

**“Mischievous Marys”:  
Rituals of Queenship in Sixteenth-century  
England and Scotland**

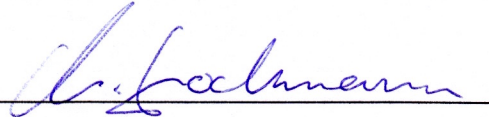
Thesis submitted to the Department of History for examination  
in the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2017

Mariana Brockmann  
Royal Holloway, University of London

## Declaration of Authorship

I, Mariana Brockmann hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signature:  Date: 24/02/17

## **Acknowledgements**

Like so many other doctoral students before me, I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to a wide range of people, who have accompanied the emergence of this thesis over the years. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Anna Whitelock, for her academic guidance throughout and her emotional support, particularly during the final phase of this thesis. Other staff members at Royal Holloway, University of London, both administrative and academic have helped me in various situations along the way, so I would equally like to express my gratitude to them.

Further thanks belong to my colleagues, who commented on several stages of my research at various conferences and seminars. Finally, the staff in the libraries and archives in Paris, Edinburgh and London have contributed their share to making this work possible.

Academic work, lonely though it may be at times, relies on the co-operation of scholars across the globe. Given the recent political developments, I would like to point out that my journey into the early modern world, particularly in the Anglo-Scottish context, was largely possible due to an idealistic project like the European Union. The freedom of movement, which many of us have taken for granted, is a valuable privilege. One needs only to think of the permits, which early modern travellers needed to pass through foreign kingdoms and the whims upon which a ruler might have been inclined to issue or refuse them. I believe in the privilege and hope that it will continue to encourage cross-cultural understanding.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family. Old friends such as Neele Meyer, Connie Plagge, Maike Lensch, Charlotte Bünthe, Valérie Gheorgean, Julia and Manuel Schäfer alongside their wonderful children and many more have provided me with a change of perspective and diversion upon countless occasions. The same can be said for new friends, including Jo Edge, Jola Pellumbi and Lara Thorpe. Above all, I am indebted to my partners in crime, Rachel Basch and Nikki Clark for their marvellous assistance and friendship. Last but not least, Annika Forkert, you have been there for me the entire way, thank you from the bottom of my heart. Like my friends, my family have suffered and celebrated with me. My grandparents, my aunts and my uncle and my “in-laws” have urged me on again and again. Above all, however, this thesis – academically, financially and emotionally – would not have been possible without the most wonderful parents anyone can hope for and the love and support of my partner. Christian and Ites Brockmann and Eric Kuhnert, I dedicate this thesis to you.

## **Abstract**

When John Knox published his *First Blast of the Trumpet* (1558), in which he questioned women's right to rule, he related his critique to the examples of three contemporary Catholic queens in England and Scotland, referred to as the "Mischievous Marys": Mary Tudor, Mary Stewart and Marie de Guise. The playfulness Knox's soubriquet evokes in the modern reader is misleading, for according to contemporary understanding – inflicting or intending harm – the term was as scathing as Knox's overall opinion on female sovereignty. However, although his verdict and the equation of their queenship regardless of its form – consort, dowager, mother, regent, regnant – followed his own agenda, the coinciding reigns of these three queens in close vicinity to one another warrants closer study in a comparative context. The focus of this thesis, roughly spanning the years 1538 to 1587, lies on the representation and reception of their authority through rituals during a critical period with regard to queenship and religion. The rituals surveyed encompass the three traditional royal ceremonies of coronations, weddings and funerals, but also "accession" ceremonies for the individual roles associated with queenship referred to above: i.e. royal entries, inaugurations and baptisms. The individual case studies attest to the fluidity and adaptability of both rituals and the concept of queenship expressed within them. In these rituals, the Marys combined and emphasised different forms of queenship, depending on the message they wished to convey. Although each of the queens periodically faced corresponding challenges, the ritual responses depended exceedingly on the immediate and general context. Ritual failure was a possibility, and sometimes more than that, but the validity as well as the continued relevance and efficacy of the rituals were never questioned.

# Table of Contents

<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>I) HISTORIOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>12</b>
A) THREE MARIES	12
B) QUEENSHIP	16
C) RITUALS	18
<b>II) STRUCTURE</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>III) SOURCES</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: ACCESSION</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>I) INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>II) QUEENS CONSORT</b>	<b>29</b>
A) MARIE DE GUISE	29
B) MARY STEWART	33
<b>III) QUEENS REGNANT</b>	<b>38</b>
A) MARY TUDOR	38
B) MARY STEWART	44
<b>IV) QUEEN REGENT</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>V) QUEEN MOTHER</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>VI) CONCLUSION</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2: CORONATION</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>I) INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>II) MARIE DE GUISE</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>III) MARY STEWART</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>IV) MARY TUDOR</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>V) CONCLUSION</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3: MARRIAGE</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>I) INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>II) MARIE DE GUISE</b>	<b>113</b>

<b>III) MARY TUDOR</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>IV) MARY STEWART</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>V) CONCLUSION</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4: FUNERALS</b>	<b>144</b>
<b>I) INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>144</b>
<b>II) MARY TUDOR</b>	<b>147</b>
<b>III) MARIE DE GUISE</b>	<b>154</b>
<b>IV) MARY STEWART</b>	<b>162</b>
<b>V) CONCLUSION</b>	<b>175</b>
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>179</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>185</b>
<b>APPENDIX</b>	<b>226</b>
<b>TRANSLATIONS</b>	<b>226</b>

## List of Abbreviations

AdAÉ	Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris
Add. MS	Additional MS
Adv. MS	Advocates MS
ANF	Archives Nationales de France, Paris
APC	Dasent, John R., E. G. Atkinson, J. V. Lyle, R. F. Monger and P. A. Penfold, eds. <i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> . 46 vols. London: HMSO, 1890–1964. BHO. <a href="https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/acts-privy-council">https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/acts-privy-council</a> (accessed 10 December 2016).
AV	Authorised Version (Bible)
Béth.	Fonds de Béthune
BHO	British History Online
BL	British Library, London
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
<i>Burgh Records: Edinburgh</i>	Marwick, James D., and Marguerite Wood, eds. <i>Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403–1589</i> . 4 vols. Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869–1882. <a href="https://www.british-history.ac.uk/edinburgh-burgh-records/1528-57">https://www.british-history.ac.uk/edinburgh-burgh-records/1528-57</a> (accessed 10 December 2016).
Clair.	Collection Clairambault
CoA	College of Arms
CODOIN	Navarrete, Martin F., Miguel Salvá, and Pedro S. de Baranda. <i>Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España</i> . Vol. 3. 113 vols. Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1843.
Cott. MS Calig.	Cotton MS Caligula
Cott. MS Tib.	Cotton MS Tiberius
Cott. MS Vesp.	Cotton MS Vespasian
CPA	Correspondence Politique Angleterre
<i>CSPF Elizabeth</i>	Stevenson, Joseph, Allan J. Crosby, Arthur J. Butler, Sophia C. Lomas, Allen B. Hinds and Richard B. Wernham, eds. <i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth</i> . 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1863–1950. BHO. <a href="https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign">https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign</a> (accessed 20 October 2016).
<i>CSPV</i>	Brown, Rawdon L., George C. Bentinck, Horatio F. Brown, and Allen B. Hinds, eds. <i>Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice</i> . 38 vols. London: HMSO, 1864–1947. BHO. <a href="https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-state-papers--venice">https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-state-papers--venice</a> (accessed 10 December 2016).

- CSP Scot Bain, Joseph, William K. Boyd, Henry W. Meikle and Annie I. Cameron, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*. 11 vols. London: HMSO, 1898–1936. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/scotland> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- CSP Simancas Hume, Martin A., ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas)*. 4 vols. London: HMSO, 1892–1899. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/simancas> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- CSP Spain Bergenroth, Gustav A., Garrett Mattingly, Pascual de Gayangos, Martin A. Hume, and Royall Tyler, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*. 19 vols. London: HMSO, 1862–1954. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-state-papers-spain> (accessed 29 December 2016).
- CUP Cambridge University Press
- Dickinson, *History* Dickinson, William C., ed. *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*. 2 vols. London: Nelson & Sons, 1949.
- Dup. Collection Dupuy
- E Exchequer
- EUP Edinburgh University Press
- Harl. MS Harley MS
- Holinshed, *Chronicles (1577)* Holinshed, Raphael. *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande*. 2 vols. London: Hunne, 1577.
- Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)* Holinshed, Raphael. *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. Edited by Henry Ellis. 6 vols. 1587. Reprint, London: Johnson, 1807–08.
- Labanoff, *Lettres Inédites* Labanoff, Alexandre. *Lettres Inédites de Marie Stuart, accompagnées de diverses dépêches et instructions, 1558–1587*. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1839.
- Labanoff, *Lettres* Labanoff, Alexandre, ed. *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse: publiées sur les originaux et les manuscrits du State Paper Office de Londres et des principales archives et bibliothèques de l'Europe, et accompagnés d'un résumé chronologique*. 7 vols. London: Dolman, 1844.
- Lansd. MS Lansdowne MS
- Lesley, *Historie* Lesley, John. *The Historie and Life of King James the Sext: Being an Account of the Affairs of Scotland from the Year 1566 to the Year 1596; With a Short Continuation to the Year 1617*. Edited by Thomas Thomson. Bannatyne Club 13. Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1825.
- Lesley, *History of Scotland* Lesley, John. *The History of Scotland, from the Death of King James I in the Year 1436 to the Year 1561*. Edited by Thomas



- Thomson. Bannatyne Club 38. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830.
- L&P Henry VIII* Brewer, John S., James Gairdner and Robert H. Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*. 28 vols. London: HMSO, 1862–1910. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/letters-papers-hen8?query=&title=> (accessed 22 February 2015).
- Maxwell, Memoirs* Maxwell, John. *Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, and a Portion of the Reign of King James the Sixth*. Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1836.
- MD Mémoires et Documents
- NLS National Library of Scotland
- NRS National Records of Scotland
- NS New Style (Dating System)
- ODNB* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Edited by David Cannadine. Online ed. Oxford: OUP, 2004–2017. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 20 January 2017).
- OS Old Style (Dating system)
- OUP Oxford University Press
- Pitscottie, Historie* Lindsay of Pitscottie, Robert. *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Zeir*. Edited by Æneas J. Mackay. 3 vols. Scottish Text Society 42, 43, 60. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1899–1911.
- PC Privy Council
- PUP Princeton University Press
- RPC Scot* Burton, John H. and David Masson, eds. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. 1<sup>st</sup> Series. 14 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877–1898.
- RPS* Brown, Keith M., Gillian H. Macintosh, Alastair J. Mann, Pamela E. Ritchie, and Roland J. Tanner, eds. *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*. St Andrews, 2007–2017. [www.rps.ac.uk](http://www.rps.ac.uk) (accessed 10 December 2016).
- SAL Society of Antiquaries London
- SP State Papers
- TA (Treasurer Accounts)* Dickson, Thomas, James B. Paul, C. T. McInnes, and Athol L. Murray, eds. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*. 13 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877–1978.
- Teulet, Relations* Teulet, Jean B., ed. *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVIe siècle: papiers d'etat, pièces et*

- documents inédits ou peu connus, tirés des bibliothèques et des archives de France*. New ed. 5 vols. Paris: Renouard, 1862.
- Thomson, *Diurnal* Thomson, Thomas, ed. *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, That Have Passed within the Country of Scotland, since the Death of King James the Fourth, Till the Year 1575. From a MS. of the Sixteenth Century, in the Possession of Sir J. Maxwell, of Pollock*. Maitland Club Publications 23. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833.
- TNA The National Archives, Kew

## Introduction

To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion or empire above any realm, nation or city is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrary to His revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice.<sup>1</sup>

With his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (1558) the Scottish reformer John Knox provoked another round of humanist debate on queenship.<sup>2</sup> In this tract Knox repeatedly refers to the “mischievous Marys,” who betrayed their countries “into the hands of strangers, the titles and liberties of them taken from their just possessors.”<sup>3</sup> The term “mischievous Marys” is misleading, for our modern-day understanding initially evokes the term “mischief” and a person “characterized by acts of childish naughtiness” or exhibiting “playful” behaviour. The contemporary understanding, however, was closer to “inflicting damage or injury” or “having a harmful influence or intent,” and therefore very closely associated with malevolence.<sup>4</sup> The three Marys in question are the two queens regnant Mary Tudor<sup>5</sup> and Mary Stewart – more commonly known as Mary, queen of Scots<sup>6</sup> – as well as the latter’s mother, Marie de Guise, queen consort, regent and dowager of Scotland.<sup>7</sup> Their reigns spanned the years 1538 to 1587

