link with the past may indicate nothing more than a preference for Richardson's work, which was certainly true of Kateryn Parr. It is equally possible that both Anna and Kateryn simply continued to employ him, as someone who had experience of serving the royal household. Given the link it seems plausible that Katherine Howard had also employed Richardson, but frustratingly, this can only be speculative without supporting evidence of commissions. What is more, the Privy Purse expenses of the Lady Mary show that in December 1544 she paid Richardson £30 for the King's New Year's gift, demonstrating

[1076] SoA, MS 129, f. 26r.
[1077] SoA, MS 129, f. 26r.
[1078] Benz, *Three Medieval Queens*, p. 167.
[1079] *L & P*, xi, no. 519.

that he did not work exclusively for the queen.[1080]

Anna of Cleves is the first of Henry VIII's wives for whom some substantial household accounts survive. Although Anna's term as queen was short, her accounts reveal that she was in regular contact with goldsmiths. A list of wages shows that Anna was paying 'the goldsmyth' who is unnamed, a regular wage each quarter, totalling 33s. 4d.[1081] This is something that also appears in Kateryn Parr's accounts, indicating that the two queens employed a regular goldsmith to fulfil commissions for them.[1082] In both cases this is likely to have been Richardson, who is referred to in the accounts of both queens as the queen's goldsmith.[1083]

Between February and June 1540, Anna's accounts refer to seven individual goldsmiths who completed a variety of commissions for her. Among them were Richardson, Cornelius Hayes who role has already been discussed, and Alard Plomyer. This is an exceptionally high number for so short a period, and her accounts also show that she was spending enormous sums. This strongly suggests that Anna was determined to make a positive impression on her new subjects, and saw jewellery as a way of creating a majestic image. This is confirmed by the nature of her purchases, listed below.

Table 18: Anna of Cleves' Jewel Payments

Date	Goldsmith	Object	Price	Reference
Unknown	Robert Cooper	'certeyne thing[es] by hym don toward[es] the p[re]formance of the quenes Sadles	£100	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
Unknown	Robert Cooper	'for lyke thyng[es] by hym employed about the quenes Sadles'	£66 13s 4d	E 101/422/15, unfoliated

[1080] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 170.
[1081] E 101/422/15, unfoliated.
[1082] E 315/340, f. 49v-50r.
[1083] E 101/422/15, unfoliated.

Unknown	Unknown	'for a Ring floweryd like Roses with Rubies'	£10	E 101/422/16, f. 68v
Unknown	Unknown	Payment for a ring	£30	E 101/422/16, f. 68r.
Unknown	Richard Stakey	'for graving and makyng of the Quenes grac[es] great Seale'	£9	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
Unknown	Garat Harman	'one other table dyamonde'	£25 13s 4d	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
Unknown	Unknown	'for a cuppe w[i]th a cover all gylt weyng xxv ownc[es] & d[em]I quarter	£6 5s 7.5d	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
February-May 1540?	Cornelius Hayes	'for makyng of spangles'	£20	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
17 February 1540	Alard Plomyer	'on[e] broche of the hystorie of Sampson garnysshed w[i]th Dyamons'	£28	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
17 February 1540	Alard Plomyer	'on[e] table dyamond'	£28	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
2 April 1540	Cornelius Hayes	'for the makyng and goold of the Quenes Chayn'	£24 4s 4d	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
17 April 1540	Unknown	'for ij diamond[es] oon beyng A Rose the o a flour de booe of diamond[es]	£11 13s	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
27 May 1540	Peter Richardson	'for certeyne Juelles & other thyngs '	£46 18s	E 101/422/15, unfoliated
5 June? 1540	Peter Richardson	'for certeyne Juelles by hym made'	£10	E 101/422/16, f. 733r
25 June 1540	Roger Horton	'the makyng w[i]th the sylv[er] of Her grac[es] Trencher knyves'	£4 4d	E 101/422/16, f. 733v

As the table shows, the sums of money that Anna was spending in a short time are extraordinary. Interestingly, there was also a payment to John Hawes who was described

as 'the quenes goldcutter' in settlement of a bill – possibly Hawes had created a cameo for Anna.[1084] The items she was purchasing confirm that she was attempting to build an impressive image: the large sums outlaid to Robert Cooper for Anna's saddles suggest that she was eager to be seen by her subjects, and to project this persona to as many people as possible. This is reinforced by the amount that she was spending on single diamonds, as well as other pieces such as the chain, the ring and the brooch. Interestingly, a brooch described in similar terms later appeared in Henry VIII's inventory: 'a brouche of the force of Sampson sett ouer with dyamountes'.[1085] If this was the same piece then it indicates that Henry had acquired it from his former wife, perhaps as a gift or else at the time of their annulment. The purchase of a seal from Richard Stakey also shows that Anna was aware of the way in which jewels could aid the administrative aspects of her role. The image of an impressive consort that Anna was eager to create can be seen in other areas of her accounts. For example, she purchased spangles, and 'a Crymsen velvet bonet sett wythe buttons of gold and with a fether tasselled with golde and frynged with gold'.[1086] In a similar manner to Margaret of Anjou, as a foreign princess Anna may have been more aware of the need to surround herself with splendour. This is certainly borne out by a further payment she made to Robert Cooper on 10 May 1540: Cooper was paid £63 10s 8d 'in full payment of hys byll'.[1087] The bill is not itemised, but it confirms that Anna was not averse to investing heavily in material items.

During Kateryn Parr's regency in the summer of 1544, her accounts show that she was in regular contact with Richardson. A payment notes that between May 1543 and May 1544, an unspecified amount was paid to 'P [missing] Goldes [missing]' – presumably Peter Richardson, for the 'p[ro]vysion & making of dyv[er]s & sundrye p[ar]cells of work of golde sylver & p[re]cyous stone made & delyv[er]ed to her hignes use'.[1088] Interestingly however, a further note stated that 'besyd[es] certaine p[ar]cells of broken sylv[er] golde to him delyv[er]ed & deducted in the pryce of his sayd p[ar]celles'.[1089] This shows that Richardson was expected to take second hand jewels in part payment for his services, which seems surprising given the funds that Kateryn would presumably have had access to. On 20 June 1544, Richardson was paid £20 for spangles to adorn the coats of her

[1084] E 101/422/15, unfoliated.
[1085] SoA, MS 129, f. 161r.
[1086] E 101/422/15, unfoliated.
[1087] E 101/422/15, unfoliated.
[1088] E 315/161, f. 214r.
[1089] E 315/161, f. 214r.

footmen, whilst on another occasion 12d was paid for 'trussing the Queen's jewels, and for going for her goldsmith and silkwoman'.[1090] This was not the only occasion on which Kateryn had contact with Richardson that summer, for in September a messenger was rewarded for 'riding for Peter Richardson, the Queen's goldsmith'.[1091] Later that same month, Richardson's name appeared again when he was paid 'for certain her affairs, and to speak with Nicholas Cratesere and others about the same affairs'.[1092] Although the precise details of Kateryn's contact with Richardson are unclear, the mention of Nicholas Kratzer holds a clue. As the King's Clockmaker who had been responsible for the design of the astronomical clock at Hampton Court Palace in 1540, Kratzer held an important position at Henry VIII's court.[1093] What is more, Kateryn Parr evidently had an interest in clocks, as an entry in her accounts notes a payment for the repairs of two.[1094] Likewise, not only was she depicted wearing a clock jewel in her Master John portrait, but two items containing clocks appear in her jewel inventory: firstly, 'a Tablet of golde being a Clock fasshioned like an Harte garnysshed with iij Rubies and one fair dyamounte lozenged', as well as 'a Tablet being therein a Clocke on thoneside the kinges worde wrought of Dyamountes furnysshed and on thother side a Crosse of Dyamountes furnysshed with xxiiiij dyamountes with a button hanging thereat hauing twoo dyamountes and twoo Rubies'.[1095] As neither of these items appear in Katherine Howard's inventory, it is reasonable to assume that they were either given to Kateryn, or that one or both of these pieces were the topic of conversation between the Queen, Richardson and Kratzer in September 1544, which led to their commission.

Another payment in Kateryn's accounts notes that in 1546 one of her yeoman was sent to convey her goldsmith – presumably Richardson – to her, demonstrating that they were in regular contact.[1096] James suggested that it may have been Richardson who was responsible for the creation of the ouche 'with a Crowne conteyning ij Dyamountes one Rubie an Emerode the Crowne being garnysshed with dyamountes and iij perles pendaunte', that Kateryn can be seen wearing in her Master John portrait.[1097] The design

[1090] E 315/161, p. 18; *L & P*, xix, part 2, no. 688.
[1091] *L & P*, xix, part 2, no. 688.
[1092] *L & P*, xix, part 2, no. 688.
[1093] Worsley & Souden, *Hampton Court Palace*, p. 38.
[1094] E 316/161, p. 83
[1095] SoA, MS 129, f. 179v-180r.
[1096] E 314/22, p. 7.
[1097] SoA, MS 129, f. 178r; Master John, 'Katherine Parr', NPG; James, 'Lady Jane Grey or Queen Kateryn Parr?', pp. 20-4.

of the ouche clearly conveys Katherine's interest in the royal image and the importance of majesty. What is certain is that the ouche later came into the possession of Elizabeth I, and appears in her 1587 inventory.[1098] Anne of Denmark later owned it but ordered it to be broken down, presumably due to the advances in fashion.[1099]

Kateryn's accounts bear witness to another important item that was commissioned on her orders. This was a joint commission for cameos created by John Bettes and Giles Gering.[1100] Whilst Bettes painted miniatures of both the King and 'the Quenes grace', Gering was paid for having 'engraved in stone' both images. [1101] The value of cameos was analysed in chapter two, but the importance of this commission can be seen by the affixation of Kateryn's seal, and her signature which rarely appears against other payments in her accounts. This suggests that Kateryn dealt directly with both Bettes and Gering, who created the jewels to her specifications. Neither of these items appears in Kateryn's inventories, indicating that she commissioned them in order to bestow elsewhere – possibly to the King, as James suggested, as they were evidently high status jewels.[1102]

Kateryn Parr's accounts cover a wider period than those of Anna of Cleves, yet they provide no further evidence of jewellery that was commissioned on her orders. However, a number of pieces appear in her inventory that do not match those belonging to Katherine Howard, suggesting that Kateryn either commissioned new items or had different tastes to her predecessor, and refashioned jewels. Such items include the brooch featuring Kateryn's personal emblem, described in chapter two.[1103] Her accounts do, however, show that on one occasion she paid for pearls to be embroidered on to her clothes, further accentuating her love of finery.[1104]

[1098] BL, Royal MS Appendix 68, f. 26r.
[1099] National Library of Scotland, MS 31.1.10. f. 19v.
[1100] E 314/22, p. 18.
[1101] E 314/22, p. 18.
[1102] James, *Feminine Dynamic*, p. 103.
[1103] SoA, MS 129, f. 179r.
[1104] E 101/423/12, unfoliated.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has contextualised the role of the goldsmith in fifteenth and sixteenth century England, in order to show that goldsmiths were prominent members of society with regular access to the royal court. This naturally brought them into contact with kings and queens, whose patronage they sought and earned in order to fulfil special commissions on their behalf. The patronage of goldsmiths by the royal family and the court was integral to a goldsmith's survival and reputation, and it is clear that both Henry VII and Henry VIII favoured several goldsmiths. Harper was therefore accurate in her assertion that 'goldsmiths were indispensable to the king and his household in a way that no other group of craftsmen or merchants were', yet the same was also true of queens.[1105] Evidence of this can be seen with Jane Seymour, Anna of Cleves and Kateryn Parr, all of who patronised Peter Richardson, whilst Anna employed many others during her short term as queen. Such goldsmiths were able to complete commissions on behalf of the queens, such as the elaborate basin that was created on the orders of Jane Seymour.

The surviving accounts of Elizabeth of York, Anna of Cleves and Kateryn Parr confirm that queens were in frequent contact with goldsmiths, and that it was not unusual for them to order jewels on a regular basis. These were often commissioned for a number of reasons, and Elizabeth of York's accounts bear testimony to the great expense she outlaid on jewels for the wedding of her son, Prince Arthur. Anna of Cleves was extraordinary in that the sums of money she spent in a short period of time are likely to have reflected a desire from her to establish herself firmly as England's consort. This, and other examples cited throughout this chapter, serves to highlight the way in which queens were able to use their own resources in order to take control of their own image, using jewels as a way of doing this. Commissioning jewels provided them with an outlet to showcase their personality and tastes, thereby projecting their majesty in the manner in which they desired.

[1105] Harper, 'Royal Servants', p. 179.