<sup>1</sup> John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (Geneva: Crispin, 1558), 9; In future I will refer to the scholarly edition of the text in Roger A. Mason, ed., *Knox: On Rebellion*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 3–47, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Gilby, “An Admonition to England and Scotland to Call Them to Repentance,” in *The Appellation of John Knox [...] With His Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobilitie, Estates, and Comunaltie of the Same Realme*, ed. John Knox (Geneva: 1558), 59v–77r; Christopher Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to Be Obeyed of Their Subjects [...]* (Geneva: Crispin, 1558); John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes, against the Late Blowne Blaste [by John Knox], [...]* (Strasbourg: Daye, 1559); Peter Frarin, *An Oration against the Vnlawfull Insurrections of the Protestantes of Our Time, Vnder Pretence to Refourme Religion. Made and Pronounced in Latin, in the Schole of Artes at Louaine, the .Xij. of December, Anno 1565*, trans. John Fowler (Antwerp: Fowler, 1566); John Jewel, “The Defence of the Apology of the Church of England,” in *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge: CUP, 1848), 4:665; Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum: The Maner of Gouvernement or Policie of the Realme of England* (London: Middleton, 1583); On the gynaecocracy debate, see: Sharon L. Jansen, *Debating Women, Politics, and Power in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Judith M. Richards, “‘To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule’: Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 1 (1997), 101–121; Amanda Shephard, *Gender and Authority in Sixteenth-century England: The Knox Debate* (Keele: Ryburn, 1994); Constance Jordan, “Women’s Rule in Sixteenth-century British Political Thought,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (1987), 421–451; Paula L. Scalingi, “The Scepter or the Distaff: The Question of Female Sovereignty, 1516–1607,” *Historian* 41, no. 1 (1978), 59–75.

<sup>3</sup> Mason, *On Rebellion*, 34.

<sup>4</sup> “Mischievous, adj. (and n.),” *Oxford English Dictionary* (OUP, 2018), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/119303?redirectedFrom=mischievous-eid> (accessed 10 February 2018), § 3, 4a–b.

<sup>5</sup> Mary Tudor acceded the English throne on 19 July 1553 and concluded her reign with her death on 17 November 1558.

<sup>6</sup> Mary Stewart – for clarity’s sake I will refer to her as such throughout – acceded the throne on 14 December 1542 as a minor and abdicated in 1567, after six years of personal rule in Scotland. She was also queen consort of France, from 1558 to 1560 and queen dowager from 1560 until her execution on 8 February 1587 (OS). OS refers to dates according to the Julian calendar. Some events in this thesis occur after the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendars in most Catholic countries in 1582. Since England maintained the Julian calendar and the majority of events discussed in this period occurred in England, I will generally refer to the English dating. In order to arrive at the French/Catholic date, one must add 10 days. I.e. 8 February 1587 in England is 18 February 1587 in Catholic countries. When referring to sources from the latter I will include the new style reckoning in the following format: 8/18 February.

<sup>7</sup> Marie de Guise became queen consort upon her marriage to James V on 17 June 1538, queen dowager with his death on 14 December 1542 and queen regent with her inauguration on 12 April 1554. She died on 11 June 1560.

and during five of those years, from 1553 to 1558, their reigns coincided. While the focus on the Marys is derived from Knox, the more powerfully compelling reason to study these three particular queens lies in the convergence of their queenship in a clearly defined geographical area. Although there is a slight imbalance between regnant queenship on the one hand with a candidate from England and Scotland each and consort or regent queenship on the other, with but one Scottish example, this is a historical fact. There is simply no English consort or regent within that framework to fill the gap. After all, early modern Europe changed significantly during that time, not only because of the prominence of queenship in both England and Scotland. The religious upheavals sparked by the German and Swiss Reformations spread steadily across Europe and reached first the English (1533 and 1547) and then the Scottish shores (1560).<sup>8</sup> The changes wrought by both made it more difficult than ever for rulers to comply with the general definition of a good – or should one rather say ideal – monarch. Catholic queenship according to Knox could not fulfil any of the criteria, which comprised the defence of the true religion, listening to – the right – counsel, overcoming faction, dispensing justice and furthering the common good.<sup>9</sup> And yet queenship was a reality, which the queens, elites and subjects had to adjust to. In this climate, the ruling queens needed to continually reassert their authority among the ruling elites as well the general populace, although to differing degrees. It is here that we turn to rituals, which were vital tools in constructing legitimacy and authority, for in them early modern hierarchical structures and sovereignty were established and confirmed. Above all, they permitted the monarch to engage in a vital dialogue with both groups. The enactment of this dialogue and the effects of gender and religion on the principal ceremonies of monarchy constitute the heart of this thesis. For the first time, the correlation between ceremony and queenship will be discussed in a comparative Anglo-Scottish context. Despite the momentous changes and the challenges to the legitimacy and authority of these queens, rituals continued to be significant and effective. The fact that they commonly involved different groups in society ensured that many had a vested interest in their continuation. Although centred on recognisable core elements, rituals proved exceedingly adaptable to their immediate context, embracing different forms of queenship, at times in one and the same ceremony.

## **I) Historiography and Methodology**

### **A) Three Maries**

The historiography on queenship and ritual is profuse and has grown rapidly in the last few decades. The same can be said for the literature on the two queens regnant Mary Tudor and Mary Stewart. Marie de Guise is the least familiar of the three. Both the public

---

<sup>8</sup> It must be noted that Henry VIII's desire for reform gave the impulse for the Henrician Reformation.

<sup>9</sup> Jeroen F. Duindam, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300–1800* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), 23.

and historians in France, England and Scotland have largely side-lined her.<sup>10</sup> The principal literature consists of Anglophone biographies. Both Agnes Strickland (1850) and Rosalind Marshall (1977) portray Marie as intelligent and loyal to her new Scottish home, an unexceptionable wife and queen consort with a profound sense of duty, who sought "to bring Scotland into the modern world."<sup>11</sup> Marshall's biography though now outdated is useful because of its detailed descriptions of the principal ceremonies discussed in this thesis. As a biography, however, it contains little analysis. More recent studies of Pamela Ritchie and Amy Blakeway, as well as John Harrison's report on Marie's court culture at Stirling during the 1540s focus exclusively on Marie's political career as queen dowager and regent. While Ritchie largely ignores ritual aspects of Marie's queenship altogether, Blakeway initiates a discussion of those rituals associated with Marie's regency. Harrison's report is particularly illuminating on the rituals of everyday life and only marginally alludes to one of the rituals addressed in this thesis, namely Mary Stewart's coronation.<sup>12</sup> Last but not least, Lucinda Dean's long-term study of the principal Scottish rituals contains the most comprehensive assessment of the ceremonies spanning Marie's rule as queen consort, dowager and regent. Due to the nature of her study, however, Dean's assessment is primarily centred on the continuous representation of Stewart authority, rather than focusing on the multitude of roles Marie exercised during her lifetime and the fashioning of her own image. Dean's recent chapter on Marie de Guise's influence on major rituals celebrated between 1543 and 1558 can only begin to fill this gap.<sup>13</sup>

Mary Stewart, unlike her less famous mother or even Mary Tudor, has always attracted widespread interest both among historians and a general audience alike. The standard questions, which are the focus of many academic studies and popular literature, are immensely polarising: Was Mary a good or a bad queen, a Jezebel or a saint?<sup>14</sup> Knox's answer to this question is obvious, but historiographic studies of responses to Mary's queenship across Europe have proven how Mary's contemporaries first initiated a complex

<sup>10</sup> I have not been able to find a single French publication on Marie de Guise exclusively. However, Annette Bächstädt is currently writing her PhD thesis on Marie at the Université de Reims.

<sup>11</sup> Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1850–1859), 1:353–354, 406, 2:168; Rosalind K. Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (London: Collins, 1977), 11, 71, 187–188, 265; The assessment of the following largely corresponds with the conclusions of the other two. See: Emmeline M. M'Kerlie, *Mary of Guise-Lorraine, Queen of Scotland* (London: Sands, 1931), 247–248; John A. Fleming, *Marie de Guise, Souvenirs de France* 5 (Glasgow: MacLellan, 1960), 85.

<sup>12</sup> Pamela E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560: A Political Career* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2002); Amy L. Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-century Scotland*, St Andrews Studies in Scottish History (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015), 55–61; John Harrison, "Ladies and Waiting: Marie de Guise at Stirling in the 1540s," *Stirling Castle Palace: Archaeological and Historical Research 2004–2008* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland), [http://sparc.scran.ac.uk/publications/pdfs/L4\\_ladies\\_and\\_waiting.pdf](http://sparc.scran.ac.uk/publications/pdfs/L4_ladies_and_waiting.pdf) (accessed 11 February 2014).

<sup>13</sup> Lucinda H. Dean, "Crowns, Wedding Rings, and Processions: Continuity and Change in the Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony, c. 1214 – c. 1603" (PhD diss., University of Stirling, 2013), chap. 3.4; Lucinda H. Dean, "In the Absence of an Adult Monarch: Ceremonial Representations of Authority by Marie de Guise, 1543–1558," in *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles*, ed. Katherine Buchanan, Lucinda H. S. Dean, and Michael A. Penman (London: Routledge, 2016), 143–162.

<sup>14</sup> For different assessments of Mary's queenship and the causes for her eventual forced abdication, see: Jenny Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure* (London: Philip, 1988); Michael Lynch, ed., *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 1–29; John A. Guy, *Queen of Scots: The True Life of Mary Stuart*, First Mariner Books ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005); Retha M. Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, Routledge Historical Biographies (London: Routledge, 2006).

debate on the matter during her lifetime and sustained it after her execution. These tracts have been a key source for historical interpretations but make a balanced assessment of Mary's life and reign difficult.<sup>15</sup> One approach to Mary's enigma has been to expand research on her household, entourage and council as well as her European connections in order to contextualise her reign and gain a clearer understanding of the domestic and European power relationships, which impacted her queenship. In the European context, Mary's dual role as queen of Scots and consort or dowager of France is important and situated firmly in the "Auld Alliance" between Scotland and France, which thrived before her husband François II's death in 1560. Her additional claims to the English throne truly make her the "dynastic enormity" that Marcus Merriman refers to in his work.<sup>16</sup> On the domestic stage, studies of the male, and, more recently, female members of the court illuminate the relationships between the queen and her prominent subjects.<sup>17</sup> Representation and court culture has only recently become the object of in-depth study in Scottish historiography. A comprehensive study of ritual during Mary Stewart's reign has yet to be written. The problematic source material as well as Mary's unusual life across three different countries, each with their own ritual traditions, makes such a project a daunting task. However, individual studies, particularly the work of Michael Lynch, Sarah Carpenter and Dean's thesis have highlighted the merits in pursuing such a project.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See: James E. Phillips, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-century Literature* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1964); Kristen P. Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Politics of Gender and Religion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Alexander S. Wilkinson, *Mary, Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion, 1542–1600* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); John D. Staines, *The Tragic Histories of Mary Queen of Scots, 1560–1690: Rhetoric, Passions and Political Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); For the development of Mary's myth, see: Ian B. Cowan, ed., *The Enigma of Mary Stuart* (London: Sphere, 1972).

<sup>16</sup> Marcus H. Merriman, "Mary, Queen of France," in Lynch, *Mary Stewart*, 31, 48. Merriman also employs the terms "dynastic prodigy" and "monstrosity."; Merriman, "Stewarts and Tudors in the Mid-Sixteenth Century," in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, (London: Routledge, 1995), 111–122; Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000); The essay collection edited by Michael Lynch traces the dynastic significance across three countries and life stages. See: Lynch, *Mary Stewart*; On the concept of a "British" strategy see: Stephen Alford, "Knox, Cecil and the British Dimension of the Scottish Reformation," in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 201–219; Jane E. Dawson, "William Cecil and the British Dimension of Early Elizabethan Foreign Policy," *History* 74, no. 241 (1989): 196–216; On the "Auld Alliance", see: Elizabeth Bonner, "French Naturalization of the Scots in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997): 1086–1087; Norman Macdougall also acknowledges the complimentary influence of art and culture beyond the 1560 end date. See: *An Antidote to the English: The Auld Alliance, 1295–1560*, Scottish History Matters (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2001); Eric Durot, "Le crépuscule de l'Auld Alliance: la légitimité du pouvoir en question entre Ecosse, France et Angleterre (1558–1561)," *Histoire, Économie et Société* 24, no. 1 (2007): 3–46; On Mary's religion and relationship to the papacy, see: Ian B. Cowan, "The Roman Connection: Prospects for Counter-Reformation During the Personal Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots," in Lynch, *Mary Stewart*, 105–122; Julian Goodare, "Queen Mary's Catholic Interlude," in *ibid.*, 168.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g.: William Blake, *William Maitland of Lethington, 1528–1573: A Study of the Policy of Moderation in the Scottish Reformation*, Studies in British History 17 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1990); David Franklin, *The Scottish Regency of the Earl of Arran: A Study in the Failure of Anglo-Scottish Relations*, Studies in British History 35 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1995); Rosalind K. Marshall, *Queen Mary's Women: Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: Donald, 2006); Blakeway, *Regency*.