Chapter Seven: Gift Giving

7.1 Introduction

'The gift was a process, rather than exclusively a material entity', but even so Heal noted that, 'there was a present or reward for every circumstance'.[1106] The gift giving process formed an integral part of life at fifteenth and sixteenth century courts, and was one in which queens were fully immersed: it was a vital part of queenship. Gifts were given in order to mark a number of occasions, which will be discussed throughout the course of this chapter. Yet as it will demonstrate, the giving and receiving of jewellery was not a common occurrence – even among queens – so when such gifts were given by queens it was not only a sign of great favour, but could be an attempt to network and secure loyalty. However, as examples of gifts of jewels given by Katherine Howard underline, they could also be used as bribes. Jewels given to queens marked every great event in her life, and would be expected by consorts and the royal family on occasions such as births, christenings, marriages and deaths. [1107] Ample surviving examples of such gifts will be examined in this chapter, which will analyse the way in which queens gave, received and used jewels in the context of gift giving to mark a number of occasions: New Year, gifts between family members, piety, diplomacy and bribes, and prizes.[1108] The examples in this chapter will show how gifts of jewels aided and enhanced relations with a queen's husband and family, her construction of networks at and beyond the court, and her diplomatic standing. It will further convey the way that gifts of jewels accentuated a queen's status both as an individual and within her court, and added another dimension to the projection of majesty.

7.2 The Context of Gift Giving

In theory giving a gift was a voluntary process, and as Heal asserted, the spirit of the gift had to appear to be freely given.[1109] In reality though, it was part of a reciprocal process in which 'the recipient feels obligated to reciprocate with a counter-gift, although not

[1106] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 23 + 114.
[1107] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 4.
[1108] Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence*, p. 5.
[1109] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 6.

explicitly compelled to do so by any existing authority'.[1110] Heal's work is particularly useful for providing an English perspective which is directly relevant to this period, but also effectively relates the whole spirit of the gift and the history behind it.[1111]

Not all gifts were freely given, and could therefore cause problems when taken out of context. During Henry VIII's courtship of Anne Boleyn, Sir Thomas Wyatt, a rival suitor, 'caught from her a certain small jewel hanging by a lace out of her pocket'.[1112] He refused to return it, and when the King boasted of having won Anne's love and produced a ring she had given him as proof of it, Wyatt supposedly countered it by flaunting the jewel he had previously taken from Anne, much to the King's dismay.[1113] This story demonstrates the impact that gifts of jewels had both as signs of affection in a relationship, and in arousing jealousy in a third party.

The practice of royal gift giving has been established in England for many centuries, with examples dating back to the Roman period.[1114] Gifts were often chosen with a great deal of care, for as Maurer related, 'Gift giving made an important statement about the giver's status, wealth and generosity. Likewise, it involved recognition of the recipient's status'.[1115] For those who received gifts from a queen, it was a sure sign of the favour in which they were held. This is in keeping with the argument of Natalie Zemon Davis, who asserted that 'In a sense, the whole patronage system was carried on under the rhetoric of gifts'.[1116] Using France as a case study, Zemon Davis' work adds valuable context to the circumstances surrounding gift giving. The result was that 'the higher the symbolic value of the gift he or she gives in return'.[1117] It was not just the object itself, but also the mode of presentation that mattered.[1118] The size and quality of the present was dependent on the social status and the relationship of the parties involved, but if chosen correctly the

[1110] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 39.
[1111] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 6.
[1112] G. Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey,* ed. R.S. Sylvester (London & New York, 1959), pp. 426-7.
[1113] Cavendish, *Life and Death*, pp. 426-7.
[1114] See I.K. Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008).
[1115] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 86.
[1116] Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000), p. 62.
[1117] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 39.
[1118] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 35.

gift could serve to strengthen the bonds of allegiance between both individuals and families.[1119]

Surviving receipts and gift-rolls from the period 1445-1548 reveal the nature of gifts given and received by monarchs and their consorts, from the humble to the elaborate. The Queen's Book of Elizabeth of York, for example, shows that she frequently gave rewards to subjects who brought her gifts of fruit and cheese amongst other things.[1120] Her accounts are littered with such references, and show that gifts such as these were more frequent than personal gifts from friends and family members. This confirms that more significant gifts of jewels were limited to special occasions, reinforcing both their importance and cost. Similar surviving examples in the Chamber Books of Henry VII, and the accounts of Anna of Cleves and Kateryn Parr show that such rewards were standard practice.[1121] In 1540 for example, Anna's accounts record a reward given to a subject 'for brynging of twoo larks to your grace', whilst in 1547 Kateryn rewarded a woman who brought her strawberries.[1122] Much can be gleaned about the gift giving practices of queens from surviving documentary sources, and the way in which they deployed their finances.

Although there are many records of gifts given to and by queens during this period, there are likely to have been many occasions on which gifts of jewels went unrecorded. Dmitrieva and Murdoch believe that this can be explained because by the fifteenth century, gift giving had become such a long-standing tradition that it had become trivial.[1123] The result was that many gifts were barely mentioned in contemporary sources. Similarly, there are often occasions when jewellery gifts are described as a 'token'. Heal explained that tokens 'were often small gifts, accompanying letters or messages, expressing the goodwill of the sender', a description that accurately matches the numerous surviving examples.[1124] In 1519, Thomas Boleyn referred to the French Queen Claude's intention to send Catherine of Aragon a token, while in 1522 Henry VIII received a token of a ring as a gift from his sister Margaret, Queen of Scotland.[1125] Rings were a

[1119] Eichberger (ed.), *Women of Distinction*, p. 287.
[1120] E 36/210, f. 31, 38.
[1121] See E 36/214, f. 13r for example.
[1122] E 101/422/16, f. 68r; E 315/340, f. 26r.
[1123] O. Dmitrieva & T. Murdoch (eds.), *Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts and the Russian Tsars* (London, 2013), p. 25.
[1124] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 32.
[1125] *L & P*, iii, no. 446; *L & P*, iii, no. 2725.

popular choice of token, and examples of their use are frequent throughout this period. Katherine Howard gave a rather larger token to Lady Rutland: 'a peir of beades of mother of peerll garnesshed with golde'.[1126] Katherine used beads as gifts on other occasions, discussed later in this chapter, and perhaps chose them for their versatility.

7.3 New Year

The main season for gift exchange was New Year. Although it was not the only time of year when gifts were traditionally exchanged, the gifts given at Lent and Easter were more often associated with Christian themes and charity. Unfortunately there are no extant examples of gifts given or received by queens in this period on these occasions. New Year was the most public gift giving occasion, when courtiers would gather to present their offerings to the monarch and their consort.[1127] At New Year 1538 for example, John Husee recalled that 'The King stood leaning against the cupboard, receiving all things, and Mr Tywke [Tuke] at the end of the same cupboard penning all things that were presented'.[1128] Such an example reveals that it was not unusual for the monarch to receive their gifts in person, rather than through a member of their household.

Zemon Davis argued that from the Roman period there were two different types of New Year gift: gifts of good omen that could be given to recipients of any rank, and reciprocal gifts that required something in return.[1129] It was the latter that were primarily in practice during this period, and numerous gift rolls survive bearing testimony to the gifts that were given to and by the monarch.[1130] In England this practice had begun in the thirteenth century, and thus was well established by the fifteenth century.[1131] Gifts of jewellery for queens were popular, but to receive one in return was a rarity. When a monarch and their consort gave jewels on this occasion, the value of the jewel was marked against the rank of the recipient.[1132] As Hayward pointed out though, it was more common for courtiers to

[1126] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 65r.
[1127] Hollis (ed.), *Princely Magnificence*, p. 10.
[1128] *L & P*, xiii, part 1, no. 24.
[1129] Zemon Davis, *The Gift*, pp. 23-4.
[1130] See E 101/421/4, E 101/420/15, E 101/421/13 for examples during the reign of Henry VIII; BL, RP 294 for Mary I & Elizabeth I.
[1131] Lutkin, 'Luxury and Display', p. 157; Stratford, *Richard II*, p. 66.
[1132] Campbell, *Medieval Jewellery*, p. 23

receive plate.[1133] By using the surviving evidence from 1532, 1534 and 1539, Hayward demonstrated that the amount of plate purchased from goldsmiths by Henry VIII for his courtiers was substantial, with the most pieces bought in 1534.[1134]

Although all of the queens in this period would have participated in New Year's gift giving, the evidence for their activities is slender in some instances. For example, there is no record of Elizabeth Wydeville's gift giving habits at New Year or elsewhere, whilst the only comment made in relation to Anne Neville comes from the Crowland Chronicler. He remarked upon the 'vain exchanges of clothing between Queen Anne and Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the dead king [Edward IV]', that took place at Christmas 1484.[1135] From this fragment of information we see further evidence of the rarity with which queens bestowed gifts of jewels, even amongst members of their own family.

7.4 Margaret of Anjou's Jewel Accounts

Of all of the queens in this period, there is more surviving evidence for the New Year's gift giving of Margaret of Anjou than any other. Five of Margaret's jewel accounts survive, recording the recipients of the Queen's New Year's gifts from the period 1446-53.[1136] Margaret's two Keepers of the Jewels, John Norris and Edward Ellesmere, discussed in chapter five, created these accounts, noting the nature of the gift each recipient received. The recipients are listed in order of rank, and the presents that they received reflected this. Some of the accounts are damaged in places, and this is particularly true of E 101/410/2, covering the years 1448-9, which is also faded. It is therefore difficult to extract precise information from all of these documents, and for this reason the numbers listed in the table are approximate.

Myers' thorough study of Margaret's household demonstrated that Margaret was a particularly generous giver of jewels at New Year.[1137] Myers made a close examination of E 101/410/8, Margaret's jewel account covering the year 1452-3.[1138] As both this and the other surviving accounts show, Margaret was bountiful to her servants. Given the lack of

[1133] Hayward, 'Gift-Giving', p. 9.
[1134] Hayward, 'Gift-Giving', pp. 35-7.
[1135] Pronay & Cox (eds), *Crowland Chronicle*, p. 175.
[1136] E 101/409/14; E 101/409/17; E 101/410/2; E 101/410/8; E 101/410/11.
[1137] Myers, 'Household of Queen Margaret', pp. 79-113.
[1138] Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', pp. 113-31.

comparative source material for other contemporary queens, it is impossible to ascertain whether Margaret's generosity was unique, or if she conformed to the expected gift giving patterns of queens. The surviving evidence does suggest that the nature of gifts given by other queens at New Year did not consist of jewels on anywhere near the same kind of scale. Kateryn Parr, for example, chose to make her household gifts of clothes on one occasion.[1139] This makes Margaret's accounts all the more significant, and allows us to draw some interesting conclusions. As the table below shows, the number of recipients listed in Margaret's accounts was extensive, and extremely variable:

Table 19: Margaret of Anjou's New Year's Gifts: E 101/409/14; E 101/409/17; E 101/410/2; E 101/410/8; E 101/410/11

Year	**Number of Recipients (approximately)**
1445-6	105
1446-7	105
1448-9	93 +
1451-2	187
1452-3	98

The first three accounts show that the number of recipients was relatively stable with no great changes. However, as Myers established in his study of Margaret's accounts, her finances were in a perilous state.[1140] Yet, 'so strong was the social compulsion' to make such gifts at New Year, that coupled with Margaret's generosity the list of recipients was long.[1141] With the onset of the 1450s however, there is a marked change, and it is interesting to consider what impact the political climate may have had on Margaret's gift giving: in 1451 for example, England lost the Duchy of Aquitaine, which could have led Margaret to bestow a significantly higher number of gifts in an attempt to rally support. Similarly, Maurer observed that the same year Margaret's failure to bear an heir was causing political tensions in the country to run high, a further reason for her to try to make allies.[1142] In 1453 however, though as Maurer has established, Margaret could by no

[1139] E 101/423/12, unfoliated.
[1140] Myers, 'Household of Queen Margaret', p. 114.
[1141] Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', p. 114.
[1142] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 42.

means have been certain of her pregnancy, she may have suspected this to be the case, leading to a dip in the number of gifts given.[1143]

Margaret's finances undoubtedly impacted upon those who received a New Year's gift, and the table demonstrates how changeable this could be. Many of the recipients listed were members of Margaret's household, and appear in more than one account: for example, Elizabeth Grey, who is likely to have been Margaret's successor, Queen Elizabeth Wydeville, and Rose Merston, both the Queen's ladies.[1144] Maurer highlighted the prominence of females in Margaret's gift lists, which is suggestive of the female networking that was happening around the queen, and this can be seen across all of Margaret's accounts.[1145] The surviving evidence for the gift giving patterns of other queens, discussed shortly, supports this, and though not always taking place at New Year suggests that they were attempting to do the same. Furthermore, members of Margaret's household often received the same gift in a clear reflection of rank. In 1453 for example, they all received ornamented chopins.[1146] Alternatively, Maurer asserted that Margaret may simply have liked the women she gave gifts to, and wished to reward them; this too is a plausible explanation, particularly for some of her unmarried ladies who, as Laynesmith has emphasised, Margaret was particularly generous to.[1147]

As would be expected, all of the recipients in Margaret's gift lists appear in order of rank, starting with the King, leading clergy and nobility. The same names appear on numerous occasions throughout the gift lists: the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, and the Duchess of Bedford amongst others.[1148] This suggests not only continuity in the relationships the Queen was building with her nobility, but also, as a foreign-born queen, a desire to foster good relations with her subjects. Earenfight asserted that one effective way 'to build strong ties among the nobility was to bestow largesse in the form of hospitality and the exchange of gifts', and Margaret's gift lists provide evidence of that.[1149]

[1143] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 43.
[1144] E 101/409/14; E 101/410/8.
[1145] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 86.
[1146] E 101/410/8. They are described as 'x chopynes goderoned parcellatim deauratos ponderantes xij marcas et j quarteriam troie'.
[1147] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, pp. 86-7; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 228.
[1148] E 101/409/14; E 101/409/17; E 101/410/2.
[1149] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 37.

There are occasions on which Margaret's gifts were not as lavish as they had been on previous occasions, and it seems likely that this reflects the depletion in Margaret's funds at the time. In 1453 the Duchess of Somerset was the only person of rank to receive an individual gift from Margaret – a jewelled saltcellar worth £28.[1150] Myers argued that Margaret gave fewer and less expensive gifts in 1453 than she had in the years immediately following her arrival from England, a circumstance that he attributed to her increasingly stretched financial circumstances.[1151]As noted above however, Margaret may have suspected her pregnancy at this time, but also had a strong ally in the form of the Duke of Somerset. This meant that she had little need to buy male political support through gifts, which may partially account for there being fewer distributed. Margaret's jewel accounts are a unique source for studying queens of this period, and are the only ones to survive. As such it is difficult to ascertain how comparable they were with those of other English queens.

7.5 Tudor Queens

Although not bestowed frequently, jewels provided monarchs with a potential supply of readymade gifts that did not incur additional costs. Evidence of this can be seen in the early years of the reign of Henry VI, who was fond of bestowing jewels of gifts on those closest to him at New Year. In 1437 it was recorded that he gave his mother, Katherine of Valois, a 'tabulett of golde with a crucifixe', whilst his step-grandmother Joan of Navarre also received a tablet.[1152] Interestingly, however, whilst Katherine's gift was purchased from a goldsmith, Joan's had once been given to 'the Kynge by my lady of Gloucestre'.[1153] Several other recipients were also given gifts that had once been the King's personal property, signifying the way in which Henry was able to recycle jewels in order to create new gifts and save money. That Henry chose to purchase his mother's gift does, though, suggest a warm relationship between the pair. Henry VI was not alone in this respect, and Hayward has shown that Henry VIII followed the same pattern. As Hayward has

[1150] Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', p. 114; Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 90.
[1151] Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', p. 114.
[1152] Cited in S. Bentley (ed.), *Excerpta Historica: Or, Illustrations of English History* (London, 1831), pp. 148-9.
[1153] Bentley (ed.), *Excerpta Historica*, p. 149.

highlighted, the King's jewel house provided a source of readymade gifts that did not present the King with additional costs, yet still made an impressive statement.[1154]

The most costly and elaborate gifts exchanged at New Year were naturally between the king and queen. Before they were even married, in January 1540 Henry VIII sent word to the recently arrived Anna of Cleves that he had brought her an expensive gift, which consisted of 'a partlet furred with sables and sable skins for her neck, with a muffler furred and a cap'.[1155] He was considerably more generous to Katherine Howard, and eight pieces of jewellery in her inventory can be identified as New Year's gifts in 1541.[1156] This was undoubtedly influenced by Henry's passion for his fifth wife, and he continued to lavish other items of jewellery upon her throughout the course of their short marriage.[1157] Interestingly, there are no surviving examples of gifts that she made to him in return. It is certain that she made such gifts, as surviving evidence in her jewel inventory and a report of New Year 1541, analysed in due course, reveal that she too could be generous when it came to giving gifts.[1158] By contrast, one New Year Kateryn Parr had presented her husband with an elaborate gift of 'a faire Standdishe with a deske of gold'.[1159]

Hayward was correct in her assertion that Henry VIII's queens exchanged New Year's gifts with their contemporaries 'as a means of making and maintaining a network of patronage'.[1160] Like Margaret of Anjou, they distributed gifts to members of their households, and evidently gave this a great deal of prior thought. In autumn 1533, Thomas Cromwell had heard that Anne Boleyn planned to give 'palfreys and saddles for her ladies'.[1161] The will of Lady Maud Parr refers to 'beades of lignum alweys dressed with goulde' that had been given to her by Catherine of Aragon, but it is unclear on what occasion.[1162] It may have been a special sign of favour, for a list of New Year's gifts distributed by Catherine in 1522 shows that she only gave jewels to those of the highest rank, whilst the majority of her household received plate.[1163] Interestingly, of the ten recipients who did receive jewels – all of which were women – the gifts were listed as

[1154] Hayward, 'Possessions', p. 202.
[1155] *L & P*, xv, no. 850:7.
[1156] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r.
[1157] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r.
[1158] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r; *L & P,* xvi, no. 436.
[1159] SoA, MS 129, f. 199r.
[1160] Hayward, *Dress*, p. 157.
[1161] *L & P*, vi, no. 1194.
[1162] Nichols & Bruce (eds), *Doctors' Commons*, p. 14.
[1163] *L & P*, Addenda 1, no. 367.

having come from 'the Queen's store', rather than being newly purchased.[1164] As the earlier example of Henry VI has shown, this was not unusual, and Catherine's list also reveals that she had herself received most of these pieces as gifts. For example, the 'gold ring with a heartshaped diamond and 9 little granades or rybewes' that Catherine gave to her sister-in-law, Mary, had previously been given to her by the Bishop of Carlisle.[1165] Similarly, a gold pomander that Mary had once given to Catherine was bestowed upon Lady Boleyn.[1166] Jewels were greatly prized both 'for their social prestige and their appearance', and thus to receive such a gift from the queen was a singular honour – one that in reality few people ever experienced.[1167] Yet at New Year 1541 Katherine Howard made gifts of jewels to two of her ladies. A pair of beads were given to Lady Margaret Douglas, the King's niece, whilst Lady Baynton, Katherine's maternal half-sister, was the recipient of a 'Gurdell of Goldesmytheswerke conteignyng viij peces of one sorte and xv of another'.[1168] That these two ladies were the only members of Katherine's household to receive jewellery from the queen underlines their familial relationship with her.

It is unlikely that queens provided gifts for everyone at court, for Hayward has shown that the King exchanged gifts with groups of people who were clearly identified by their social standing, confirmed by the surviving gift rolls.[1169] The same is likely to be true of the queen. In 1535 for example, Lady Lisle's agent informed her that 'I send you the Queen's [Anne Boleyn] New Year's gift, a pair of gold beads, weighing, with their tassels, 5 oz'.[1170] In a further complimentary gesture that suggested intimacy, the beads were 'of her grace's own wearing'.[1171] As Lady Lisle was married to the King's illegitimate maternal uncle, such a gift may have been an acknowledgement of their familial proximity to one another.[1172] This was not the only occasion on which Lady Lisle received a gift from one of Henry VIII's queens, for in 1537 she was the recipient of an unknown New Year's gift from Jane Seymour.[1173] Some of the gifts distributed by the King were on behalf of himself and his consort, for at New Year 1541 the Imperial ambassador related that following the receipt of gifts from the King's daughter, Lady Mary, in return she was sent 'two

[1164] *L & P*, Addenda 1, no. 367.
[1165] *L & P*, Addenda 1, no. 367.
[1166] *L & P*, Addenda 1, no. 367.
[1167] Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', p. 113.
[1168] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 65r, 61v.
[1169] Hayward, 'Gift-Giving', p. 129.
[1170] *L & P*, viii, no. 46.
[1171] M.C. Byrne (ed.), *The Lisle Letters,* 6 vols (Chicago, 1981), ii, p. 213.
[1172] D. Grummitt, 'Plantagenet, Arthur, Viscount Lisle', *ODNB*.
[1173] *L & P*, xii, part 1, no. 494.

magnificent New Year's gifts from himself and the Queen [Katherine Howard]'.[1174] Unfortunately there is no indication as to what these were.

Heal suggested that at New Year it was the responsibility of the subject to give their monarch a gift, and this in turn was rewarded by the return of a gift.[1175] In both instances, gifts were rarely delivered either to or from the monarch and his consort personally. Instead, a servant or associate was often appointed to deliver the gifts, as the example cited in chapter five in relation to Anne Boleyn demonstrates.[1176] Similarly, the list of Catherine of Aragon's New Year's gifts shows that one of her ladies or a member of her household delivered them.[1177] It was not unusual for gifts to be given to queens via an agent, and at New Year 1537 Lady Lisle's representative delivered a gift of 'a pair of beads of "granatts" [garnets] with gold' to Jane Seymour.[1178] In turn, the servants who delivered the gifts were rewarded, and Margaret of Anjou's accounts record payments to the servants of the Duchess of Bedford amongst others.[1179] Comparably, the Queen's Book of Elizabeth of York makes reference to rewards given to servants of the Bishop of Exeter, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Margaret Beaufort amongst others, all of whom brought the Queen gifts at New Year 1503.[1180] Comparably, the Lady Mary's accounts reveal that at New Year 1537 she rewarded 'one of the Page of the quenes Chambr for bringing hir grace new yeres gyfte to my lade grace', and a similar reward was made to Kateryn Parr's servant in 1544.[1181] These examples emphasise how the nature of sending a gift, which on the part of the courtier was a very personal one often of great expense, could become an impersonal experience by the very nature of how it was delivered. The use of an intermediary therefore disassociated the giver and the recipient, and can be partially explained by the frequent absence of members of the nobility from court at this time of year. It was therefore not only a custom but a more practical issue.

Henry VIII's surviving gift rolls provide examples of the gifts given to the King, and those he gave in return.[1182] In 1534 for example, the Bishop of Carlisle gave him 'a ring of golde

[1174] *L & P*, xvi, no. 436.
[1175] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 93.
[1176] *L & P*, viii, no. 15.
[1177] *L & P*, Addenda 1, no. 367.
[1178] *L & P*, xii, part 1, no. 450.
[1179] E 101/410/8.
[1180] E 36/210, f. 84-5.
[1181] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 9, 143.
[1182] E101/420/4; E101/420/15; E101/421/13.

with a diamant'.[1183] That such detailed lists were kept indicates the importance that was placed on the gift giving process. Also in 1534, Anne Boleyn made her husband a particularly elaborate gift:

Figure 40: Hans Holbein
Table fountain design for Anne Boleyn
1533-4
Pen and ink
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel

> a goodly gilte bason hauyng a raille or boarde of golde in the middest of the bryme garnished with rubies and pearls wherin standeth a fountein also hauyng a raille of golde about it garnished with diamants. Out wherof issueth water at the teets of three nayked women standing aboute the foote of the same founteyn.[1184]

On Anne's first New Year as Queen of England, her choice of gift was an attempt to make an impressive statement of her exulted status and majesty (Figure 40).[1185] It was undoubtedly intended to impress her court as much as her husband, thereby underlining the ways in which gifts and jewels could serve several purposes.

Although highly unusual and therefore serving to reinforce the unprecedented nature of queenship during this period, there are examples of Henry VIII's queens giving New Year's gifts to one another. Kateryn Parr did this on at least one occasion, referenced shortly, but so too did Katherine Howard. At New Year 1541 Anna of Cleves joined the court at Hampton Court Palace. Here she was warmly received by her former husband and the new queen – her own former lady-in-waiting, and 'At this time the King sent his Queen a present of a ring and two small dogs, which she passed over to lady Anne'.[1186] This was presumably done with the King's approval, and not only reveals Katherine Howard's kindly nature, but shows that she felt secure enough in her position to make such a personal gift, given to her by her husband, to her predecessor and former mistress. Similarly, as Hayward has asserted,

[1183] E101/421/13, p. 1.
[1184] E101/421/13, p. 1.
[1185] Hans Holbein, 'table fountain design for Anne Boleyn', 1533-4, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel, 1662.165.89.
[1186] *L & P,* xvi, no. 436.

the recycling of gifts – thereby offering a piece of personal property – could be seen as a sign of favour, as Katherine doubtless intended.[1187]

If a New Year's gift was not received it was a sure sign of disfavour. In 1537 Sir George Lawson – who usually received a gift from the King – was so concerned when he received nothing that he was forced to check with Thomas Cromwell that he had not caused offence.[1188] Such was the impact that a lack of gift could cause. This can plainly be seen in 1532, when Catherine of Aragon, though forbidden from sending Henry VIII a gift due to their separation, ignored his instructions. Catherine sent a gold cup, but as the Imperial ambassador Chapuys reported, 'the King refused it'.[1189] There could be no clearer indication that Catherine was out of favour, and the cup 'was sent back to the Queen'.[1190] To underline Catherine's disgrace further, 'The King has sent her no present, and has forbidden the Council and others to do so, as is usual'.[1191] The refusal to both give and receive a gift served as tangible evidence of Catherine's disgrace, and is in stark contrast to the treatment meted out to Anne Boleyn that year. Though she was not queen, in a visible display of her heightened importance, Anne appeared as an official recipient of a New Year's gift from the King for the first time.[1192] Anne had received New Year's gifts from the King on previous occasions, yet her appearance on the gift rolls for this year is significant. It denotes a change in the nature of her relationship with Henry, and suggests that both parties now believed that it had become more official. This is turn indicates that they both believed that their marriage would be concluded shortly.