<sup>18</sup> Alasdair A. MacDonald, "Mary Stewart's Entry into Edinburgh: An Ambiguous Triumph," *Innes Review* 42, no. 2 (1991): 101–110; Peter Davidson, "The Entry of Mary Stewart into Edinburgh, 1561, and Other Ambiguities," *Renaissance Studies* 9, no. 4 (1995): 416–429; Lynch, *Mary Stewart*; Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph: The Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566," *Scottish Historical Review* 69, no. 1 (1990): 1–21; Lynch, "The Reassertion of Princely Power in Scotland: The Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and King James VI," in *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450–1650*, ed. Martin Gosman, Alasdair A. MacDonald, and Arie J. Vanderjagt, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:199–238. Sarah Carpenter, "Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Entertainments of Mary Queen of Scots," *Scottish Historical Review* 82, no. 2 (2003): 194–225; Sarah Carpenter and Graham Runnals, "The

Furthermore, comparative studies have only contrasted Mary's queenship with that of her nemesis Elizabeth I.<sup>19</sup> Yet surely, as first queen regnant of Scotland, the comparison must be expanded to include the first English queen regnant Mary Tudor. Both queens faced similar difficulties, due to their queenship as well as their religion, so it is quite revealing that the responses they devised – or others on their behalf – were often quite different. This is reflected in and oftentimes initiated by the rituals discussed in this study.

Scholars have traditionally characterised Mary Tudor's reign, as bloody, ineffective and unfortunate: "The reign of Mary Tudor lasted only five years, but it left an indelible impression. Positive achievements there were none."<sup>20</sup> In the 1980s David Loades' re-evaluation of her religious policy and her rule in general initiated an extensive revision of this traditional assessment. In Loades's opinion, Mary was not the failure usually believed and neither was she or her reign unimportant.<sup>21</sup> Principal strands of historiography have since continued the revisionist approach, re-assessing various aspects of Mary's reign, such as her religious policy<sup>22</sup> and the relationship between her and various political institutions.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, in accordance with and in response to Betteridge's call for further study on the impact of gender during Mary's reign, a substantial quantity of research on ceremony, representation and gender in Marian queenship has emerged. This is reflected in the edited collections *Tudor Queenship* by Anna Whitelock and Alice Hunt and *The Birth of a Queen* by Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte.<sup>24</sup> In the 1990s Judith Richards was one of the first to draw attention to the interplay between ceremony, iconography and constitutional aspects of Mary's reign.<sup>25</sup> She argues that Mary set important precedents for Elizabeth and other female monarchs, especially through her frequently successful representation of female authority.<sup>26</sup> Other scholars, including Kevin Sharpe, Alexander Samson and Hunt

---

Entertainments at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and the French Dauphin François, 1558: Paris and Edinburgh," *Medieval English Theatre* 22 (2000):145–161.

<sup>19</sup> Jane Dunn, *Elizabeth and Mary: Cousins, Rivals, Queens* (London: HarperCollins, 2003).

<sup>20</sup> Geoffrey R. Elton, *England under the Tudors*, A History of England 4 (London: Methuen, 1955), 214; James A. Froude, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, Everyman's Library (London: Dent, 1910?), 317–320; Albert F. Pollard, *The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI. to the Death of Elizabeth (1547–1603)* (Longmans, Green, 1910), 172–174.

<sup>21</sup> David M. Loades, "The Reign of Mary Tudor: Historiography and Research," *Albion* 21, no. 4 (1989): 554; Also see David M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England, 1553–1558*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Longman, 1991), vii, 402.

<sup>22</sup> William Wizeman, "The Religious Policy of Mary I," in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 153–170; Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: YUP, 2009); Lucy E. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000).

<sup>23</sup> Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, eds., *The Mid-Tudor Polity, c. 1540–1560*, Problems in Focus Series (London: Macmillan, 1980); Anna Whitelock and Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Princess Mary's Household and the Succession Crisis, July 1553," *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 2 (2007), 265–287; Jeri L. McIntosh, "From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516–1558," online ed., Gutenberg-E Series (Columbia University Press, 2008), <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/mcintosh> (accessed 16 April 2014); Joanne Paul, "Sovereign Council or Counseled Sovereigns: The Marian Conciliar Compromise," in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte, Queenship and Power ([New York]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 135–153.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Betteridge, "Maids and Wives: Representing Female Rule During the Reign of Mary Tudor," in Doran and Freeman, *Mary Tudor*, 138, 151–152; Alice M. Hunt and Anna Whitelock, eds., *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Duncan and Schutte, *Birth of a Queen*.

<sup>25</sup> Judith M. Richards, "Mary Tudor as "Sole Quene"? Gendering Tudor Monarchy," *Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997): 896, 924.

<sup>26</sup> Judith M. Richards, "Examples and Admonitions: What Mary Demonstrated for Elizabeth," in Hunt and Whitelock, *Tudor Queenship*, 34–35, 36–37, 40.

have explored various ritual aspects of Mary's queenship.<sup>27</sup> The most sweeping studies to date of all the principal ceremonies of Mary's reign are the biographies, which appeared in quick succession almost ten years ago and Duncan's study *Mary I*. Duncan shares Richards' evaluation of the significance of Mary's rule as a precedent and incessantly argues that Mary "had more cunning and political acumen than is traditionally ascribed to her."<sup>28</sup> These works will be referred to chiefly in the discussion of the historiography in the individual chapters. Finally, as indicated with regard to Mary Stewart, there are no comprehensive comparative studies of the first queens regnant in England and Scotland. With regard to Mary Tudor, scholars have mostly drawn attention to the inspiration she found in traditional consort ceremonial.<sup>29</sup> A comparison with the Scottish Mary, however, is only logical. It can build on the existing literature for Mary Tudor and permit a broader study of the questions raised within it. How far did these queens choose to enact traditional roles? How did they combine these roles with one another? Were the queens limited by them or did this open up new avenues of power? How was this received at court, by the general population and abroad? These are all singularly pertinent and decisive questions, which this thesis will seek to address.

## B) Queenship

Queenship was an established and vital part of medieval European monarchies. The title queen was much more varied than its corresponding male title. First, regnant queenship or female kingship – the equivalent of the traditionally male concept of kingship – was a novelty of the sixteenth century in England and Scotland. In France, the application of the Salic Law prevented regnant queenship outright. In the absence of it, women filled the more traditional roles of queen consort, dowager and mother. The most political role available to women across Europe, including France and the Empire, was the role of queen regent. All four of these were well established with their corresponding customs and expectations. Through ceremony queens were able to demonstrate and define the four roles for their subjects. One cannot see them as exclusive though, for they existed simultaneously and were combined in almost any arrangement.<sup>30</sup> They also potentially

<sup>27</sup> Kevin M. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-century England* (New Haven: YUP, 2009), chap. 8; Alice M. Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), chap. 4; Alexander Samson, "Power Sharing: The Co-Monarchy of Philip and Mary," in Hunt and Whitelock, *Tudor Queenship*, chap. 10; Alexander Samson, "A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 1 (2009): 65–94; Alexander Samson, "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July–August 1554," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 3 (2005): 761–784.

<sup>28</sup> Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First, Queen* Queenship and Power (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 10; Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009); Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor*, Routledge Historical Biographies (London: Routledge, 2008); Linda Porter, *Mary Tudor: The First Queen* (London: Portrait, 2007).

<sup>29</sup> Among others: Duncan, *Mary I*, 25–29, 31–34; Alice M. Hunt, "The Reformation of Tradition: The Coronations of Mary and Elizabeth," in Hunt and Whitelock, *Tudor Queenship*, 65–68; Richards, "Gendering Tudor Monarchy," 896, 900–902.

<sup>30</sup> These roles frequently create confusion for contemporaries and historians alike. Thus, Gordon Kipling is particularly undistinguishing between the role of queen consort and queen regnant when he places Anne of Denmark's entry into Edinburgh in 1590 in the same tradition as Elizabeth Tudor's and Mary Stewart's



existed in their male equivalent such as king consort or king dowager, although these roles only emerged through the marriages of queens regnant. Thus, all of the equivalents to queen consort, dowager, mother and regent were yet to be established in their male form in England and Scotland. With the sixteenth century and the accession to political power of first Mary Stewart and then Mary Tudor in an unprecedented manner, the delicate structure embracing the male and female roles, developed over centuries, was challenged. Furthermore, Mary Stewart's accession to the throne coincided with her mother's remarkable political career in Scotland, first as queen dowager and later as regent. The accession of the three "mischievous Marys," so resented by Knox, must rightfully be seen as a transitional period or even a break in tradition. The effect this had on the medieval notion of king- and queenship and the balance between the different roles has been addressed to a certain extent in the relevant literature, but has yet to be put into context.

The historiography on queenship is very diverse, but there is usually a clear demarcation between regnant and consort queenship. Recently, several studies examined the significance of consort queenship, mostly in the medieval period, in a comparative context. Conclusions on the office of consort queenship, such as the indispensability of both king- and queenship in a comprehensive exercise of sovereignty and the diversity of roles a queen could play, are potentially quite enlightening with regard to regnant queenship.<sup>31</sup> However, while the existing literature on regnant queens acknowledges the precedents queens consort set for their regnant counterparts, it does not engage in extensive comparisons. In *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, Carole Levin draws attention to a fact, which has influenced recent – frequently termed feminist or gendered – historical scholarship on queenship considerably: the two roles, bodies or images which Elizabeth as regnant queen had to combine. According to Levin, Elizabeth frequently accentuated her sovereignty in her own right in male terms within the tradition of Tudor kingship, thereby placing "herself beyond traditional gender expectations." At the same time however, she had the body of a woman and so "was able to capitalize on the expectations of her behaviour."<sup>32</sup> In this tradition, first Charles Beem and subsequently William Monter have challenged the use of the term queenship when exercised in its regnant form. Instead, they both propose to speak of female rulership or "female kings."<sup>33</sup> This is an attempt to distinguish regnant queenship clearly from the other forms and situate it in the context of independent sovereignty as commonly expressed in the word "kingship". However, both

---

entries in 1559 and 1561 respectively. See: "The Deconstruction of the Virgin in the Sixteenth-century Royal Entry in Scotland," *European Medieval Drama* 9 (2005):127–152.

<sup>31</sup> Studies with a focus on Britain: Michelle L. Beer, "Practices and Performances of Queenship: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503–1533" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 2014); Fiona Downie, *She is But a Woman: Queenship in Scotland, 1424–1463* (Edinburgh: Donald, 2006); Joanne L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), esp. 263–264; For Europe see e.g.: Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe, Queenship and Power* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). This includes some references to regnant and dowager queenship, but is overwhelmingly focused on consorts and regents.

<sup>32</sup> Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), xv, 1–2.

<sup>33</sup> Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 3; William Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe, 1300–1800* (New Haven: YUP, 2012), xvi.

argue that “female kings” practiced a dual role as sovereign and queen as they aimed to break free from the constraints posed on them by their gender. The question Beem pursues is by what means “female kings” manipulated and transcended social and political limitations.<sup>34</sup> In her article on “Female Monarchy,” Cristy Beemer pursues a similar examination of the exploitation of traditional gender roles by the two English queens regnant in the context of their rhetoric. She identifies a common strategy in the use of rhetoric by both Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, one outwardly based on society’s gender expectations, while in reality subverting them.<sup>35</sup> Although the distinction between regnant and other forms of queenship may be a useful in some cases and has led to a fruitful debate, it is important to remember the plurality of queenship in all its forms. Knox does not distinguish between the three Maries, despite their different forms of queenship and enactment of the same. Furthermore, the transcendence of gender stereotypes by combining male and female traits as discussed above has also been identified in other types of queenship. However, those studies which embrace a greater diversity of queenship, including the regnant form usually lack the comparative approach, since they consist primarily as individual essays in edited collections such as Louise Fradenburg’s *Women and Sovereignty*.<sup>36</sup> Even Retha Warnicke’s study on English queenship, both consort and regnant, in Tudor England only skims the surface.<sup>37</sup> Further comparative studies of the different forms and the relations between them are needed to achieve a fuller understanding of sovereignty, particularly its female forms. This study therefore seeks to look beyond the partitioning to demonstrate how the distinction was blurred in ritual representations and the reception of the different queens. Furthermore, the queens combined different roles in one person, occasionally emphasising one or the other, as in some cases the challenges of gender and religion necessitated novel strategies in royal rituals.