Jewels were not only a popular choice of gift between queens and their husbands, but also with their children. At New Year 1540, for example, the Lady Mary made her brother Prince Edward a gift of a gold brooch with the image of St John the Baptist set with a ruby, whilst she received jewels from both Edward and her half-sister Elizabeth in 1543.[1193] Mary's accounts and jewel inventory show that she frequently gave jewels to friends and members of her family.[1194] Anna of Cleves was on such good terms with her stepdaughter Mary that she continued to exchange gifts with her after her marriage to Henry VIII had

[1187] Hayward, 'Gift-Giving', p. 137.
[1188] *L & P,* xii, part 1, no. 968.
[1189] *L & P,* v, no. 696.
[1190] *L & P,* v, no. 696.
[1191] *L & P,* v, no. 696.
[1192] E 101/420/15, p. 1.
[1193] BL, Add MS 11301, f. 12r; Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 96.
[1194] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, pp. 175-201.

been dissolved. These gifts included 'Spayneshe Silke' sent by Anna to Mary, and Mary's accounts note several payments of rewards made to Anna's servants for delivering gifts.[1195] Similarly, Kateryn Parr shared a good relationship with both her stepchildren and Anna of Cleves, and her accounts show that at New Year 1544 she gave cloth of silver for kirtles to Mary, Elizabeth and Anna, and clothes to Prince Edward.[1196] Kateryn's fondness for jewellery has been noted throughout the course of this thesis, and at New Year 1547 she gave her stepson Prince Edward a gift of a jewel containing miniatures of herself and the King.[1197] A gift of this nature was characteristic of Kateryn, who chapters three and six suggested distributed miniatures of herself to her friends and family. Kateryn had evidently chosen jewels as her theme for the year, as on the same occasion she gave her stepdaughter Mary 'a payr of Braceletts set with small ples [pearls?]'.[1198] It was the second known instance on which she had given Mary such a gift, for shortly after Kateryn's marriage she had presented Mary with a pair of diamond and ruby bracelets, one of which contained an emerald.[1199] This gift was of particular importance, as it signified an attempt on Kateryn's part to engineer good relations during the transition of their relationship to stepmother and stepdaughter. Bracelets were given as tokens of love and remembrance, which may explain their choice. These surviving examples nevertheless highlight that even queens did not give jewels to their family every New Year, further accentuating what a precious commodity they were.

7.6 Family

Aside from New Year, gifts were frequently exchanged between family members in order to mark a variety of occasions. For kings and queens, this process could begin with courtship. Heal suggested that courtship gifts could be viewed as 'a deferred promise of future performance', and this is most clearly in evidence in the relationship of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.[1200] Jewels were one of the most tangible ways of conveying love and affection, and every stage of the couple's courtship was marked by the gift of a jewel. The King's surviving letters to Anne make reference to several such gifts: 'seeing I cannot be

[1195] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, pp. 159, 118, 121.
[1196] E 315/161, f. 210r.
[1197] *L & P*, xxi, part 2, no. 686.
[1198] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 185. The same month that she received them, Mary gave the bracelets to Lady Browne.
[1199] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 185.
[1200] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 65.

present in person with you I send you the nearest thing to that possible, that is, my picture set in bracelets, with the whole device'.[1201] The nature of this gift was highly personal, as is reflected by the inclusion of a portrait within the jewels. It was clearly an attempt to win Anne's favour, but her uncertainty as to the nature of their relationship was underlined in the choice of jewel she sent in return. Fashioned like a ship in stormy waters with a lone damsel aboard, the jewel was symbolic of how Anne perceived her situation. It therefore demonstrates how jewels could be used to convey messages, something that was adopted with increasing frequency during the Elizabethan period.[1202] The meaning of the gift was not lost on the King, who responded by thanking Anne not only for the jewel, but 'for the pretty interpretation and too humble submission made by your benignity'.[1203]

As the relationship between Anne and Henry became increasingly serious, so too did the regularity with which the King bestowed jewels upon her. His 1531 accounts record numerous gifts for Anne from Cornelius Hayes, who was discussed in chapter six. These gifts do not, however, appear to have stemmed solely from 1531, and seem to have been gifted over several years.[1204]

Table 20: Anne Boleyn's Gifts from Henry VIII: *L & P*, v, no. 276

Possible Date	**Gift**
1527	Bracelets featuring a portrait of the King
1527	'a ring set with emeralds'
1531	'a little book with crown gold'
1531	'A ring with a table diamond'
1531	'a diamond in a brooch of Our Lady of Boulogne'
1531	'19 diamonds for her head'
1531	'Two bracelets for her, set with 10 diamonds and 8 pearls'
1531	'19 diamonds set in trueloves of crown gold'
1531	'21 rubies set in roses of crown gold'
1531	'A borasse flower of diamonds for her'
1531	'Two borders of gold for her sleeves, set

[1201] *L & P,* iv, no. 3321.
[1202] Scarisbrick, *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery*, pp. 42-69.
[1203] *L & P,* iv, no. 3325.
[1204] *L & P*, v, no. 276.

	with 10 diamonds and 8 pearls'
1531	'Two buttons of crown gold, set with 10 diamonds and 40 pearls'
1531	'2 diamonds on two hearts, for her head'
1531	'21 diamonds and 21 rubies set upon roses and hearts'
1531	'a dial and a tablet'
1531	'Five diamonds and 4 pieces of Paris work'
1531	'10 buttons of gold, set with diamonds'

The first gift of an emerald ring was delivered alongside 'numerous other presents of jewelry', although the precise details of these are not recorded.[1205] Similarly, several other items listed in the table were delivered with other pieces that are not specifically described. This suggests that they were either of lesser value, or that the quantities were too great, and therefore too laborious to record.

As the contents of the table show, the jewellery that Anne received was varied and included more practical items, such as buttons. If these jewels took her personal preferences into account then she seems to have been particularly fond of diamonds, which appear frequently. Many of the jewels are indicative of the nature of Anne's relationship with the King, and have a romantic theme to them. This is a testimony to the strength of Henry's feelings for Anne, despite the longevity of their courtship.

Hayward highlighted that St Valentine's Day was a popular choice for making a gift to a loved one, yet there are few examples of gifts that can be directly connected to queens.[1206] However, a payment in the 1540 accounts of Anna of Cleves shows that she paid £6 5s 7.5d. for a gilt cup 'whyche your grace gave unto M[aste]r Cecell [Cecil] beyng yo[u]r g[ra]ces valentyne'.[1207] This is the only direct evidence we have of a queen bestowing such a gift to mark this occasion, and indicates that Valentine's Day must therefore have been celebrated in some form at the Tudor court. An inventory of Henry VIII's jewels dating from 1530 lists 'five valentines of goldsmith's work', but it is unclear whether any of these were gifts.[1208] One piece that certainly was came from Catherine of

[1205] *L & P*, v, no. 276.
[1206] Hayward, *Dress*, p. 236.
[1207] E 101/422/15, unfoliated.
[1208] *L & P*, iv, no. 6789.

Aragon: 'A blue heart and H and K. With white letters and a lock to it. With two hands holding a heart, with a hanging pearl, given by the Queen'.[1209] The occasion on which this jewel was given though, is unknown. Other items that appear in the inventories of Henry's wives reveal the popularity of romantically themed jewellery, and could have been intended as Valentine's gifts. Anne Boleyn for example, was given various pieces shaped like hearts, including two pieces listed in the earlier table: '2 diamonds on two hearts, for her head', on 5 February 1531.[1210] The date on which this piece was given certainly makes it plausible that it was a Valentine's gift. A more certain example of a Valentine's gift appears in the jewel inventory of the Lady Mary. This shows that she was given 'a Broche of golde enamyled blacke with an Agate of the Story of Abrahm with iiij small Rockt Rubies' by Sir Anthony Browne, 'drawing hir grace to his Valentyne'.[1211] As Sir Anthony was both a married man and highly trusted by the King, this gift was intended as no more than a friendly gesture.

A queen's marriage was a key lifecycle event, and gifts of jewels might therefore be expected on this occasion as they 'added festivity and courtesy to the formalities of contract'. [1212] Yet there is a lack of evidence in connection with the queens of this period. Nevertheless, the examples of jewels given to Margaret of Anjou by Henry VI discussed in chapter four in relation to the Crown Jewels are likely to have been wedding gifts. In the seventeenth century Sir Francis Bacon claimed that following the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in 1486, 'Gifts flowed freely on all sides and were showered on everyone, while feasts, dances and tournaments were celebrated with liberal generosity to make known and to magnify the joyful occasion and the bounty of gold, silver, rings and jewels'.[1213] This claim is however, impossible to corroborate. Evidence does survive in connection with the marriage of Mary Tudor to the French King, Louis XII, in 1514. The Earl of Worcester reported to Cardinal Wolsey that Louis had presented his bride with 'the goodliest and the rychest sight of Jouelles [missing words] I saw. I wold never have believed it if I had not seen [missing word]'.[1214] Not only did Louis provide Mary with 'lvi great peces that I sawe of dyamonds and Rubies vii of the grettest perles that I have seen', but amongst other splendid jewels he also gave her 'a marvellous greate pointed

[1209] *L & P*, iv, no. 6789.
[1210] *L & P*, v, no. 276.
[1211] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 177.
[1212] Zemon Davis, *The Gift*, p. 29.
[1213] F. Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry VII,* ed. B. Vickers (Cambridge, 1998), p. 32.
[1214] BL, Cotton Caligula D VI, f. 201v.

diamond, with a Rubye almost two inches longe, withoute foil, which was esteemed by some men at ten thousand marks'.[1215] This example serves as evidence not only of Louis's enthusiasm for Mary and his determination to be generous, but also as a way in which he was able to use jewels to emphasise his wealth and magnificence to his foreign bride and her family. This shows the importance that gifts played in these joyous occasions, and highlights the majesty of the monarch.

The marriages of a queen's children marked another key lifecycle event, and it was not unusual for money to be outlaid on jewels in preparation. This was important in order to convey the wealth of the dynasty, and was of particular consequence to Henry VII and Elizabeth of York with their newly established Tudor dynasty. Henry VII's Chamber Books record that in 1501 he spent the extravagant sum of £14,000 'for diverse and many juells brought oute of Fraunce agenst the marage of my Lorde Prince', Arthur to Catherine of Aragon.[1216] Some of these may have been used at the time of Catherine's reception into London, when the *Great Chronicle of London* recorded that 'the said pryncesse accompanyed with many lordis and ladyes In moost sumptuous wyse apparaylid' prepared to enter the city.[1217] Equally likely is that the jewels displayed on this occasion had been a part of Catherine's wedding trousseau, as throughout the course of the marriage negotiations Henry VII had made it clear to her parents that they 'are to dress their daughter suitably to her rank (honorifice), and to give her as many jewels, etc., for her personal use, as becomes her position'.[1218] Catherine's dowry partially consisted of jewels, which led to a dispute between Henry VII and the Spanish sovereigns following Arthur's death in 1502 over their return.[1219] Though no details of specific items are known, that jewels could be used to form part of a foreign bride's dowry once more emphasises the value that was placed on precious objects.

Some of Henry VII's expenditure for his eldest son's wedding may be accounted for by the gifts he made to Catherine in 1502. In order to help quell his daughter-in-law's homesickness when her Spanish servants were destined for home, Henry VII summoned his jeweller who had 'many rings, and huge diamonds, and jewels of most goodly

[1215] BL, Cotton Caligula D VI, f. 201v; BL, Cotton Caligula D VI, f. 203r.
[1216] BL, Add MS 7099, f. 68.
[1217] A.H. Thomas & I.D. Thornley (eds), *The Great Chronicle of London* (London, 1983), p. 297.
[1218] *CSPS*, I, p. 5.
[1219] See *CSPS*, I, no. 287; *CSPS*, I, no. 364; *CSPS*, I, no. 448.

fashion'.[1220] Catherine was permitted to choose a piece as a gift, while her ladies then followed suit. Such a gift demonstrated both Henry's generosity and his magnificence, and is seemingly in keeping with his character – contrary to his traditional reputation as a miser.[1221] Indeed, further evidence of both of these elements of Henry's personality can be seen in the preparations for the marriage of his daughter, Margaret, to the King of Scotland in 1503. On this occasion 'sertain juells, plate, and other stuff' were bought for both Margaret and the King at a cost of £16,000.[1222]

Queens could receive jewellery from their husbands as signs of affection. Evidence of this can be found in Henry VII's Chamber Books, which reveal that he regularly gave Elizabeth of York gifts of jewels, or money with which to buy them. In 1492 for example, he gave 'the Quenes grace for golde wyer' £2. 6s. 8d, presumably to adorn items of clothing.[1223] In May 1497 he gave Elizabeth a further £31 10s. 'for juels'.[1224] It is interesting to consider that Henry did not choose his wife's jewels himself, which suggests that this particular gift was not a personal one. Alternatively, it could be indicative that he simply preferred to allow Elizabeth to buy something of her own choice, or that he was reimbursing her for items she had already purchased. Although the Queen's Book containing Elizabeth's expenses covers only 1502 and 1503, it reveals no such similar gifts to her husband.[1225] This could be as a result of her straightened finances rather than her feelings towards her husband, for Henry's accounts show that on other occasions he had given Elizabeth money for the purpose of clearing her debts, and this continued for some time after her death.[1226]