### C) Rituals

While queenship is an integral part of the analysis in this thesis, the principal subject is ritual.<sup>38</sup> The anthropologist Clifford Geertz has greatly influenced historians of rituals

<sup>34</sup> Beem, *Lioness Roared*, 4.

<sup>35</sup> Cristy Beemer, “The Female Monarchy: A Rhetorical Strategy of Early Modern Rule,” *Rhetoric Review* 30, no. 3 (2011): 259–260.

<sup>36</sup> This includes essays on the consorts Margaret Tudor, Elizabeth Woodville and Elizabeth of York and separate ones on queens regnant, such as Elizabeth I and Mary II: Louise O. Fradenburg, ed., *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1992), 2–3, 78–100, 121–131, 150–169, 170–191; Another example with chapters on Catalina de Aragon and Henrietta Maria vs. Mary and Elizabeth Tudor among others is Robert O. Bucholz and Carole Levin, eds., *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), esp. chap. 2–3, 5, 7, 11. There are two comparative chapters transcending the roles on Elizabeth I on the one hand and Élisabeth de Valois as well as Catherine de’ Medici on the other; Also see: Zita Eva Rohr and Lisa Benz, *Queenship, Gender, and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060–1600*, *Queenship and Power* (Palgrave Macmillan/Springer, 2016); Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson, eds., *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2009); John C. Parsons, ed., *Medieval Queenship* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1993).

<sup>37</sup> Retha M. Warnicke, “Queenship: Politics and Gender in Tudor England,” *History Compass* 4, no. 2 (2006): 203–227.

<sup>38</sup> I will not be distinguishing beyond ritual and ceremony, except that the former is preferable in a theoretical and overarching context.

with his hermeneutical approach familiar to the historian: a “thick description” which seeks to decipher the “webs of significance” of culture by interweaving the account of a ritual for instance with a simultaneous analysis of the symbolism displayed. The context of the ritual is therefore crucial in helping us to understand it.<sup>39</sup> The examples in this thesis emphasise how contextualised ritual is, but it is possible to draw more generalised conclusions from this observation. First, there is the question of what a ritual is. The following definition proposed by Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger is particularly comprehensive:

Als Ritual im engeren Sinne wird hier eine menschliche Handlungsabfolge bezeichnet, die durch Standardisierung der äußeren Form, Wiederholung, Aufführungscharakter, Performativität und Symbolizität gekennzeichnet ist und eine elementare sozial strukturbildende Wirkung besitzt.<sup>40</sup>

Its function according to this is to create and sustain an elementary social order. This involves the issues of legitimation and authority. The legitimising function of royal rituals integrates concepts of conventional political history into the cultural context of ritual studies. The authority of the monarch is established in relationship to his or her subjects in a dialogue as emphasised by Sharpe in his work on the representations of early modern rule.<sup>41</sup> Representation and reception merge into a single concept. Although this dialogue is enacted according to certain directives or even ordinances, it – and by extension the ritual itself – is not static. Although standardisation and repetition would imply that rituals need to be inflexible, in order to function correctly, that is simply not true. It is the adaptability of rituals to different contexts, emphasised in recent studies of ritual, which make them so effective and explains their prominence and continued relevance. The case studies in this thesis demonstrate continuously, that individual features could change to accommodate the altered context created by queenship or religion. Furthermore, a ritual’s significance might differ from one occasion to another and even within one individual ceremony for the different parties involved in it.<sup>42</sup> In response to several crucial questions underlying ritual theory, topics in this thesis include the continued relevance and substance of rituals versus ritual triviality – the so-called empty shell as a consequence of the “disenchantment of the world<sup>43</sup> –, the use of ambiguity, both intentional and incidental

<sup>39</sup> Clifford Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, c. 2000), 5–6, 9–10, 14, 18.

<sup>40</sup> Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Rituale*, Historische Einführungen 16 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013), 9. For translation see Appendix, T1 (future references in format App. T\*).

<sup>41</sup> Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, xvi–xviii, xxiv–xxv.

<sup>42</sup> Among others, see: Kathryn McClymond, *Ritual Gone Wrong: What We Learn from Ritual Disruption* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), 2–5; Stollberg-Rilinger, *Rituale*, 10–11, 219–222, 224; Axel Michaels, ed. *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, 5 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), esp. Preface to vol. 1; Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 12; Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 299; Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: OUP, 1997), chap. 7, esp. 220, 251–252; On the related “invention of tradition”, see: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), esp. chap. 1 and 4.

<sup>43</sup> “Entzauberung der Welt” coined by Max Weber in *Wissenschaft als Beruf 1917/1919; Politik als Beruf 1919*, Studies ed., Max-Weber-Gesamtausgabe I/17 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1994), 9; Hartmut Lehmann traces Weber’s use of the term before and after in “The Interplay of Disenchantment and Re-enchantment in Modern European History: Or, the Origin and the Meaning of Max Weber’s Phrase »Die Entzauberung der Welt«,” in *Die Entzauberung der Welt: Studien zu Themen von Max Weber*, Bausteine zu einer Europäischen Religionsgeschichte im Zeitalter der Säkularisierung 11 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009), 9–12; In connection to ritual see: Bell, *Ritual*, 198; Muir, *Ritual*, 202–203; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 2–3.

and finally the impact of real or potential ritual failure. Whereas the adaptations made in rituals occasionally shifted the balance between religious and secular elements, both elements persevered and retained their purpose. They were certainly not "disenchanted". With regard to ambiguity, Edward Muir's assertion on ritual that "its meaning is inherently ambiguous" explains how the significance of the ritual might differ for different people.<sup>44</sup> Ambiguity can certainly be a powerful tool in creating and upholding a consensus despite substantial controversy among the actors involved. Its value and manifestation, however, depends on the individual ceremony.<sup>45</sup> Last but not least, the prevailing question of ritual failure is addressed on a number of occasions in the subsequent analysis. This concept is wide-ranging and elusive, for an assessment of the extent of ritual failure is generally dependent on the particular viewpoint of one participant or a group of participants. Like ambiguity, failures can be both intentional and incidental, but in the context of this thesis the former prevail.<sup>46</sup> In all of the cases where ritual failure was a genuine threat, individual elements did break down, but diverse solutions were devised to prevent it from failing outright.

The literature on royal rituals of the sixteenth century in Europe is expanding rapidly. Yet few comprehensive studies exist for England or Scotland, as overwhelmingly ceremonies are considered either individually or in pairs.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the English coronation ritual has received the largest share of attention, by scholars such as Percy Schramm, Roy Strong and more recently Hunt. Any discussion of the English funeral ceremony draws

<sup>44</sup> Muir, *Ritual*, 6.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 5–6; Stollberg-Rilinger, *Rituale*, 176–177, 196–200; Catherine M. Bell's, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: OUP, 1992), 109, 186; David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: YUP, 1988), chap. 4, esp. 69–71.

<sup>46</sup> For an early attempt at categorising "ritual infelicities" see Ronald L. Grimes, ed., *Ritual Criticism: Case Studies in its Practice, Essays on its Theory*, Studies in Comparative Religion (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990), 199–205. His system, however, is unhelpful in this present context. Similarly unhelpful is the discussion of ritual failure in Bell's, *Ritual Theory*, 33–35; Only more recent studies address the question more holistically. See: McClymond, *Ritual Gone Wrong*, 1–15, 173–175; Ute Hüsken, "Ritualfehler," in *Ritual und Ritualdynamik: Schlüsselbegriffe, Theorien, Diskussionen*, ed. Christiane Brosius, Axel Michaels, and Paula Schrode (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 129–134; Stollberg-Rilinger, *Rituale*, 211–218; Ute Hüsken, ed., *When Rituals Go Wrong: Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*, Numen Book Series, Studies in the History of Religions 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), esp. 1–20.

<sup>47</sup> For examples of comprehensive studies of various periods and countries, see: Roy C. Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973); Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984); David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: OUP, 1997); Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, trans. R. Burr Litchfield, new rev. & enl. ed. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); These are examples of individual ceremonies discussed over the course of one or more centuries: Percy E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. Leopold G. Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937); Dale E. Hoak, "The Coronations of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I, and the Transformation of the Tudor Monarchy," in *Westminster Abbey Reformed: 1540–1640*, ed. C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 114–151; Roy C. Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005); Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: PUP, 1957); Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, *Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance* 37 (Geneva: Droz, 1960); Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570–1625* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997); Robert M. Smuts, "Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma: The English Royal Entry in London," in *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. Lee Beier, David Cannadine, and James M. Rosenheim (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), 65–93; Margaret B. McGowan, "The Renaissance Triumph and its Classical Heritage," in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance*, ed. James R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 26–48; Anne B. Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).

heavily on Ernst Kantorowicz's seminal study on *The King's Two Bodies* as is exemplified by Jennifer Woodward's work on *The Theatre of Death*.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, Dean rightly asserts that the majority of Scottish ritual research focuses on the sixteenth-century, yet these studies concentrate on one individual event and if they do cover a larger period of time, concentrate chiefly on the reigns of James V and VI. One notable exception is Lynch's "Reassertion of Princely Power", in which he argues for the renewal of court culture during Mary Stewart's personal reign and the revival of the chivalric cult.<sup>49</sup> However, rituals spanned the entirety of Mary's reign and their reflection of the different stages of her queenship need to be placed in context. Suffice it to say, that the combination of different rituals merits further study and that it is time to transcend the border between England and Scotland to obtain a more rounded and comprehensive approach to the function and development of ritual in its relationship to queenship.

## II) Structure

The rituals of each of the three queens analysed in this study include the three principal royal rituals of coronation, marriage and funerals. In addition, however, and in response to the diversity of queenship addressed above, the first chapter is focused on those ceremonies which marked moments of accession with regard to the individual roles of queen consort, regent, mother and regnant. For a regnant monarch, these include ceremonial entries. The date of their occurrence is crucial in establishing when a monarch publically acceded to the throne. Ceremonial entries are equally organised for queens consort, both before and after their individual moment of accession: the marriage. The public initiation of other royal roles such as that of queens mother and regent were observed in baptisms and inaugurations. Technically, one should also include funerals, the ceremony most closely associated with the role of queen dowager. However, due to either the wife's customary absence during the ceremony or a lack of detailed source material

<sup>48</sup> Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, see particularly chap. 3, 5.

<sup>49</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 3; Lynch, "Reassertion of Princely Power," 207–220, esp. 207, 211–212; This article spans the entire sixteenth century, but it focuses exclusively on the entry ceremony: Douglas Gray, "The Royal Entry in Sixteenth-century Scotland," in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), 10–37; On James V see: Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1994); Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh: Donald, 2005); Andrea Thomas, "Crown Imperial: Coronation Ritual and Regalia in the Reign of James V," in *Sixteenth-century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 166 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 43–68; Examples of individual studies include: Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph," 1–21; MacDonald, "Mary Stewart's Entry," 101–110; Alan R. MacDonald, "The Triumph of Protestantism: The Burgh Council of Edinburgh and the Entry of Mary, Queen of Scots, 2 September 1561," *Innes Review*, 48, no. 1 (1997): 73–82; David Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1997); Carpenter and Runnals, "Entertainments," 145–161; Carpenter, "Performing Diplomacies," 194–225; Maureen M. Meikle, "Anna of Denmark's Coronation and Entry into Edinburgh, 1590: Cultural, Religious and Diplomatic Perspectives," in *Sixteenth-century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 277–294. Giovanna Guidicini, "Municipal Perspective, Royal Expectations, and the Use of Public Space: The Case of the West Port, Edinburgh, 1503–1633," *Architectural Heritage* 22, no. 1 (2011): 37–52; Giovanna Guidicini, "Imagining and Staging an Urban Border: The Role of the Netherbow Gate in Early Modern Edinburgh," in *The Design of Frontier Spaces: Control and Ambiguity*, ed. Carolyn S. Loeb and Andreas Luescher (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 66–86.

regarding her attendance, the ritual “accession” of queens dowager will not feature in the chapter. Overall, this thesis, an attempt to study the ritual depiction of queenship in its multiple forms in a limited space and time, can only commence with acknowledging these moments, singular occasions for the representation of authority and its reception by a wider public.