An entry in the accounts of Anna of Cleves shows a payment in 1540, possibly in July, to 'my Lady of Rutland for a Reward whyche she gave for your grace for a fayer flower curiously wrought & sent to the kyngs highnes'.[1227] That Anna was making gifts of jewels to her husband potentially at a time when her marriage was coming to an end may be indicative of her desire to earn the King's favour. However, Anna's example shows that

[1220] G. Kipling (ed.), *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne* (London, 1990), pp. 77-8.
[1221] See S. Anglo, 'Ill of the Dead: The Posthumous Reputation of Henry VII, *Renaissance Studies*, 1 (1987), pp. 27-47.
[1222] BL, Add MS 7099, f. 82.
[1223] BL, Add MS 7099, f. 4.
[1224] BL, Add MS 7099, f. 40.
[1225] E 36/210.
[1226] BL, Add MS 59899, f. 56-7, 62r; E 101/414/6, f. 119r.
[1227] E 101/422/16, f. 735r.

even following the breakdown of a royal marriage it was still possible for a couple to exchange gifts. Following her separation from Henry VIII in July 1540, it was observed that Anna 'sent his Highness a ring for a token' as a sign of the goodwill she bore towards him.[1228] More poignantly, she also sent him 'the ring delivered unto her at their pretensed marriage, desiring that it might be broken in pieces as a thing which she knew of no force or value'.[1229] Henry's generosity to Anna in thanks for her co-operation in the annulment of her marriage has been noted in chapter one in relation to the jewels he bestowed upon her, thus in material terms it was to Anna's advantage to do so. This act of kindness on behalf of the King conveys his determination that Anna 'will be considered as the King's sister, and have precedence over all ladies in England, after the Queen and the King's children'.[1230] Similarly, that the former married couple exchanged New Year's gifts in both 1541 and 1542 is proof that they remained on good terms.[1231]

Bearing her husband a child was a crucial moment in a queen's life, and thus it was not unusual for her to receive gifts of jewels upon this occasion. For kings this provided a tangible way of rewarding their wives, and there is evidence that Edward IV chose to do this at least once. His accounts record that in 1466 he spent £125 on 'an ouch agenst the tyme of the birth of our moost dere daughter Elizabeth', which was presumably given to Elizabeth Wydeville.[1232] The cost of the jewel was substantial, and serves as confirmation of the King's joy. There is no evidence to suggest that Edward gave Elizabeth similar gifts following the births of their subsequent children, and it could be that this was a unique gift ordered to mark the birth of the couple's first child. It is also possible that this jewel was purchased prior to the baby's birth in hopeful anticipation that Elizabeth would provide Edward with a son. This would certainly explain why such a large sum was paid. Nevertheless, this example serves as further affirmation that jewels were used to mark lifecyle events, in this instance the fulfilment of bearing the king an heir.

Gifts were also given to the midwives who delivered royal children by way of reward. Marjory Cobb, who delivered the future Edward V in 1470, was rewarded with a grant of £10 for life, and this was probably a standard sum, for when Henry VIII's first son was

[1228] *L & P*, xv, no. 925.
[1229] *L & P*, xv, no. 925.
[1230] *L & P*, xv, no. 899.
[1231] *L & P*, xvi, no. 436; *L & P,* xvii, no. 63. In 1541 Anna sent the King two horses with violet velvet trappings, and in 1542 she gave some pieces of cloth. In return, in 1542 she received some glass pots and flagons.
[1232] E 404/74/2, p. 20.

born in 1511, his godfather the French King rewarded the midwife with the same amount.[1233] The christening of royal children presented another important opportunity for the giving of gifts, and the account of the christening of Princess Bridget in 1480 reveals that following the ceremony 'the godfather and the godmoders gave great gyftes to the said princess'.[1234] The details of these gifts are not recorded, but it is possible that they consisted of jewelled items or plate. Similarly, queens provided christening gifts to other children, particularly if they had been asked to stand as godparents. We see evidence of this in Kateryn Parr's accounts, which record that in July 1547 she made a gift of a bowl for the christening of Lady Margaret Douglas's child.[1235] It was usual for godparents to send gifts, but for queens they provided another way of fostering good relations and ensured secured loyalty.

Jewels could be an indication or reflection as to the intimate nature of the relationship between a queen and her husband, but queens also used them as a sign of affection to their children. An inventory of jewels belonging to Prince Henry (later Henry VIII) shows that his mother, Elizabeth of York, gave him two items. The first of these was a cross 'sett with v table diamounds t iii. good ples [pearls]', as well as 'a ryng enameld with a ruby'.[1236] Elizabeth was renowned for her deep religious faith, which will be discussed shortly, and this explains why she chose the gift of a cross. The other item was 'a ryng enameld with a ruby'; the inventory shows that Henry received other gifts of rings, including from his father and Catherine of Aragon, but the date and occasions of these gifts is not recorded.[1237]

Katherine Howard's inventory confirms that she made gifts to her stepdaughters. Two pieces of jewellery were given to the Lady Elizabeth at unknown dates: a pair of beads, and 'oone other Brooche of Golde wherin is set an antique hed of agate vj very small Rubyes/and vj verey small Emeraldes litle thing worthe'.[1238] That the brooch was listed as being of little value suggests that it was a token gift, given to a girl who would have been no more than eight years old. That two gifts were made though is symptomatic of a close relationship between Katherine and her stepdaughter. This is borne out by contemporary

[1233] *CPR*, 1467-77, p. 547; *L & P*, i, no. 670.
[1234] BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 204v.
[1235] E 315/340, f. 25v.
[1236] F. Palgrave (ed.), *The Antient Calendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer*, I (London, 1836), p. 393.
[1237] Palgrave (ed.), *Antient Calendars*, p. 394.
[1238] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 57v.

reports, and whilst contemporaries hinted at a cool relationship between Katherine and her eldest stepdaughter, Mary, this did not prevent Katherine from making Mary a gift of a pomander.[1239]

Aside from her New Year's gifts, Kateryn Parr also gave jewellery to her stepdaughters, testified to by the marginal notes in Lady Mary's jewel inventory. While Mary received 'a Boke of golde set with Rubies', Elizabeth was given 'a Broche of thistory of piramys and tysbie with a fayr table Diamond garneshed with iiij Rubies'.[1240] Elizabeth's gift was received in September 1546, and could have been intended to mark her thirteenth birthday. Kateryn's surviving accounts confirm that such gifts were by no means a regularity, and serve once more to reinforce the significance and value that was placed on jewels.

7.7 Piety

Gifts that demonstrated a monarch's piety were common, and both Henry VII's Chamber Books and Henry VIII's accounts pre-Reformation record regular payments to various religious houses.[1241] As an essential part of Christian duty, charity formed an integral part of a queen's role.[1242] Indeed, as Crawford stated, 'queens were leaders of domestic society', and thus their appearances of piety could wield great influence over others.[1243] The queens in this period prior to the Reformation were expected to demonstrate piety, and though the Reformation ensured that gifts to religious houses were no longer forthcoming, queens were nevertheless expected to continue with their charitable works. Frequent examples of this appear in the surviving accounts of Kateryn Parr. On one occasion, for example, the queen gave money 'to a pore woman at Westminster', and on another 'to a blynde woman'.[1244]

[1239] In December 1540, Chapuys reported that Katherine 'was offended because the Princess did not treat her with the same respect as her two predecessors', *L & P*, xvi, no. 314. There is no evidence suggestive of a close relationship between the two women; BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 67r.

[1240] Madden (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, pp. 185-94. Pyramus and Thisbe were ill-fated lovers, whose story is based on a myth.

[1241] See E 101/414/6, f. 41; E 36/215, f. 484; BL, Add MS 21481, f. 241v for examples.

[1242] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 26.

[1243] A. Crawford, 'The Piety of Late Medieval English Queens', in C.M Barron & C. Harper-Bill (eds), *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F.R.H Du Boulay* (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 48.

[1244] E 315/340, f. 21r, 23v.

Queens often gave such gifts to religious institutions on Saints days, and Henry VIII's accounts reference numerous payments made for Catherine of Aragon on such occasions.[1245] Similarly, Elizabeth of York often made offerings at various religious houses, but both queens made such gifts in cash.[1246] Between March 1502 and March 1503 Elizabeth made thirty-eight offerings to various religious institutions, and can therefore be accurately classified as 'a consort whose piety and charity were truly queenly'.[1247] Catherine of Aragon made similar offerings, although the evidence for her gifts is more sporadic due to their appearance in Henry VIII's accounts.[1248] Crawford asserted that there is no evidence that Margaret of Anjou was anything other than conventionally pious, but Margaret did use jewels as a way of showcasing her religious devotion. At New Year 1453 Margaret gave the shrine at Walsingham a gold plaque garnished with pearls, sapphires and rubies which showed an angel holding a cross.[1249] This is the only specific example of a queen in this period giving jewels to a religious house, and although other queens are known to have visited Walsingham – chiefly Elizabeth Wydeville with Edward IV in 1469, presumably to ask for help in conceiving a son, and Catherine of Aragon – no such gifts are recorded.[1250] Margaret's gift is likely to have had a double meaning, for though she had been married since 1445 she had yet to produce a child. As mentioned previously, by early 1453 Margaret 'may have been hopeful' that she was pregnant, and thus the gift to Walsingham – a shrine particularly linked with fertility – was the Queen's way of rendering thanks: she gave birth to her son in October that same year.[1251]

It was not just queens who chose to use gifts of jewels in this way. In 1541 it was reported that Margaret Beaufort had once given a church 'a gold crown with stones and jewels', and indeed, as noted in chapter one, her will provides numerous examples of gifts that

[1245] E 36/215, f. 11, 92.
[1246] E 36/210, f. 41, 52; E 36/215, f. 11/ 92.
[1247] E 36/210, f. 30, 81; Crawford, 'Piety', p. 51.
[1248] E 36/215, f. 252; E 36/216, f. 75v.
[1249] E 101/410/8. Myers translation of the original text is as follows: 'vnum tabulettum auri garnisatum in borduris eiusdem cum x trochis peru- larum, v saphires, et v baleys cum vno angelo in medio, habenti caput vinus camewe et in medio eiusdem sursum vnum bonum saphirum et tenenti inter manus suas vnam crucem garnisatam cum vno rubie et ix perulis orientis'. Myers, 'Jewels of Queen Margaret', p. 124.
[1250] J.C. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 35; In her will Catherine of Aragon asked that someone should 'go our Lady of Wallsingham' on her behalf. BL, Cotton MS Otho C X, f. 216r.
[1251] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 43.

she made to religious institutions.[1252] Such gifts were not therefore exclusive to monarchs and their consorts, and were one of the most popular ways of conveying religious devotion. The work of Sally Fisher has underlined that as the King's mother, Margaret behaved in a semi-regal manner, and her gifts are likely to have been reflective of others made by contemporary queens.[1253] Gifts made to religious institutions were one of the most effective ways of a queen expressing piety, which was in turn an integral part of a consort's role.[1254] Following the Reformation and the Dissolution of the Monasteries, however, such displays no longer occurred and queens found other ways of expressing their piety – including through their jewels.

7.8 Diplomacy and Bribes

Public displays of generosity were a vital part of monarchy, and as Zemon Davis asserted, 'In a sense, the whole patronage system was carried on under the rhetoric of gifts'.[1255] Additionally, diplomacy was integral to monarchy, and gifts formed an important tool with which to aid monarchs and consorts. This is highlighted in Michael Auwers' article, which although focusing on a later period, investigated diplomatic gift giving and emphasised its importance in relations between different European rulers. [1256] Political gifts were always expected to yield some kind of return – often in terms of benefits – and they could be useful in securing peace and enhancing foreign relations.[1257] Given the physical distance between European rulers, ambassadors played a vital role in gift distribution, and as Biedermann, Gerritsen and Riello explained, without appropriate gifts ambassadors 'had little hope of being successful'.[1258] It was often they who presented gifts to monarchs and their consorts on behalf of their foreign masters, and they were also frequently responsible for distributing bribes to those in influential positions at court. Similarly, Glenn Richardson has shown that in the early years of Henry VIII's reign, the King was

[1252] *L & P*, xvi, no. 234; PROB 11/16/419.
[1253] S. Fisher, '"Margaret R": Lady Margaret Beaufort's Self-fashioning and Female Ambition', in Fleiner & Woodacre (eds), *Virtuous or Villainess?*, pp. 151-72; See also Jones & Underwood, *King's Mother*, pp. 69-70.
[1254] Earenfight, *Queenship* p. 23.
[1255] Zemon Davis, *The Gift*, p. 62.
[1256] M. Auwers, 'The Gift of Rubens: Rethinking the Concept of Gift-Giving in Early Modern Diplomacy', *European History Quarterly*, 43 (2013), pp. 421-41.
[1257] Dmitrieva & Murdoch (eds), *Treasures*, p. 24.
[1258] Z. Biedermann, A. Gerritsen & G. Riello (eds), *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia* (New York, 2017), p. 2.

making rich gifts to members of François I's embassy in order to ensure smooth relations between the two countries.[1259] Comparably, in his excellent work about sixteenth century diplomacy, Garrett Mattingly noted that the Imperial ambassador, Chapuys, 'spent a good deal on outright espionage', in order to glean information.[1260] Mattingly went as far as to state that 'Chapuys's intelligence apparatus represents about the most diversified development of the sixteenth century'.[1261] However, there are other examples of gifts that were made in order to ensure that the recipient spoke favourably on behalf of the giver's party. Thomas Cromwell received a steady stream of gifts throughout his period in office from a number of recipients, all of which were carefully recorded.[1262] Not all of these came from abroad, and many were from those who were either members of or associated with the court, who sought his help and believed that a gift would help to secure his personal loyalty and intervention.