The second chapter on coronations, particularly in combination with the fourth chapter on funerals, addresses questions on the continuity of sovereignty and the idea of a body politic. When is a monarch truly acknowledged as the ruler of his or her kingdom? What ceremony, if any is associated with their official accession? The succession narrative evoked by rituals – if there is one – must be correlated with the legal understanding of the time. Legally, the death of a monarch had evolved into the defining moment of transition across most of Western Europe long before the sixteenth century. As Kantorowicz illustrated in his study of medieval and early modern France and England, the theory of kingship based on dynasticism and the idea of the king’s two bodies necessitated such a step. As the body politic had to endure perpetually to safeguard the order and prosperity of the state as a whole, so the transfer of royal authority from one body natural to another had to occur seamlessly.<sup>50</sup> Due to the untimely end of Mary Stewart’s reign as queen of Scotland twenty years before her eventual execution in England, the case studies in this thesis do not allow us to draw definitive conclusions on the situation in Scotland. In England, however, the theory of a “ceremonial interregnum”, as identified by Ralph Giesey for France, clearly cannot be upheld.<sup>51</sup> The English monarch, unlike his French counterpart, was ceremonially active and acknowledged before the funeral of his predecessor. Nonetheless, both the coronation and the funeral remain singularly relevant in both countries.

Marriage and the corresponding wedding ceremony, the subject of the third chapter, might equally be considered a moment of accession. For Marie de Guise it was the means through which she became queen consort of Scotland. For queens regnant marriage did not directly affect their position in their home country. However, in view of the dominant patriarchal understanding of the relationship between husband and wife, it could also threaten the authority of regnant queens. It is the fear of domination by the foreign husbands of Mary Tudor and Mary Stewart, which aroused Knox’s fury. Was he justified in his claim that queens betrayed their countries into the hands of strangers? Both queens pursued very different avenues of queenship through marriage, which had repercussions on the dangers identified by Knox. The weddings of Mary Tudor to Philip of Spain and Mary Stewart to François of France differed considerably in their setting and execution, as well as in the extent to which they addressed the fear. However, marrying a countryman was similarly problematic as Mary Stewart’s weddings to Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley and James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell aptly illustrate.

---

<sup>50</sup> Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 336.

<sup>51</sup> Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, 183.

### III) Sources

A detailed discussion of the available sources will follow in the individual subchapters of the main body of this thesis, but it is necessary to make some preliminary remarks, both on the variety of sources employed and the contrast in commemoration of rituals between England and Scotland. The primary challenge in this thesis was to tackle the definite imbalance between the number of sources available for the study of Tudor and Stewart ritual. Whereas English heralds and chroniclers often record the procedure of Mary Tudor's ceremonies in minute detail, extant Scottish sources are rarely as obliging. Thus, a number of points have to be made: first, we must assume that some equivalents to the English heraldic collections existed at some point, but as they have since been lost, it is impossible to determine their exact nature. One glimpse of their existence is contained in the only surviving Scottish coronation ordo. While detailed English coronation ordinances survive, including the fourteenth-century *Liber Regalis* and the various "Devices" of the reigns of Richard III to Henry VIII, they have no extant equivalent in sixteenth-century Scotland. The earliest surviving document is seventeenth-century "Forme" devised by Jerome Lindsay, Lyon king of arms. Lindsay's version claims to reflect "the antient forme of the coronation of this kingdom," in his compilation intended as a manual for Charles I before the former's coronation in Edinburgh in 1633. Yet doubts remain whether the "Forme" accurately reflects older sources.<sup>52</sup> The absence of reliable ordinances in Scotland is unfortunate and it is aggravated by the fact that precedents are equally difficult to establish from the existing source material. Dean's comprehensive research may fill in the gaps occasionally, but even then, comparisons remain essentially limited, particularly when compared to the wealth of material for Mary Tudor.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, given the range of ceremonies relating to queens discussed in this thesis, several broader points can be made in comparison.

---

<sup>52</sup> Westminster Abbey Library and Monument Room MS 38. This was a general ordo which addressed the coronation of the king and his consort; Hereafter I will refer to the printed version: "Liber Regalis," in *English Coronation Records*, ed. Leopold G. Legg (Westminster: Constable, 1901), 81–112, 112–130; BL, Add. MS 18669, fos. 1r–10v; The "Devices" are more specific documents, drawn up in advance for a particular coronation. The "Little Device" is commonly associated with Henry VII, but the original text of one copy confirms that an earlier version drafted for Richard III existed: BL, Egerton MS 985, fos. 1r–11r. The adaptations for Henry VII were merely inserted; Printed as: "Little Device for the Coronation of Henry VII," in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 219–239. I will refer to this version in the future; This copy is shorter, skipping several passages: BL, Harl. MS 5111, fos. 77r–79v; Another manuscript is printed in William Jerdan, ed., *Rutland Papers: Original Documents Illustrative of the Courts and Times of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, Camden Society, Old Series 21 (London: Nichols and Son, 1842), 1–24; There is one copy for the coronation of Henry VIII: BL, Cott. MS Tib. E/VIII, fos. 90–100; A draft for Mary's coronation was also drawn up in 1553, but it no longer corresponded to the formula laid out in the "Devices." See: SAL, MS 123/3, fos. 1r–10v; There are parallels to the drafts drawn up before Edward's coronation: SAL, MS 123/2, fos. 8r–40v; SAL, MS 123/1, fos. 1r–6v; Lindsay's version: NRS, PC 5/4, fos. 138v–139r; Published in Peter H. Brown, ed., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1900), 2:393–395; Another copy in CoA, MS W Y, fos. 239–241r; See the discussion on this text in Roderick J. Lyall, "The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service: Some Seventeenth-century Evidence," *Innes Review* 28, no. 1 (1977): 3–21; I will in future refer to Lyall's edition of the "Forme": Jerome Lindsay, "The Forme of the Coronation of the Kings of Scotland," ed. Roderick J. Lyall, *ibid.*: 6–11; Charles I's request to prepare his coronation "according to the antient forme of that our kingdom," in Charles Rogers, ed., *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters, Relative to the Affairs of Scotland and Nova Scotia from 1615 to 1635* (Edinburgh: 1885), 1:292.

<sup>53</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority."

What sources can we use beyond the ordinances and heraldic descriptions wherever available? Narrative sources, encompassing diaries, chronicles and histories, are particularly relevant.<sup>54</sup> Not only do they give some indication of what transpired, but they also provide valuable insights into contemporary approaches to ceremony. Naturally, one must approach them warily, since they merely constitute one possible reception of the event, sometimes based on personal observations, but more commonly on second- or third-hand reports. In view of Knox's scathing critique of female rule and Catholicism, it is hardly surprising that his references to the Scottish ceremonies are severely coloured by his personal opinions.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, as the discussion of Mary Tudor's coronation in chapter two demonstrates, observations vary widely, even if several chroniclers witness similar aspects of the same ceremony themselves.<sup>56</sup>

Equally important and just as problematic are diplomatic missives.<sup>57</sup> Not only do they reveal the presence of ambassadors and commissioners at several major ceremonies in England, France and Scotland, but they occasionally contain singular evidence. With them we can situate the ceremony in a European context, tracing its significance in terms of interdynastic policy or religion. Their writers may be eyewitnesses to the event or alternatively rely on missives and reports by others. In both cases, the authors' partiality as well as inaccuracies like those in chronicles have to be taken into account.

Additionally, financial and civic documents can elucidate the preparations made for the individual ceremonies. In Scotland particularly, the *Treasurer Accounts* and others provide invaluable references on invitations sent out, construction materials employed and the adaptations made to or the creation of the regalia among other things.<sup>58</sup>

Several specific documents play a role in the relevant chapters. Parliamentary statutes frame the regency of Marie de Guise and the marriages of the two queens regnant. They are associated with legal documents such as marriage treaties. Such treaties provide the lens through which the subsequent ceremony can be interpreted. Frequently, they are in themselves a prominent part of the ritual and publicly declared, signed or

---

<sup>54</sup> For England see among others: John G. Nichols, ed., *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, Camden Society 42 (London: Nichols, 1848); John G. Nichols, ed., *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, Camden Society 48 (London: Camden Society, 1850); John G. Nichols, ed., *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, Camden Society, Old Series 53 (London: Camden Society, 1852); John Stow, *The Chronicles of England, from Brute Unto This Present Yeare of Christ, 1580* (London: Newberie, 1580); Stow, *The Annales of England, Faithfully Collected Out of the Most Autenticall Authors, Records and Other Monuments of Antiquitie, from the First Inhabitation Until This Present Yeere 1592* (London: Newbery, 1592); Holinshed, *Chronicles (1577)*; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*; For Scotland see: Thomson, *Diurnal*; Pitscottie, *Historie*, vol. 1–3; George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (Edinburgh: Arbutnot, 1582); Dickinson, *History*, vol. 1–2; Maxwell, *Memoirs*; Lesley, *Historie*; Lesley, *History of Scotland*.

<sup>55</sup> See his comments on Marie de Guise's inauguration and Mary Stewart's entry, in Dickinson, *History*, 1:116–117, 2:21.

<sup>56</sup> Refer to Chapter 2: IV)

<sup>57</sup> The *Calendars of State Papers* contain most of these missives, but for further information see the specific chapters.

<sup>58</sup> I.e.: TA; Henry M. Paton, ed., *Accounts of the Masters of Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles [...]* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1957); Robert Adam, ed. *Edinburgh Records: The Burgh Accounts*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: The Council, 1899); Burgh Records: Edinburgh, 4 vols.



alluded to during the betrothal or wedding ceremony.<sup>59</sup> Wills fall into a comparable category, for they map out the wishes of the deceased. By contrasting them to the funeral rituals observed, we may draw important conclusions on the agency these queens possessed beyond the grave.<sup>60</sup> In turn, sermons, which survive for all three queens, contain a retrospective, albeit biased evaluation of their queenship. In Mary Stewart's case, they were published within two years of the corresponding ceremony and played a singular role in the ideological battle of her commemoration in France.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:115–118; Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (New Haven: YUP, 1964), 2:21–25.; Mary, St. 3, c. 2, printed in Alexander Luders et al., eds., *The Statutes of the Realm [...]* (London: 1819), 4:222–226; "Contrat de Mariage," in, BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/IX, fos. 15–17v; Printed in: Jean Dumont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens [...]* (Amsterdam: Brunel, Wetstein, Smith, Waesberge & Chatelain, 1728), 4.1:22–23; Labanoff, *Lettres*, 2:23–30.

<sup>60</sup> A copy of Mary Tudor's will can be found in BL, Harl. MS 6949, 29–45; For Marie de Guise, see: AdAÉ, MD Angleterre 15, fos. 112r–113r. It has never been printed. My sincere thanks to Annette Bächstädt for allowing me access to this document; For Mary Stewart see: BL, Cott. MS Vesp. C/XVI, fos. 145–151; Printed in: Labanoff, *Lettres*, 4:151–162.

<sup>61</sup> Mary Tudor: BL, Cott. MS Vesp. D XVIII/X, fos. 92–105; Printed in: John White, "A Sermon Preached at the Funerals of Queen Mary," in *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion [...]*, ed. John Strype (Oxford: Clarendon, 1822), 3.2:536–550; François Richardot, "Sermon funebre fait aus obseques de madame Marie Roynne d'Angleterre par Messire Francois Richardot, évesque de Nicople, svffragant d'Arras," in *Le Sermon funebre, fait devant le Roy, par Messire Francois Richardot, Euesque de Nicople, & Suffragant d'Arras: Aus obseques & Funerailles du Tresgrand & Tresuictorieux Empereur Charles Cinquième. [...]* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1559), sig. E2v–G2r; Marie de Guise: Claude d'Espence, *Oraison funebre es obseques de [...] Marie [...] Roynne douairiere d'Escoce, prononcee à Nostre Dame de Paris, le douzieme d'Aoust, mil cinq cens soixante* (Paris: de Vascosan, 1561); Mary Stewart: Renaud de Beaune, *Oraison Fvnebre, de la tres-chrestienne, tres-illvstre, tres-constante, Marie Roynne d'Escoce, morte pour la Foy, le 18. Febrier, 1587, par la cruauté des Anglois heretiques, ennemys de Dieu* ([Paris], 1588); John Leslie, *Oraison funèbre sur la mort de la roynne d'Escoce, traduite d'escossois en nostre langue françoise*, trans. Nicolas Loiseul (Paris: Charron, 1587).