There were occasions, albeit rarely, when opportunities for monarchs to offer gifts personally presented themselves. For example, when Lord Louis of Gruuthuyse visited Edward IV's court in 1472, he was given 'a cuppe of golde garnished with pearl and in the middest of the cuppe is a greate pece of an unicornes horne', the cover of which contained 'a greate zafer [sapphire]'.[1263] This was the first of several gifts Edward made his guest, and the surviving narrative of the visit confirms that its purpose was to impress the King's resplendence upon Louis. Although Elizabeth Wydeville is not specifically mentioned in regards to the gift giving of the occasion, she certainly witnessed the gifts that were exchanged, and took part in the entertainments that were staged.[1264] It is plausible that on this occasion and others she may have played a more significant role in diplomatic negotiations: in an attempt to persuade Elizabeth to use her influence with her husband to the giver's advantage, it is possible that Elizabeth – and perhaps other contemporary queens – were given gifts that went unrecorded.

More direct evidence of the queen's involvement in the diplomatic gift giving process appears when Catherine of Aragon accompanied her husband to France for the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. Here it was observed that not only did Henry VIII and François I

[1259] G. Richardson, ''As presence did present them': Personal Gift-giving at the Field of Cloth of Gold', in Lipscomb & Betteridge (eds), *Henry VIII and the Court* (Farnham, 2013), p. 50
[1260] G. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London, 1955), p. 244.
[1261] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 246.
[1262] See *L & P,* vii, no. 763; *L & P*, xii, part 1, no. 640.
[1263] BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 224r. See also Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 387.
[1264] BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 223r-224v.

make one another gifts of rich jewels, but that 'The Queen of England gave a very beautiful diamond and a ruby in a ring to the most Christian King; and the Queen of France gave two other rings of equal value to the King of England'.[1265] These examples show the way in which queens were able to participate in diplomatic proceedings, providing gifts in order to support their husband's negotiations. Given Catherine's origins and loyalty to her home country however, François must have been aware that she would view an English alliance with Spain more favourably.

Interestingly, though she was not yet a queen, in 1532 Anne Boleyn was given the opportunity to participate directly in diplomatic gift giving. Having accompanied Henry VIII to Calais, François I made Anne an extravagant gift of 'a diamond worth 15,000 or 16,000 cr'.[1266] The significance of this was substantial, for it served as an acknowledgement of Anne's heightened status and the French King's belief that she would soon be queen, as well as his acceptance of her in that role. A gift in such circumstances was highly unusual, and serves as tangible evidence of François's support for Anne's marriage. The value of the gift is notable, as in turn it reflected the wealth both of François and of France, and served as evidence of his power – something that François wanted to reinforce to both Anne and Henry. It also demonstrated François's determination to form a friendly alliance with England, for as Heal argued, when an alliance was sought gifts had to flow generously. [1267] Making Anne an expensive gift provided François with the ideal outlet to pursue negotiations, and he evidently believed that he would have greater success with Anne than he could have hoped for with her predecessor.

Gifts were an important part of upholding the regal image of majesty and the vision of wealth that monarchs were keen to portray, and queens often played a leading part in this. In preparation for the visit of Claude d'Annebaut in 1546, Henry VIII ordered five licenses for French, Flemish and Italian jewellers to bring to England

> almaner juelles, perlles, precious stones, as well set in gold and embrawdred in garmentes as unsett, almaner goldsmythes worke of golde and sylver, almaner sortes of skynnes and ffurres of sables and lusardes, clothes, newe gentlelesses of what facion or value the same be, wrought and set or unwrought and not set, in gold or otherwise as he or they shall thinke best.[1268]

[1265] *CSPV*, iii, no. 79.
[1266] *L & P*, v, no. 1485.
[1267] Heal, *Power of Gifts,* p. 150.
[1268] *L & P*, xxi, part 1, no. 1383:96

These were not all intended for Henry's use, but also to enhance the splendour of 'our derest wief the Quene' and his daughter Mary.[1269] These jewels were not itemised, but the importance that Kateryn placed on the visit is underlined by the further orders she gave in spring 1546 for the jeweller Mark Mylloner of London to provide 635 aiglettes of gold, set in purple ribbon, and gloves trimmed with buttons of diamonds and rubies.[1270] The ordering of these additional items suggests a particular awareness from Kateryn of the need to impress – possibly because the visit of d'Annebaut marked one of the only instances in which she had been directly involved in a diplomatic occasion. It is possible that some of the aiglettes are the same as those that appear in her queenly inventory, discussed in chapter two.[1271] As chapter three established, Kateryn was particularly conscious of the usefulness of the royal image as a propaganda tool, partially because of her own relatively humble origins. 1546 was not the first time she had projected this image, and her jewels on the occasion of the visit of the Duke of Najera in 1544 also drew comment. It was then observed that 'Suspended from her neck were two crosses, and a jewel of very rich diamonds, and in her headdress were many and beautiful ones. Her girdle was of gold, with very large pendants'.[1272]

7.9 Prizes and Rewards

Throughout the fifteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth century, tournaments were a regular occurrence at the royal court. These were often elaborate and were commonly staged in order to celebrate momentous occasions, such as marriages or coronations. The prizes for the victors of such tournaments were often jewels, and the Chamber Books of Henry VII show that in July 1505 he paid Bartholomew Rede £8 for 4oz of gold 'made in Ryng[es] for the Just[es] at Riche[mount]'.[1273] The task of distributing such prizes was typically a female prerogative that conformed with the rules of chivalry.[1274] Moreover, in 1466 Edward IV's ordinances for jousting stated that either

[1269] *L & P*, xxi, part 1, no. 1383:96
[1270] *L & P,* xxi, part 2, no, 769:19.
[1271] SoA, MS 129, f. 183v.
[1272] F. Madden (ed.), 'Narrative of the Visit of the Duke of Najera', *Archaeologica XXIII* (1831), pp. 344-57.
[1273] BL, Add MS 59899, f. 93v.
[1274] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 245.

the queen or the ladies present were to be given the honour of 'the attributone and gyfte of the prize'.[1275] The queen was therefore often directly involved in this process.

In another example of a key lifecycle event in which the giving of jewels were involved, at a tournament held in celebration of Elizabeth Wydeville's coronation in 1465, it was probably the Queen who presented Lord Stanley with a ruby ring.[1276] Similarly, Catherine of Aragon is likely to have distributed the letters 'H' and 'K' in gold that were created for the victors of the jousts held in February 1511 in celebration of the birth of her short-lived son, Henry, Duke of Cornwall.[1277] Catherine's wardrobe accounts for 1515-17 also show that on one occasion she lent a member of her household, Alexander Frognall, money for 'an H of gold'.[1278] It is unclear, though, whether this was intended as a prize for a joust, or perhaps as some other kind of gift. Catherine was certainly involved in the giving of prizes at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, for the Venetian ambassador reported that during the visit 'the Queen gave orders to make presents to some of the jousters', which 'consisted of jewels, or rings, or collars, and the like'.[1279] Additionally, in the same manner as Catherine had given gifts to the French King, she and the French Queen, Claude, distributed prizes to the other's husband following the jousts: 'the Queen of France gave the prize and honour of the joust to the King of England, namely, a diamond and a ruby in two rings; the Queen of England doing the like by the most Christian King'.[1280] These gifts were another way in which both queens were able to reinforce the messages they had given with their earlier gifts.

Queens did not exclusively adopt the role of prize givers, and evidence of this can be found at a tournament held to celebrate the wedding of Prince Richard to Anne Mowbray in 1478. On this occasion it was the Prince's elder sister, Elizabeth of York, who participated in the prize giving. The prizes were gems set with golden letters, and among the fortunate recipients was Sir Richard Haute who received a gold 'E' set with a ruby.[1281] Jewels given on such occasions show the way in which gifts could be used to reward the feats of those who excelled in bravery.

[1275] BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 209r.
[1276] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 109-110.
[1277] See S. Anglo, *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster: Historical Introduction* (Oxford, 1968).
[1278] E 101/418/6, f. 14r.
[1279] *CSPV*, iii, no. 50.
[1280] *CSPV*, iii, no. 95.
[1281] W.G Searle (ed.), *The Narrative of the Marriage of Richard, Duke of York with Anne of Norfolk, 1477* (Cambridge, 1867), pp. 39-40; See also BL, Stowe MS 1047, f. 211r-v.

The giving of jewels as tournament prizes links with the way in which gifts of jewels were an indication of favour. One of the great advantages of giving a gift of a jewel to the queen was the likelihood that it would be seen. As queens wore jewels in their everyday lives, there was a high chance that such a gift would be noticed and admired by those at court, serving as tangible evidence of the giver's favour.[1282] This favour was also highlighted in the examples of gifts of jewels that were given by queens, of which there are numerous examples.

Knowing that the relationship between Cardinal Wolsey and Anne Boleyn was far from harmonious, when Wolsey lay ill in the 1520s the King urged Anne to send him a gift as a sign of her goodwill towards him. Dutifully, Anne 'took incontinent a tabulet of gold hanging at her girdle, and delivered it to Master Buttes with very gentle and comfortable words and commendations to the Cardinal'.[1283] In this instance the intimacy of the gift – taken from Anne's own person – was significant, and was intended to smooth relations and as a show of friendship to reassure Wolsey that his relationship with Anne was amicable. Though Anne was not queen at that time, she was wielding power on an almost royal scale. Hers was a perfect demonstration of the 'gift that was a seal of royal favour might provide a security that might mean the difference between life and death'.[1284] Anne also made other intimate gifts, such as in 1535 when she gave Lord Leonard Grey a gift of a chain of gold from her waist, worth 100 marks, and a purse of 20 sovereigns.[1285] In this instance the monetary value was of less importance than the symbolic gesture of receiving a gift that had been the queen's property. There could be no greater demonstration of favour, and Anne's was a pattern of behaviour that was followed by all queens in order to widen their networks and secure loyalties. Evidence in support of this can be found in Katherine Howard's inventory, which shows that she made gifts of jewels to her ladies and family. Five of these have already been discussed within the relevant context earlier in this chapter, but all of the examples of gifts given by Katherine are revealing in terms of Katherine's relationships with the women around her. All of the recipients were linked to her in some way, including Lady Surrey, the wife of Katherine's

[1282] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 53.
[1283] Cavendish, *Life and Death*, p. 82.
[1284] Heal, *Power of Gifts*, p. 116.
[1285] *L & P,* ix, no. 700.

cousin, to whom the Queen gave the gift of a brooch for an unspecified reason.[1286] Another gift was made for a more specific reason: 'one peir of beades of Cristall garnesshed with golde being of them xl/betwixt euery of them a pece of goldesmytheswerke/and viij beades of golde ennamuled blewe and set with stones/hauyng also a pillor of Cristall with aman of golde in the same/and with a tassell of venice golde', was given 'by the Quene to the Lady Carew late Mrs Borrys [Norris] ageynst her Marriage'.[1287] Lady Carew was one of Katherine's ladies, but there is no evidence of Katherine providing similar gifts against the marriage of any of her other ladies. Nevertheless, this is likely to have been expected practice, as the jewel inventory of Katherine's eldest stepdaughter, Mary, reveals that she too made gifts of jewels to her friends and ladies upon their marriages.[1288] However, the accounts of both Anna of Cleves and Kateryn Parr provide testimony that such gifts were unusual, for both show that rewards for good service usually appeared in the form of cash.[1289]

Not all rewards of jewels for good service to the queen came from her. Following the death of Jane Seymour in October 1537, her jewel inventory reveals that of the 508 items individually listed, the King gave 86 away as gifts.[1290] In a similar manner to the gifts made by Katherine Howard, most of these were given to members of Jane's household, but here too there is evidence to suggest that rank and favour came into play. Whilst Lady Rochford, Lady Russell and a Mr Long were given one item each, all of which were described as 'a Tabelet of golde', other ladies were given several pieces.[1291] Lady Zouche was a particularly fortunate recipient, receiving two borders of gold, whilst her husband was given a brooch of gold.[1292] In what may have been a reflection of rank given that it is one of the most detailed items described, the King's daughter Lady Elizabeth received 'a litle booke of golde with the Salvation of oure Lady'.[1293] Elizabeth was the only recipient to receive a book, and this could have been a reflection of her scholarly abilities. What is not known, however, is whether these gifts were made at Jane's request before her death – in which case she may have given some indication as to who she wanted to reward and with