## Chapter 1: Accession

### I) Introduction

In the ritualized world of early modern Europe, accession ceremonies were not restricted to the reigning monarch. In this chapter I will therefore refer to a variety of female roles introduced previously, ranging from consort to regnant queenship. One queen could experience multiple accessions with regard to these roles, as is aptly illustrated by the case of Mary Stewart. “Par la grâce de Dieu, Roynne d’Escosse, Douairière de France,”<sup>62</sup> Mary experienced queenship in its diverse forms. On 14 December 1542, she officially became queen of Scots within one week of her birth. On 10 July 1559, she acceded the throne of France as queen consort alongside her ruling husband François II and on 5 December 1560 she became queen dowager of France upon his death. Then, on 19 August 1561 she initiated her personal rule in Scotland and finally from the birth of her son James on 19 June 1566 she also resorted to the iconography of the role of queen mother. Not all three queens experienced the same forms of queenship, but they all assumed multiple roles: Mary Stewart as queen regnant, consort, dowager and mother, Marie de Guise as consort, dowager and regent and Mary Tudor as queen regnant and consort. Each form had an individual moment of accession mostly distinct from the principal royal rituals of coronation, marriage and funeral. While the roles might be initiated by their marriage to a foreign prince, the birth of a child, or the death of their spouses, frequently the moment was subsequently celebrated in a ritualised form, in which the new role might be symbolically enacted. These ceremonies carried the potential to augment and confirm the authority of its actors. It is also important to note that the ceremonies differed in nature. Royal or ceremonial entries marked the accession of queens regnant as well as that of consorts. These festivals have increasingly attracted attention as interdisciplinary fields of study, particularly pertinent to the understanding of the cultural and political climate of early modern Europe.<sup>63</sup> They are an anomaly within the context of the three other principal ceremonies at the heart of this study. Whereas coronations, royal marriages and funerals are all devised and financed by monarchs and courts as well as largely performed in a court or ecclesiastical setting, the burgh conceived and hosted the

<sup>62</sup> “Testament de Marie Stuart,” 8 February 1587, in Labanoff, *Lettres*, 6:485. App. T2.

<sup>63</sup> See e.g.: Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Pierre Béhar and Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, eds., *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 31 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 643–768; Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Anne Simon, *Festivals and Ceremonies: A Bibliography of Works Relating to Court, Civic, and Religious Festivals in Europe, 1500–1800* (New York: Mansell, 2000); James R. Mulryne et al., eds., *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols., Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association (Aldershot: MHRA; Ashgate, 2004); Héléne Visentin and Nicolas Russell, eds., *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text*, Publications of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies Essays and Studies 11 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 15–19; Jean Andrews and Marie-Claude Canova-Green, eds., *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); James R. Mulryne, Maria I. Aliverti, and Annamaria Testaverde Matteini, eds., *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power, European Festival Studies: 1450–1700* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).

entries. Although recent scholarship has emphasized the decline of the element of dialogue between city and monarch over the course of the sixteenth century in some regions of Europe, evolving instead into an "encomiastic discourse, praising the glory of the sovereign," this cannot be confirmed in the present context.<sup>64</sup> The enactment of the dialogue fluctuates as it depends on the individual context of a ceremony. These preliminary conclusions are based on the combination of case studies. First, these include the inaugural entries of Marie de Guise and Mary Stewart as queens consort into Edinburgh on 20 July 1538 and Reims on 15 September 1559, respectively. The former occurred a month after Marie's arrival in Scotland and her subsequent marriage to James V at St Andrews. The latter preceded the coronation of François II, Mary's husband. Entries of consorts before a monarch's coronation are poorly documented and make Mary's entry – alongside that of her sister-in-law Élisabeth, queen of Spain and the queen dowager Catherine de' Medici – all the more interesting. For this reason, as well as the association between the entry into Reims and François's coronation – especially in the absence of a corresponding coronation of Mary Stewart – this particular entry should not be overlooked. Furthermore, evidence of their post-coronation entry into Paris is no longer extant and must therefore be disregarded.<sup>65</sup> A similar rationale precludes an analysis of Mary Tudor's accession as queen consort of Naples and Sicily or of Spain. Mary's claim to the former titles depended on her wedding to Philip II in 1554, as discussed in chapter three. Her accession to the Spanish titles was not publicly acknowledged since Mary remained in England while Charles V abdicated and transferred his titles to Philip in an intimate ceremony in Brussels in 1556.<sup>66</sup> The other two entries discussed are those of Mary Tudor and Mary Stewart as queens regnant. First, on 3 August 1553 Mary Tudor triumphantly entered London to claim her throne after her victory over the rival claimant Lady Jane Grey. Secondly, on 2 September 1561 Mary Stewart entered Edinburgh upon her return to her native Scotland, concluding thirteen years of absentee queenship in France.

The accession – for want of a better term – of a queen dowager or queen mother might be marked by funerals and baptisms respectively. Both ceremonies, however, frequently excluded these women due to customs and rituals associated with death and motherhood. The mourning period – if adhered to strictly – prevented a widow from attending her husband's funeral when celebrated shortly after his death. Thus, Mary Stewart did not attend her husband's funeral in December 1560.<sup>67</sup> Marie de Guise's

<sup>64</sup> Hélène Visentin and Nicolas Russell, "The Multilayered Production of Meaning in Sixteenth-century French Ceremonial Entries," in Visentin and Russell, *French Ceremonial Entries*, 18.

<sup>65</sup> The Paris entry figures more prominently in historiography: Christian Desplat and Paul Mironneau, eds., *Les entrées: gloire et déclin d'un cérémonial*, Publications de la Société Henri IV (Biarritz: J & D, 1997); Michael Wintroub, "L'ordre du rituel et l'ordre des choses. L'entrée royale d'Henri II à Rouen," *Annales* 56, no. 2 (2001), 479–505; Paris was too problematic a venue in the tempustous climate caused by religious upheavals according to: Lawrence M. Bryant, "From Communal Ritual to Royal Spectacle: Some Observations on the Staging of Royal Entries," in Visentin and Russell, *French Ceremonial Entries*, 207–246, esp. 235; Lawrence M. Bryant, "The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 88–113.

<sup>66</sup> "January 1556, 16–31," *CSPV*, 6:353; Cited in: Patrick Williams, *Philip II* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 26.

<sup>67</sup> Throckmorton to the Lords of the Council, Orléans, 31 December 1560, in "December 1560, 26–31," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 3:833; She did attend a memorial service, but the information is too sparse to draw any conclusions. See: Throckmorton to the Queen, [18 January 1561], in "January 1561, 11–20," *ibid.*, 3:889.

presence at James V's funeral in January 1543, is indicated in the *Treasurer Accounts*, but the entries are too brief and inconclusive to permit a discussion of this first public ceremonial appearance as dowager queen of Scotland.<sup>68</sup> Births in turn entailed a similar period of seclusion for the mother, before she might venture outside again and return to church. If the birth was followed by a prompt baptism as prescribed by the church, then early modern queens should not be attending the baptismal festivities. In the case of Marie de Guise her role in the baptisms of her three children with James V remains obscure, due to the lack of evidence either confirming or denying her attendance.<sup>69</sup> Mary Stewart, on the other hand, not only attended but hosted the baptismal festivities in December 1566. She combined her role as host, based on her regnant queenship, with that of queen mother, deferring the limelight to her son in order to convey a complex message of religious and political harmony. Based on the available evidence, I will therefore use her example to analyse the role of queen mother, but not that of queen dowager below.

The final section is dedicated to Marie de Guise's accession as queen regent. The ceremony of inauguration on 12 April 1554 in Edinburgh was transformative, since within it James Hamilton, Duke of Châtelhault relinquished his title and Marie was declared regent before Parliament. This parliamentary setting clearly distinguishes it from a coronation ceremony, although both ceremonies shared important elements. Given the prospect of Mary Stewart's absentee queenship, Marie's inauguration was unusual, demonstrating once more how much the immediate context influenced the execution of the ritual directly.

---

<sup>68</sup> *TA*, 8:145–147; Cited in: Dean, "Representations of Authority," 82.

<sup>69</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 23; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:382.

## II) Queens Consort

The role of queen consort was not new and its rituals firmly established in the traditional representation of monarchy. Gender, therefore, was not an issue in the two specific entries discussed below. Neither was religion, since both events were unaffected by the Reformation. Nonetheless, the ritual negotiation between royal, civic and ecclesiastical parties was an ongoing process even in Catholic Europe. Furthermore, Mary Stewart's entry into Reims is revealing in that her regnant status in Scotland did not have any substantial impact on the ceremony proper. It is equally noteworthy that the absence of a joint ceremony of accession of Mary Tudor and Philip II as monarchs of Naples, the Low Countries or Spain emphasises the opposite: her role as queen regnant of England eclipsed her consort queenship. The two regnant queens and their council evidently found very different answers to the challenges of female sovereignty in its own right.

### A) Marie de Guise

Marie de Guise's official initiation as queen consort occurred in the form of an entry into Edinburgh with all due ceremony on 20 July 1538. Her arrival in Scotland preceded this entry by more than a month, during which time Marie and James V of Scotland had been married at St Andrews. The circumstances of Marie's arrival and marriage to James are the subject of the marriage chapter.<sup>70</sup> Here, it suffices to say that Marie de Guise was James V's second French bride, after the premature death of his first wife Madeleine de Valois, the eldest daughter of François I<sup>er</sup>. The Edinburgh entry was the fourth and in some respect final stage in Marie's initiation to the honourable position of queen consort of Scotland, following a marriage by proxy, her arrival and the actual wedding in St Andrews. It was an important public affirmation of her status, especially since her coronation was deferred until February 1540.<sup>71</sup> It was also, in equal measure, a celebration of Scotland, its monarchs and nobility as well as its principal royal burgh.

Few previous studies of the entry exist. Anna Mill's *Mediæval Plays* alludes to it in the context of her primarily descriptive study of Scottish royal entries from 1503 to 1633.<sup>72</sup> More recently, Andrea Thomas emphasised the entry's international dimension in *Princelie Majestie*. She suggests that the presence of Marie's French entourage as witnesses of the ceremonies, endowed the entry with significance "as a sign of Scotland's commitment to her foreign allies" and a sign of respect for their guests and their home.<sup>73</sup> Dean emphasises the collaboration of court and burgh in its preparations, particularly David Lindsay's involvement, then Snowdon herald and occasionally deputising as Lyon king of arms.<sup>74</sup> These emphases on the interdynastic and collaborative elements are related to the nature

---

<sup>70</sup> Refer to Chapter 3: II)

<sup>71</sup> Refer to pp. 81–83.

<sup>72</sup> Anna J. Mill, *Mediæval Plays in Scotland*, St Andrews University Publications 24 (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 79–82.

<sup>73</sup> Thomas, *Princelie Majestie*, 190–191, 193–194.

<sup>74</sup> Lucinda H. Dean, "Enter the Alien: Foreign Consorts and Their Royal Entries into Scottish Cities, c. 1449–1590," in *Ceremonial Entries*, ed. Mulryne, Aliverti, and Testaverde Matteini, 277–279.

of the sources. The Edinburgh burgh accounts include the minutes of the burgh council, in which the preparations were discussed and decided upon. They provide the greatest detail, since the chronicles only contain a few brief lines each on the subject – referring briefly to the date, the entry route, the gift, which Marie received and the general splendour of the occasion.<sup>75</sup> However, even the burgh accounts refrain from giving any indication of what the themes of the recorded pageants were.<sup>76</sup>

What does this entry reveal about the royal entry ceremony in Scotland and its particular circumstances in 1538? Given that the entry ceremony left very few traces in the records, one might assume that it was traditional enough not to incite further comment. This raises the question what is to be considered a traditional Scottish entry in the first place? Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct the ‘tradition’ in any satisfactory way. The entry of Margaret Tudor in 1503 is the best documented Scottish consort entry of the period, but detailed information on pre-sixteenth-century entries does not survive. In her study of these entries, Dean has thus far identified only one fifteenth-century queen consort who was presumably and another who was certainly welcomed with a royal entry. While she deduces that they featured pageantry, this conclusion is based entirely on circumstantial evidence. Therefore, with only one point of reference, establishing traditional elements is difficult at best.<sup>77</sup> Still, the reference to Marie’s entry in the *Diurnal* indicates that the ritual, including pageantry, was already well-established by 1538.<sup>78</sup>

The entry of a consort can be considered as part of the royal narrative, which emphasised her dynastic consequence, both in terms of succession and political alliances. Curiously, only Pitscottie confirms James V’s presence during the entry.<sup>79</sup> Either his presence did not warrant particular mention, as it was a common feature or the focus was more clearly on Marie than might be expected. In the absence of descriptions of the pageantry, references to hopes for the continuation of the Stewart dynasty can only be an educated guess. However, one indication is the date of the entry, which the *Diurnal* records as St Margaret’s Day. The only such feast day near Marie’s arrival in Scotland is the 20 July 1538 in honour of St Margaret of Antioch, patroness of childbirth.<sup>80</sup> This association

<sup>75</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 22; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:381.

<sup>76</sup> 16, 17 and 18 July 1538, Edinburgh, in "1538," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 2.

<sup>77</sup> Edinburgh Burgh Records for this period do not survive. On the extent of the information for previous entries see: Dean, "Enter the Alien," 279–288; For France see among others: Bryant, "Medieval Entry Ceremony," 88–113; Desplat and Mironneau, *Entrées*; Bryant, "Staging of Royal Entries," 207–246; For England see among others: Strong, *Art and Power*, 7–11; Smuts, "Public Ceremony," 65–93; Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, chap. 7. The greatest argument in favour of a longer-standing Scottish tradition is the terminology employed in the narrative and financial sources and the fact that ceremonial novelties surely would have incited comment.

<sup>78</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 22.

<sup>79</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:381.

<sup>80</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 22; There seems to be some confusion on the date of this entry. Marshall names 16 November, the Scottish feast day of St Margaret of Scotland, in *Mary of Guise*, 64; Dean on the other hand, associates the feast day with 20 July and hence with St Margaret of Antioch, due to the chronology of events in the *Diurnal* and other sources. See: "Representations of Authority," 286; The itinerary of the progress from St Andrews to Edinburgh is revealed in NRS, E 31/8, fos. 77r–80; Also see July expenses in TA, 6:419–422; Municipal preparations are ascribed to the period between 16–18 July 1538 and hence confirm the conjecture of 20 July. See: "1538," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 2; For Margaret of Antioch see: "Margaret of Antioch," *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, ed. David H. Farmer, 5<sup>th</sup> rev. online ed. (Oxford: OUP, 2011),

augmented the spiritual symbolism of the occasion and St Margaret's link to childbirth emphasised Marie's primary duty as consort. It is likely, but by no means certain, that the pageantry expanded on the theme. Lindsay – as Dean rightly points out – certainly excelled in the advice to princes(s) theme, both in his poetical work, as well as in his speech for Marie's previous entry into St Andrews the month before.<sup>81</sup> It would be only logical to refer to the hopes for succession in this context. Finally, Marie's dynastic consequence was emphasised by a speech from Henry Lauder, advocate, delivered in her native French tongue.<sup>82</sup> If her own French entourage was present at this point as suggested by Thomas, this gesture would have taken on additional symbolic value as a sincere sign of respect and admiration of Scotland's 'auld' ally.<sup>83</sup> In the very least, it was an acknowledgement of the queen's origins. It was possibly the only speech Marie understood, for it is unlikely that she would have mastered Scots so quickly.

Secondly, for foreign brides like Marie the entry was truly a welcome, which not only introduced them to their subjects but also to the civic geography of their new home. The procession entered the city through the West Port below the castle and continued along the High Street towards Holyrood, with pageants marking many important landmarks of the town: Over Bow, Tolbooth, [Mercat] Cross, [Salt] Tron and Nether Bow.<sup>84</sup> Religious icons such as St Giles were not singled out, but stood in close vicinity to these civic landmarks. The route thus combined locations of royal, civic and of ecclesiastical importance. The Tolbooth, among other things a meeting place of the Estates, was most significant, for here royal and civic interests merged. Marie would later become intimately acquainted with it, chiefly at and after her 1554 inauguration as regent.<sup>85</sup> The burgh evidently wished to present itself in the best possible light: within the hour of Marie's arrival at her destination, the Abbey of Holyrood, sixteen of the most 'honest' men of the burgh were to present the queen with the traditional 'Propyne' or gift, consisting of spices, wine, gold and silver. Although a service is not directly mentioned, the reference to the abbey suggests that a religious ceremony concluded the entry.<sup>86</sup>

Lindsay's role in the preparations of this entry is peculiar and Dean has argued that his role is very decisive in any attempt to comprehend the dialogue enacted.<sup>87</sup> The burgh financed and supervised the preparations of the burgh's streets and landmarks as well as

---

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-1078> (accessed 3 November 2016).

<sup>81</sup> Dean, "Enter the Alien," 278. Refer to Chapter 3: II)

<sup>82</sup> 17 July 1538, Edinburgh, in "1538," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 2.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas, *Princelie Majestie*, 194.

<sup>84</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 22; 17 July 1538, Edinburgh, in "1538," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 2; Guidicini, "Municipal Perspective," 37. It is however impossible to ascertain how traditional this route was, due to the previously mentioned lack of information on previous royal entries.

<sup>85</sup> Refer to Chapter 1:IV)

<sup>86</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:381. He refers to a 'he' in this context, indicating that the gift was instead presented to the king. Pitscottie is, however, known to be imprecise on occasion; The accounts imply that the gift was to be presented to the queen, but remain vague on the subject. See: 17 July 1538, Edinburgh, in "1538," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 2; Lindsay clearly specifies that the gift in 1537 was to be presented to Madeleine. See: David Laing, *Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay* (Edinburgh: Paterson, 1879), 1:120.

<sup>87</sup> Dean, "Enter the Alien," 277–278.

the appearance of the civic representatives.<sup>88</sup> Lindsay, however supervised the themes and procedures of the entertainments, as he had done at St Andrews and even the year before during the preparations for the planned entry of Madeleine de Valois, James V's first French bride. The fact that due to Madeleine's ill health and eventual death, this last event had never transpired, has led Dean to conclude that they might have recycled the themes and props for Marie's Edinburgh entry. Yet although Lindsay has left some testimony of the preparations for Madeleine's entry in his poem *The Deploration*, his references to its pageantry are again too vague to identify the themes: "Disguysed folkis lyk creatures dewyne, on ilk scalfauld to play ane sindrie storie."<sup>89</sup> In any case, his involvement contrasts sharply with the conception of the 1561 entry of Mary Stewart as queen regnant, where no such heraldic involvement is discernible.<sup>90</sup> Lindsay was a trusted friend and servant of James V, an expert on heraldry and ceremony and a recent visitor to France where he had witnessed the lavish reception of his king two years previously.<sup>91</sup> Although his role is logical, it is difficult to ascertain whether it was in any way customary. Not only has Lindsay's career been studied in greater detail than that of his predecessors and successors, but he also appears to genuinely have a greater presence in the sources.<sup>92</sup>

Whereas the entry of a regnant monarch into the principal city usually marked the beginning of his or her reign, Marie's entry as consort came at the height of James V's power. In this period of stability and relative religious harmony and in the face of the renewal of the 'auld' alliance – with the associated trade connections –, the burgh had very little interest in anything but maintaining and celebrating the status quo. Furthermore, a queen was a welcome addition. Marie in turn had shown the right blend of foreign charm and delight in Scotland, but had also demonstrated her strength of character, from the point-of-view of the Scots, in refusing Henry VIII as her suitor and choosing their king instead. The circumstances were thus perfectly aligned to ensure Marie a triumphant, instructive and heartening entry into Edinburgh. Other entries followed in a similar style as the couple continued their progress from Dundee to Perth through Scotland.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> 17 July 1538, Edinburgh, in "1538," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 2.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:372–373, esp. 373; Dean, "Enter the Alien," 278; Thomas focuses on a general continuity from 1503 to 1538. See: *Princelie Majestie*, 191.

<sup>90</sup> Refer to Chapter 1:III) B)

<sup>91</sup> J. K. McGinley, "Lyndsay [Lindsay], Sir David (c. 1486 – 1555)," *ODNB*; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 27, 33–34.

<sup>92</sup> Lindsay's predecessor and successor as Lyon king of arms are both not listed in the *ODNB* and other Snowdon heralds are not mentioned.

<sup>93</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:381.



## B) Mary Stewart

With Henri II's death on 10 July 1559 his son François II acceded to the French throne and Mary in turn became queen consort of France. Approximately two months later, their accession was marked by François's coronation at Reims on 18 September. During the actual ceremony Mary was merely a spectator, since the queen's coronation was traditionally deferred and celebrated later at the Basilica of Saint-Denis in Paris.<sup>94</sup> However, Mary's coronation never took place and there is no evidence to suggest that it was ever discussed during their brief reign. Yet her accession to the title and role of queen consort occurred independently of any coronation ceremony. It was then publicly acknowledged with her separate pre-coronation entry into Reims on 15 September 1559, the same day as that of her husband and mother-in-law.<sup>95</sup> Politically, historians have accorded neither Mary or François any significant role. His mother Catherine de' Medici, occasionally referred to as regent despite her son's official majority, and above all Mary's two Guise uncles, the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine apparently ruled on their behalf.<sup>96</sup> Did the political reality influence the ceremonial beginning of François II's and Mary's reign? Furthermore, the question of how Mary reconciled her roles of queen regnant of Scotland and consort of France in ceremonies is especially pertinent.

As intriguing as the questions are, they are surprisingly difficult to answer. In the 1980s the French coronation historian Richard Jackson concluded that "no reliable description of the coronation of Francis II in 1559 survives."<sup>97</sup> Thus, his entry and coronation, despite their importance for himself, are not discussed in the general literature.<sup>98</sup> Nonetheless, the entry and coronation are referred to in several apparent primary and secondary documents. Godefroy's famous *Cérémonial français* includes three brief extracts on one or both events.<sup>99</sup> The first is taken from the 1573 edition of the

<sup>94</sup> For the coronation of queen consorts in France, see: Richard A. Jackson, *Vive le roi!: A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 15.

<sup>95</sup> Theodore Godefroy and Denys Godefroy, eds., *Le cérémonial français* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1649), 1:311; "Particularités du sacre, manuscrit de M. le Besgue," printed in Louis Paris, ed., *Négociations, lettres et pièces diverses relatives au règne de François II: tirées du portefeuille de Sébastien de l'Aubespine, évêque de Limoges*, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 1<sup>st</sup> Series: Histoire Politique (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1841), 112. On the context and reliability of this document refer to the next paragraph.

<sup>96</sup> Among others the following works refer to the political reality: Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 90; Robert J. Knecht, *Catherine De' Medici* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), 59; Janine Garrisson, *A History of Sixteenth-century France, 1483–1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion* [Royauté, renaissance et réforme, 1483–1559: Guerre civile et compromis, 1559–1598], trans. Richard Rex, European Studies (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 256, 263; David Potter, *A History of France, 1460–1560: The Emergence of a Nation State*, New Studies in Medieval History (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 289–290; Alphonse de Ruble, *La première jeunesse de Marie Stuart* (Paul, Huard & Guillemin, 1891), 172–173; For an example of the use of the term regent, see "Particularités du sacre," in Paris, *Négociations*, 112.

<sup>97</sup> Jackson moves on to the coronation of François's brother Charles IX immediately after the above-cited comment. See: Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, 136.

<sup>98</sup> His arguably short life and reign have not inspired any dedicated biographies nor does his coronation play any significant role in academic publications. The entry and coronation are however mentioned in biographies of Mary: John A. Guy, *My Heart Is My Own: The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Fourth Estate, 2004), 97–99; Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Phoenix, 2002), 113; Alluded to in Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 53; On the significance of the ceremony and its development over time, see: Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, esp. 4.

<sup>99</sup> Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 1:311; A manuscript copy of these extracts with slightly different wording can be found in Godefroy's manuscript collection. See: ANF, K 1714, A3/13, nos. 11–12.