[1286] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 57v.
[1287] BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 64v. The lady in question was Mary Norris.
[1288] Lady Neville was given a 'Broche of gold of Historie of moyses set with ij litle Diamonds'. See Madden, (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 192.
[1289] E 101/422/16, f. 68v; E 315/340, f. 21r-32v.
[1290] BL Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 18r-31r.
[1291] BL Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 22r.
[1292] BL Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 26r, 27v.
[1293] BL Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 21v.

which items – or whether it was a decision made by the King. In either scenario, that some of the recipients were given more than one piece of jewellery could be an indication of the esteem in which the late queen and possibly the King had held them. Jane's jewel collection provided the King with an effective way of rewarding the good service shown to his former queen, whilst not incurring any additional costs. It is possible though that it indicated something more. Although Henry was giving away jewels that had primarily been Jane's personal property, that he was so quick to dispose of it suggests that – on a personal level at least – he was in no hurry to replace her with a new queen. This supports Henry's own assertion to François I, made shortly after Jane's death, that 'Divine Providence has mingled my joy with the bitterness of the death of her who brought me this happiness'.[1294] Some of the more practical items in Jane's collection, such as buttons, were acquired by the King and used to adorn his own clothes, whilst as discussed in chapter two, several other pieces were broken down.[1295]

Other jewels given by queens in reward were highly inappropriate, and were taken as bribes. There are two instances of this during this period, the first of which became apparent during the trial of Anne Boleyn in May 1536. Here it was claimed that the Queen had enticed her brother, Lord Rochford, to commit incest with her not only by alluring him with her body, but 'also with kisses, presents, and jewels'.[1296] Though it is certainly possible, if not likely, that Anne made gifts of jewels to her brother throughout her period as queen, this example shows how gifts could look suspicious when taken out of context. It also emphasises the negative connotations that could be attached to the way in which jewels were used. The accusation in the trial proceedings shows how Anne's accusers believed they could manipulate the gift giving process in order to provide evidence of Anne and Rochford's guilt.[1297]

By contrast, the accusation that Katherine Howard used jewels as a form of bribery was fully justified. When the Queen's infidelity was discovered in November 1541, so too was the fact that she had been giving gifts to her lover, Thomas Culpeper. According to Culpeper's deposition, when he met Katherine in her apartments she 'gave him by her own hands a fair cap of velvet garnished with a brooch and three dozen pairs of aglets and

[1294] *L & P*, xii, part 2, no. 972.
[1295] BL, Royal MS 7 C XVI, f. 29r.
[1296] *L & P,* x, no. 876.
[1297] Ives, 'Fall of Anne Boleyn Reconsidered', p. 657.

a chain'.[1298] During Culpeper's trial it was also revealed that Katherine had given 'divers gifts and sums of money' to her secretary and former lover, Francis Dereham.[1299] Katherine's gifts were doubtless intended to reflect her devotion to Culpeper, and in Dereham's case as a bribe in order to silence him as to her previous indiscretions. This is supported by the gift Katherine made to Alice Wilkes, a member of her household who had known the Queen prior to her marriage. Wilkes was given rich gifts of 'upper and nether habiliments of goldsmith's work for the French hood and a tablet of gold'.[1300] Such gifts are suggestive that Katherine expected something in return, chiefly the silence of those who could have provided evidence against her. This example shows how the use of gifts could aid inappropriate queenly behaviour, but was nevertheless in keeping with the way in which queens used jewels to secure and reward loyalty.

7.10 Conclusion

Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gifts were used in a variety of contexts by both kings and their consorts. Symbolic in many ways, gift giving was an expected part of queenship, and served as a physical message to the recipient. To give and receive the gift of a jewel was an uncommon occurrence, and therefore served to show or underline an important point. Gifts of jewels marked the most important events in a queen's life, be it marriage, the birth of an heir, or diplomatic duties. As Zemon Davis effectively argued, and as the examples woven into this chapter emphasise, gifts of jewels could be used to express affection and loyalty, but were also a means to garner support, self-interest and advancement.[1301] New Year's gifts were the gifts traditionally given and received by queens each year, yet the examples in this chapter show that there were many other occasions on which queens gave and received jewels. Not only could jewels serve as tangible signs of affection between a queen and her husband, children, and other family members, but this could in turn be extended to friends and servants. In these latter instances however, they served as something more, for they were ways of aiding the queen's construction of her network both at court and beyond. Jewels provided a solid way of offering thanks for good service, showcasing the wealth of the monarchy and country, and helping to ensure that smooth relations between nations were exercised. By

[1298] SP 1/167/157-9.
[1299] *L & P*, xvi, no. 1395.
[1300] *L & P,* xvi, no. 1339.
[1301] Zemon Davis, *The Gift*, p. 22.

contrast, examples cited during Anne Boleyn's trial and the fall of Katherine Howard serve as evidence of the way in which gifts of jewels could be used to provide detrimental evidence to highlight a queen's conduct and draw attention to her unacceptable behaviour. Gifts were an integral part of queenship and the politics surrounding royal life, but gifts of jewels helped to accentuate the status of the queen both as an individual and within her broader network. The gift of jewels could be symbolic of both exaltation and disgrace, but ultimately added another dimension to the projection of majesty.

Conclusion

Henry VIII's death on 28 January 1547 brought Kateryn Parr's three and a half year reign as queen consort to an end. She was now a dowager queen, and it would not be until 1603, fifty-six years after Henry's death, that England would have another queen consort.[1302] Thus, the reign of Henry VIII brought an end to the line of queen consorts who have been the subject of this thesis. Nevertheless, this thesis has shown that the seventeen months following Henry VIII's death that witnessed Kateryn Parr's transition from a queen consort to a queen dowager had monumental ramifications on her jewel collection. Its inclusion is therefore critical in order to aid our understanding both of Kateryn's jewels, and the queens' collection as a whole. Her death on 5 September 1548 however, provides the ideal point to terminate the thesis. The Stuart dynasty that followed the Tudors in 1603 brought queen consorts whose experiences differed from their fifteenth and sixteenth century predecessors, accompanied by new styles of jewellery.

Following Henry VIII's death, it would not be long before the country embarked on a new kind of queenship during the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I, both with a queen at its head.[1303] In a similar manner to their predecessors, both queens regnant revelled in the pleasure brought by jewels. In 1554 the Venetian ambassador remarked that Mary 'makes great use of jewels', in which 'she delights greatly'.[1304] He continued that 'she has a great plenty of them left her by her predecessors', testimony that Mary enjoyed and appreciated jewels in the same manner as those who had come before her.[1305] Elizabeth I had a similar penchant for jewels, and during the procession for her coronation in January 1559 it was observed that 'the whole Court so sparkled with jewels and gold collars that they cleared the air'.[1306] Likewise, the Imperial ambassador would inform his master that 'she was so fond of her jewels', and the collection of queen's jewels grew dramatically during Elizabeth's reign.[1307] Moreover, as Cassie Auble has shown, like her stepmother

[1302] See M.M. Meikle & H. Payne, 'Anne [Anna, Anne of Denmark]', *ODNB*.
[1303] See A. Hunt & A. Whitelock (eds), *Tudor queenship: the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2010).
[1304] *CSPV*, x, no. 934.
[1305] *CSPV*, x, no. 934.
[1306] *CSPV*, vii, no. 10.
[1307] *CSPS*, I, p. 10.

Kateryn Parr, Elizabeth used her gems in order to create an image of royal authority.[1308] Not only did her jewels assert her sovereignty, but they could also 'convey the prosperity and stability of England and her monarch'.[1309] By contrast to their predecessors, as Queen regnants Mary and Elizabeth needed to put their jewels to different uses in order to convey sovereign power, and the need to impress was more explicit as the ambassadors reports bear testimony.

As this thesis has repeatedly demonstrated, Mary and Elizabeth's love of jewels was neither new nor unusual, for they were continuing a trend that had been enjoyed and capitalized upon by their predecessors – both monarchs and queen consorts – for many centuries. What is more, both women were given the opportunity to observe first hand and learn from the way in which their father's wives had used their jewels. They were thus given a platform from which to continue and heighten the opulence conveyed by jewels. Observations have been made about the potential influence that Kateryn Parr had on Elizabeth in terms of a woman's ability to rule a country, with Starkey suggesting that Kateryn's regency 'made a deep impression' on her young stepdaughter.[1310] The effect that Kateryn may have had on Elizabeth in terms of using jewels as demonstrations of power, however, has yet to be recognised. This thesis has, however, gone some way to signifying this. Unlike Kateryn, both Mary and Elizabeth were regnant queens, and as such used their jewels as a way of emulating sovereign power, rather than that of consorts. Though as James confirmed, it was Elizabeth, rather than Mary, who fully exploited this.[1311] In so doing, she crafted the persona of the Virgin Queen that has endured.[1312]

By tracking the jewels of the queens of England during this period, this thesis has shown that queens had access to an impressive amount of material wealth, much of which was inherited from their predecessors. Many chose to alter and add to their jewel collection through their patronage of goldsmiths, although in the case of the late medieval queens Laynesmith has highlighted that the nature of their financial resources strongly influenced

[1308] C. Auble, 'Bejeweled Majesty: Queen Elizabeth I, Precious Stones, and Statecraft', in D. Barrett-Graves (ed.), *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 37.
[1309] Auble, 'Bejeweled Majesty', p. 48.
[1310] Starkey, *Elizabeth*, pp. 40-1.
[1311] James, *Feminine Dynamic*, pp. 187-228.
[1312] See Howey, 'Dressing a Virgin Queen', pp. 201-8; J.N. King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), pp. 30-74.

each queen's role.[1313] Evidence of this can be seen in Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Wydeville's wills.[1314] The material wealth of queens, however, also served a greater purpose. Jewels provided queens with physical tools that enabled them to use this wealth in a manner that expressed their own power and regality, whether through portraiture or display. Sydney Anglo emphasised that 'Magnificence was obligatory for effective kingship', yet until now the importance of this concept in the context of queenship has been neglected.[1315] It is partially its continual emphasis of this concept that makes this thesis so original in its contribution to our knowledge of this period, for magnificence was a vital aspect of queenship that was more critical during this period than any that had come before. This was because, as highlighted in the introduction, the experiences of queenship in fifteenth and sixteenth century England were both turbulent and unprecedented: what is more, time has revealed that they were also completely unique. As such, it was both imperative and necessary during periods of political turbulence and dynastic change for queens to assert their legitimate right to rule as consorts alongside their husbands: jewels were a vital tangible element in this spectacle of royalty. For queens who had gained their position through their husband's unorthodox rise to power, such as Anne Neville as the wife of the 'usurper' Richard III or their own unusual accession as in the manner of Anne Boleyn, whose marriage and coronation was facilitated by Henry VIII's break with Rome in order to end his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, using jewels – particularly the coronation regalia – underlined their status as the legitimate queen. These jewels were at the very centre of a queen's life, and were a pivotal part of her identity.[1316]

Examining the way in which queens used jewels in a variety of contexts has revealed not only the interest that these women took in crafting their own personas, but also how they were able to use jewels as a way of acquiring and demonstrating power in a male dominated world. In an era in which women – even queens – were expected to be fully subservient to their husbands, jewels provided a way of expanding and enhancing their networks, whilst remaining within the boundaries of contemporary expectations of them as consorts. Circumstances, however, forced Margaret of Anjou to push these boundaries, and in so doing blackened her reputation as a consort. Nevertheless, Maurer concluded

[1313] Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, p. 234.
[1314] See Bagley, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 240; PROB 11/9/207.
[1315] Anglo, *Images*, p. 8.
[1316] See James, *Feminine Dynamic*, p. 101.

that with few exceptions, 'she represented herself throughout the reign in terms and images that conveyed acceptable notions of queenship'.[1317]

Scholars studying queenship have long been interested in many areas of the queen's role as discussed in previous chapters: the relationship between a queen and her husband, image creation, patronage, networking and gift giving, yet this thesis has made a completely unique contribution to queenship studies by analysing all of these elements in a different context, through the medium of jewellery.[1318] It has shown how the jewel collections of the queens of England underpinned all of these elements in a number of ways, and in so doing has expanded our knowledge of a key component of queenship. Likewise, this thesis has not only bridged the gap between the period of earlier medieval queens and the Tudor queens regnant, but has marked the transition between the Wars of the Roses and the early Tudor period which were times of upheaval partially influenced by the change in dynasties. It has shown the ways in which late medieval and Tudor queen consorts acquired, wore and used their jewels in order to fulfil their roles. This splendour not only underlined the queen's power and authority but that of her husband and the realm itself, as Stafford asserted, 'Queens appeared loaded with gems and finery, displaying their husband's wealth'.[1319] Ultimately therefore, the jewel collections of the queens of England represented the power and majesty of the dynasty of which they were a part, thus confirming that 'the queen personifies the household's need for treasure, for its management and its display'.[1320] Within this framework however, jewels gave queens a freedom through which to express themselves as individuals and as consorts, for they 'acted as metaphors for a variety of societal messages and cultural concepts'.[1321] In so doing, jewels provided queens with the riches to craft their personas as consorts, and were an indispensable part of their identity as well as the practice of queenship.

[1317] Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, p. 210.
[1318] See Benz, *Three Medieval Queens*, Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, Campbell Orr (ed), *Queenship in Britain*.
[1319] Stafford, *Queens*, p. 108.
[1320] Stafford, *Queens*, p. 109.
[1321] James, *Feminine Dynamic*, p. 3.

Glossary

Agate: A mineral of the Quartz family.

Aglette: Metal tags, often ornamented or jewelled, that could be attached to a garment or used in pairs attached to a ribbon, as a fastening or purely decorative.

Agnus Dei: A religious pendant, often featuring the lamb of God.

Ballas Ruby: A mineral often associated with rubies in their source-rock.

Billiment/Habillement: Ornamental part of a woman's dress often relating to the decorative border of gold and jewels used to edge the upper and lower curves of a French hood.

Cameo: A gem, hardstone or shell, usually having two or more layers of contrasting colours, of which the upper section(s) are carved in relief, the lower serving as a ground.

Carcenet: Heavy necklace, resembling a collar, and decorated with jewels and gold.

Chape: The metal point of a scabbard or a buckle.

Girdle: A narrow band, chain or cord worn at the waist to encircle, or 'gird'. Usually decorative, and used to support items such as a small book, fan or pendant.

Lozenge: A diamond shape in which diamonds are often cut, or in which jewels are fashioned.

Muffler: Part of a female dress.

Ouche: A brooch, pendant or clasp set with jewels.

Partlet: Decorative female garment filling the neck and upper part of the chest for modesty or warmth.

Pointed Diamond: A diamond cut in a pyramid shape.

Pomander: The term applies both to a mixture of aromatic substances, and to their openwork, enamelled and jewelled containers, intended to scent the air. Jewels in themselves, pomanders were suspended from chains at the neck or the waist.

Reliquary: A container for storing relics.

Spangle: Ornaments made of gold, silver or silver gilt that were stitched on to dresses and costumes.

Square: The band of jewels outlining the square neckline of a woman's gown.

Table Cut Diamond: A diamond cut so that the top appears flat, like a table.

Tablet: A type of pendant that could be worn around the neck, or more commonly attached to a girdle or belt.

Tau Cross: A cross in the shape of the letter 'T'.

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VI. Unpublished PhD Theses

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Appendix

Matching items that appear in both Katherine Howard and Kateryn Parr's jewel inventories: BL, Stowe MS 559, f. 55r-68r and Society of Antiquaries MS 129, f. 178r-183v. The items from Kateryn Parr's inventory are referenced with both the folio number, and the item number in brackets as they appear in Starkey, (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*.

Jesus's

1. Katherine Howard, f. 59v: Item a Jehus of Golde garnesshed throughoute with diamondes That is to say xxxv peces greate and small.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178v (2635): Item one Iesus furnysshed with xxxv Dyamountes.

2. Katherine Howard, f. 59v: Item one other Jehus of golde ennamuled conteignyng one Rubye/xxiij diamondes/and thre small Emeraldes with thre feir perles hanging at the same.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178v (2637): Item one other Iesus conteyning xxiij Dyamountes iij small Emerodes one small rubie and three pendaunt Perles.

3. Katherine Howard, f. 60r: Item a Jehus of golde conteignyng xxxij diamondes hauyng thre peerlles hanging at the same.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178v (2636): Item a Iesus furnysshed with xxxij Dyamountes and three perles pendaunt.

Cross's

1. Katherine Howard, f. 59r: Item one Crosse of golde conteignyng v diamondes whereof two be poynted/and threst squared/hauyng also a verey feir greate peerle hanging at the same.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178v (2631): Item a hedles Crosse and fyve fair dyamountes and one Perle pendaunt.

2. Katherine Howard, f. 59r: Item one other Crosse of Golde ennamuled conteignyng v feir Table diamondes/and one other verey feir lozenge diamond under the same v/with iiij verey feire peerlles hanging at the same in one Cluster.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178v (2633): Item a Crosse of vj fair dyamountes and four perles pendaunte.

3. Katherine Howard, f. 59r: Item oone other verey feir Crosse of golde conteignyng iiij verey feir large diamondes in acrosse/with thre verey feir large peerlles hanging at the same.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178v (2630): Item a Crosse of foure fair dyamountes and three perles pendaunt.

4. Katherine Howard, f. 59r: Item oone other ffeir Crosse of golde conteignyng xij verey feir diamondes without any other addition.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178v (2632): Item one Crosse of xij dyamountes onelye.

Ouche's

1. Katherine Howard, f. 59r: Item one other ooche of golde wherin is averey ffeir diamond holden by two antiquez personz with averey ffeir peerle hangyng at the same.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178r (2619): Firste one ouche or flower conteyning a fair Diamount tabled holden by Antyques with a large pendaunt perle.

2. Katherine Howard, f. 58v: Item an Ooche of Golde wherin is a feir poynted diamonde and a verey feir ruby/with averey feir peerle hangyng at the same.
Kateryn Parr, f.178r (2621): Item one Ouche or flower with a poynted Dyamounte A Rubye and a perle pendant.

3. Katherine Howard, f. 58v: Item oone other ooche of golde ennamuled white and red conteignyng two Emeraldes/and a feyer perle hangyng at the same.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178r (2622): Item one Ouche or flower with twoo emerodes and a pendaunte Perle.

4. Katherine Howard, f. 58v: Item one other ooche of Golde ennamuled conteignyng one rubye, one Emeralde, and one diamond all verey ffeir, with a verey feir perle hangyng at the same.

Kateryn Parr, f. 178r (2624): Item ouche or Flower with a dyamounte a Ruby an Emerode and a perle pendaunt.

5. Katherine Howard, f. 58v: Item oone other ooche of golde conteignyng two verey ffeir rubyes/and a verey feir Emeralds with averey feir perle hangyng at the same.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178r (2625): Item one Ouche or Flower with twoo rubies an Emerode and a perle pendaunt.

Habillements

1. Katherine Howard, f. 55v: Item a nether habulyment conteyning Cxij peerlles set lyke True loves with liiij beades of golde black ennamuled.
Kateryn Parr, f. 181v (2697): Item a nether habillement conteyning Cxij perles by Trewloues.

Chains

1. Katherine Howard, f. 66r: Item oone Cheyne conteignyng xiiij peces of goldesmyhes wercke wherin are sett xiiij diamondes and xiiij rubyes and xxvij other peces of goldesmythes worcke longe and ennamuled with blacke/tying to euery of them oone peerle. that is so say xiiij peerlles in the same Cheyne.
Kateryn Parr, f. 180r (2667): Item a Cheyne conteyning xiiij peces of goldesmythes worke set with xiiij dyamountes and xiiij Rubies and xxvij other peces of goldsmythes worke long enameled black tyeng to euery of them one perle Videlicet xiiij perles in the same Cheyne.

2. Katherine Howard, f. 66r: Item oone othe Cheyne conteiging xix peces of golde smythesworcke rounde ennamuled black/and xviij Clusters of peerlles set in golde that is to say v peerlles in every Cluster.
Kateryn Parr, f.180v (2674): Item a Cheyne conteyning xix peces of goldsmythes worke rounde enameled blacke and xviij Clusters of perle set in golde that is to saie v perles in euery Cluster.

3. Katherine Howard, f. 66r: Item oone Cheyne of golde conteignyng x pillors of golde being in every pillor thre rubyes/xx peces of golde lyke longe peares ennamuled blewe

and blacke/and x peces of golde lyke a Salte being upon every of them thre peerlles conteigning in the whole xxx peerlles.
Kateryn Parr, f. 180r (2668): Item a Cheyne of golde conteyning x pillers hauing in euery of them iij Rubies xx peces of golde pere fasshion enameled blewe and black and x peces of golde salt fasshion hauing in euery of them iij perles conteyning in thole xxx perles.

4. Katherine Howard (4): Item oone other Cheyne of golde conteignyng x pillors of golde being in every pillor thre diamondes/xx peces of goldes lyke longe peares ennamuled blacke/and x peces of golde lyke a Salte being upon every of them thre peerlles conteignyng in the whole xxx peerlles.
Kateryn Parr, f. 80v (2669): Item a Cheyne of golde conteyning x pillers in euery of thesame iij dyamountes xx peces of golde longe pere fasshion enameled blacke and tenne peces salt fasshion in euery of them iij perles.

5. Katherine Howard, f. 66r: Item oone other Cheyne of golde conteignyng xxiiij peces of golde/In xij peces of whereof is set in every pece thre small table diamondes in the whole xxxvj diamondes/and in euery of thother xij peces of golde is set thre rubyes/in the whole xxxvij rubyes/and betwixt every of the same peces of golde so garnesshed with diamondes and rubyes is set affeir peerle in a lynke of golde in the whole in peerlles xxiij/There was oone loost before the charge given in custody to Mrs herbert/or else there shulde haue been written her xxiiij peerlles.
Kateryn Parr, f. 180v (2670): Item a Cheyne conteyning xxiiij peces of golde wherof xij set with three small table dyamountes in euery of them and thother xij set likewise euery of them with iij small Rubies hauing set betwixt euery of all thesaid peces a fair perle in a lynke of golde conteyning xxiij perles.

6. Katherine Howard, f. 66v: Item oone other Cheyne of golde conteignyng x peces of oone fasshoon wherin are x diamondes tabled and x rubyes/and xx pillors of gold ennamuled grene blue and white with also xx peerlles betwixt every peerle one litle pece of goldesmytheswerwerck.
Kateryn Parr, f. 180v (2671): Item a Cheyne <of gold> conteyning x peces of one fasshion set with x Dyamountes tabled and x rubies and xx pillers golde enameled with sundrie collours and likewise xx perles set betwixt euery perle a small pece of goldsmythes worke.

Ships

1. Katherine Howard, f. 59v: Item a Ship of golde saylyng conteignyng one feir rubye in two ffysshes mouthes/and xxix diamondes greate and small in the same Ship with affeir peerle hanging at the same.
Kateryn Parr, f. 178v (2638): Item a Shipp garnysshed fullie with Dyamountes lacking ij small Dyamountes and set with one Rubie and a perle pendaunt.

Tablets

1. Katherine Howard, f. 68r: Item one Tablet of Golde on thonesyde thereof conteigneth the passon of our Lorde/and on thothersyde the resurrection both being of white agathe conteigning upon the same xxiiij rubyes and two diamondes with thre peerlles hanging in a cluster/and one litle rubye amongst the said peerlles.
Kateryn Parr, f. 179r (2650): Item a Tablet enameled black garnysshed with rubies and twoo small dyamountes and thistorie of the passion on thone side and the Resurreccion on thother both of Agathe.

2. Katherine Howard, f. 68r: Item one Tablet of Golde conteignyng on thonesyde a goodly diamonde lozenged with divers other small rubyes and diamondes two naked boyes and a litle boy with a crosse in his hand and divers other persones one with a sawe/and scripture under the said diamonde/and on thothersyde a ffeyer Ballas and the pycture of the busshopp of Rome comyng awey lamentyng/and divers other persones one settyng his sole upon the busshop ouerthowen.
Kateryn Parr, f. 179r (2649): Item a Tablet hauing on thone side a large Table Dyamounte and garnysshed with small Rubies and Dyamountes and on thother side a ballays.

Girdles

1. Katherine Howard, f. 61r: Item one other Gurdell of golde conteignyng xj pillors in euery pillor ix peerlles/and lx lynkes of golde ennamuled black furnesshed with rubyes/that is to say one lynke hauyng two rubyes/and another iiij rubyes and at eche ende of the same Gurdell is two other pillors square one with a whooke/in which two pillors is vij rubyes/hauyng also a bell of golde full furnesshed with rubyes/That is to say xviij

Rubyes/with a great peerle upon the Top of the same/and divers ffeir peerlles hanging in the bottome.

Kateryn Parr, f. 182v (2718): Item a girdell conteyning xj pillers of golde hauing in euery of them ix perles and lx lynkes golde enameled black furnysshed with Rubies videlicet one linke hauing twoo rubies and an other foure rubies and at thende of thesame girdell is twoo other pillers square one with a hooke in which twoo pillers is vij Rubies hauing also a bell of golde furnysshed with small rubies and a lardge perle vpon the toppe of thesame and dyuers other perles hanging in the bottome.

2. Katherine Howard, f. 61v: Item oone Gurdell of golde conteignyng xii peces of one sorte and euery of the sames peces is vj Turquezes in the whole – lxxij Turquezes/and in euery of the same peces is thre Rubyes in the whole – xxxvj rubyes/and xxiiij peces of another fashon in euery pece being xv peerless small in the whole – iijclx perles/with a buttone of golde wherein is two antiquemen and one woman white the same garnesshed with xiiij rocke rubyes and xv Turquezes/hauyng also divers Tasselles of Peerll and small cheynes of golde.

Kateryn Parr, f. 182v (2719): Item a Girdell conteyning xij peces of one sorte and in euery of them vj Turkeis and three Rubies and xxiiij other peces of an other fasshion hauing in euery of them xv small perles with a button of golde garnysshed with xiiij rock rubies and v Turkais hauing also dyuerse Tasselles of perle and small Cheynes of golde.