*Chroniques et annales de France* by Nicole Gilles and François de Belleforest.<sup>100</sup> The second, taken from the 1581 edition of Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière's *Histoire de France*, only refers to the coronation.<sup>101</sup> The third and final excerpt is taken from Jacques Auguste de Thou's *Historia sui temporis*, as published in 1626. It refers to the coronation as well as the entry and includes references to Mary and Catherine de' Medici.<sup>102</sup> All the abovementioned histories and chronicles were published by contemporaries, but it is unlikely that any of these authors witnessed the coronation or entry first-hand. In his manuscript collection, Godefroy includes a list of those officiating during the coronation as well as a description of sorts of the ceremony and seating arrangements.<sup>103</sup> Another group of documents consists of contemporary chronicles connected with Reims and its institutions as referred to by Louis Paris in his *Négociations* on the reign of François II.<sup>104</sup> In this category the first is a manuscript written by M. le Besgue, an ecclesiastic at Reims cathedral.<sup>105</sup> The second is an extract from a history of Reims begun by the canon Cocquault.<sup>106</sup> The third is an extract of a history of Reims, written by Guillaume Marlot, a seventeenth-century grand prior and administrator in Reims and elsewhere.<sup>107</sup> It is possible that some of these documents were based on eyewitness accounts available to the authors of these three manuscripts. In any case, they were compiled in the city where the coronation took place. They are not, however, first-hand eyewitness accounts and this may be why Jackson considered them as "unreliable".<sup>108</sup> Finally, an Italian account published in the form of an *aviso*<sup>109</sup> within the same year as the ceremony describes the coronation, but not the entry.<sup>110</sup> Additionally, principal facts – including the date, place and officiator of the coronation – are reiterated in other publications such as Jean du Tillet's *Recueil des roys*

<sup>100</sup> Nicole Gilles and François de Belleforest, *Les chroniques et annales de France des l'origine des Francoys, et leur venue es gaules [...]* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1573), 496v; Also see: ANF, K 1714, no. 11/12.

<sup>101</sup> Henri L. de La Popelinière, *L'Histoire de France, enrichie des plus notables occurrences survenues ez provinces de l'Europe et pays voisins, soit en Paix soit en Guerre: tant pour le fait Seculier qu'Eclesiastic; Depuis l'an 1550 jusques à ces temps* (Abraham, 1581), 1:144; Also see: ANF, K 1714, f. A3/13/12r, no. 11/12.

<sup>102</sup> Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Illustris viri Jacobi Augusti Thuani, Regii in sanctiore consistorio consilarii, et in suprema Regni Gallici Curia Praesidis, Historiarum sui temporis ab anno Domini 1543 usque ad annum Domini 1607. Libri CXXXVIII[...]* (Heredes Petri, 1626), 1:690–691; Also see: ANF, K 1714, f. A3/13/12v, no. 11/12.

<sup>103</sup> ANF, K 1714, f. A3/13/12r, nos. 11/11, 13.

<sup>104</sup> Paris, *Négociations*, 112–117. For full reference refer to fn. 95.

<sup>105</sup> "Particularités du sacre," in Paris, *Négociations*, 112–113. I have not yet been able to identify the original manuscript corresponding to this extract.

<sup>106</sup> Extrait de Cocquault, vol. 4, printed in Paris, *Négociations*, 114. I have been unable to consult the original document referred to by Paris.

<sup>107</sup> Guillaume Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims, métropolitaine de la Gaule Belgique* (Reims: Jacquet, 1846), 4:338–339; Extrait de Marlot, "Histoire de Reims", in Paris, *Négociations*, 115–116.

<sup>108</sup> Guy on the other hand is satisfied enough to base his account of the entries and coronation on the excerpts found in Paris's *Négociations*. See: *Queen of Scots*, 97–99.

<sup>109</sup> An *aviso* is a newspaper-like publication, published weekly or monthly and does not usually contain any indication of its place of publication or the author.

<sup>110</sup> *Aviso de tvtti li apparati et solennita fatte in Francia nella città di Rens per la coronatione del christianissimo re Francesco II.: con la descrizione di tutte le cerimonie fatte nella unzione regale: e il nome di tvtti li personaggi & ufficiali del re, che si trouorono alla detta coronatione* (1559). In accordance with the statement made above, this *aviso* does not mention a place of publication or an author. The text includes careful references to ambassadors present on the occasion, but whether one of the ambassadors was in fact involved in its publication is uncertain.

and hence lend some credence to the claims made in the sources above, but they equally exclude references to the pre-coronation entry.<sup>111</sup>

The French pre-coronation entry has been described as a “flexible instrument for the expression of additional attitudes and concepts” outside the heavily ritualised and liturgically-based coronation.<sup>112</sup> However, such entries did not become an essential feature of the coronation akin to the sixteenth-century English model. One of the most renowned sixteenth-century kings, François I (1515), as well as the equally famous Henri IV (1594), the century’s last king, did not have a pre-coronation entry into Reims, due to personal preference on the one and the circumstances surrounding Henri IV’s accession on the other hand. For most of the other entries, although they occurred, the surviving evidence is scant in the manner exemplified in the source discussion above.<sup>113</sup> For the king’s entry, Jackson has identified two primary categories of the symbolism displayed: French history and its concepts of kingship, real and mythical, on the one hand and classical Roman history, again real and mythical, on the other.<sup>114</sup> The entry’s religious conclusion with a *Te Deum* in Notre Dame de Reims, the principal cathedral, was beyond dispute in 1559.<sup>115</sup> Whether it was traditional to stage a royal entry for the queen or even the queen mother, as occurred in 1559, is impossible to determine. References in the records to the role of the women in the context of the monarch’s coronation are even more elusive and it is also impossible to develop a reliable idea of the pageantry and themes involved.<sup>116</sup>

What conclusions then can we draw regarding Mary’s entry and, by extension, her role during the coronation of her husband? First, women were evidently considered key figures in accentuating François’s legitimacy and authority. François, Mary and the queen mother Catherine de’ Medici all made their separate ceremonial entries into Reims on the same day, one after another, although not necessarily in that order.<sup>117</sup> Élisabeth de Valois, then queen consort of Spain but also the king’s sister, had entered the city in similar manner the day before.<sup>118</sup> Charles and Henri, the dukes of Orléans and Angoulême and the king’s brothers – his eventual successors – on the other hand, do not appear to have been subjects of individual entry ceremonies. Secondly, the ceremonies – as far as we can tell – did not draw attention to Mary’s dual role as queen consort and regnant. The cluster of female entries certainly integrates Mary into the Valois dynastic narrative. Furthermore, the short time span between each entry suggests that Catherine, Mary and François encountered similar or even identical pageantry and decorations. Mary was supposedly

<sup>111</sup> Jean du Tillet was greffier of the Parliament of Paris during the period: *Recueil des roys de France, leurs couronne et maison, ensemble, le reings des grands de France* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1580), 169.

<sup>112</sup> Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, 175.

<sup>113</sup> The records of the entries of Louis XII (1498), François II (1559) and Charles IX (1561) are patchy and thus of all sixteenth-century entries only those of Henri II (1547) and Henri III (1575) are recorded in any detail. See: *ibid.*, 175, 177; For Henri II’s entry see: Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 1:303–309.

<sup>114</sup> Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, 176.

<sup>115</sup> Marlot, *Histoire de Reims*, 4:339; Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 1:308–309.

<sup>116</sup> A separate entry for Catherine de’ Medici is not mentioned in the context of Henri II’s entry, although her coat of arms was featured prominently throughout the king’s entry alongside their son’s arms. See: Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 1:303–309.

<sup>117</sup> Marlot, *Histoire de Reims*, 4:338.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* The author confuses some of the dates, so whether it was indeed on 14 September is uncertain.

accorded the same pomp as her husband and the traditional passing-of-the-keys ceremony, performed for François on a raised platform by a maid dressed in classical garments, was suitable for all parties concerned.<sup>119</sup> In 1547 a stage for a similar scene during Henri II's coronation entry had featured the king's arms alongside those of his wife and son, as well as those of the governor of Champagne and the city of Reims. The symbolism of the stage design was hence very encompassing of the king's immediate family.<sup>120</sup> In 1559, the next scene described was situated in the main square of the city, where a great fountain ran wine, another common and universal feature of such entries. It was the classical image of plenty, benefitting the audience who might drink from it. This fountain, a semi-permanent, ungendered and impersonal feature, surely served the same purpose in the two female entries.<sup>121</sup> The final episode of François's entry, the *Te Deum* in Notre Dame de Reims, would similarly have concluded the other two entries, particularly since it is also recorded for Élisabeth's entry on the previous day.<sup>122</sup> According to custom, the entries of the women would have differed from that of François in the composition of their entourage, which would have primarily comprised women. It is also likely, that both women chose to proceed through the streets in a litter like Élisabeth, rather than on horseback like the king.<sup>123</sup> It is possible that Mary deviated from custom in this latter instance, but it seems unlikely. Her entry, rather than accentuating her regnant queenship, was a testimony to her importance as François's wife.

A similar observation can be made with regard to François's coronation, celebrated with the "customary ceremonies" on Monday, 18 September 1559.<sup>124</sup> Retha Warnicke claims that Mary witnessed her husband's coronation "as an independent sovereign [rather than as a queen consort of France], sitting in the gallery with Élisabeth, the Spanish queen."<sup>125</sup> Although the Italian account confirms that Mary and Élisabeth shared the same space in the choir on the right side of the altar, opposite from Catherine de' Medici, it fails to clarify whether the king's brothers and Charles III, Duke of Lorraine, François's brother-in-law, sat beside the young queens or Catherine.<sup>126</sup> In the first scenario, the grouping would have emphasised familial ties as well as the titles of individuals. Élisabeth, for example, was not only queen consort of Spain but also Mary's childhood friend and sister-in-law. The second scenario would have divided sovereign princes and consort and

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 338–339; The key ceremony in the pre-coronation entry was first introduced for Charles VII according to: Jackson, *Vive le roi!*, 48.

<sup>120</sup> Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 1:304.

<sup>121</sup> Marlot, *Histoire de Reims*, 4:338–339; Henri II also visited what was supposedly the same fountain running wine during his entry. See: Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 1:308.

<sup>122</sup> Marlot, *Histoire de Reims*, 4:338–339; Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 1:308–309.

<sup>123</sup> Marlot, *Histoire de Reims*, 4:338.

<sup>124</sup> "Particularités du sacre," in Paris, *Négociations*, 114. Original: "avec les cérémonies accoutumées aux sacres de ses prédécesseurs."; These customary ceremonies were principally derived from the coronation ordo of Charles V from 1365, or rather a now lost derivative of the original known as the *libre rouge*. See: Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 1:31–51. The next ordo to survive is from 1610, during the reign of Louis XIII; Richard A. Jackson, ed., *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 455–456.

<sup>125</sup> Warnicke, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 53.

<sup>126</sup> *Aviso*, A7.

dowager queens on both sides of the choir. Both cases do not necessarily substantiate Warnicke's claim. It is at least questionable whether contemporaries would have interpreted these seating arrangements as emphasising Mary's regnant rather than her consort title. One last notable feature of the Italian account is a description of Mary's dress and hers alone, claiming she wore pearls worth an entire kingdom.<sup>127</sup> Mary's dress had also sparked comment at her wedding in 1558, but this says little about how her queenship was perceived by contemporaries. The conclusion that Mary attended as "as an independent sovereign"<sup>128</sup> at a time where her status as queen consort was infinitely more important, is therefore problematic.

The ambiguity of Mary's role is enhanced by the myths surrounding her own coronation. This ceremony, although not constitutive of the queens' position, honoured their role as the wives and mothers of kings. In Mary's case, her coronation was never celebrated, supposedly because she had been crowned previously as queen of Scotland. Yet this reasoning is questionable, for it was common practice to crown monarchs, including French kings, on separate occasions if they ascended to foreign thrones.<sup>129</sup> Henri II made every effort to have François, while dauphin, crowned king of Scotland.<sup>130</sup> Another reason to treat Mary differently would have been her exceptional situation based on her gender. Yet, it appears far more likely, that it was instead the early death of her husband, which denied her the ultimate sanction of her status as queen consort of France.<sup>131</sup> Ceremonially, she was primarily queen consort of France and there is no indication that she aspired to be more at this point, except for her apparent taste for luxurious and unusual dress and the acknowledgement of this by contemporaries.

---

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. Original: "che valeano un stado"

<sup>128</sup> See fn. 125.

<sup>129</sup> Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 113; E.g.: Henri III was crowned as king of Poland-Lithuania first and as king of France later. See: Robert J. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant?: Henry III, King of France, 1574–89* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), 76–77, 104; Nicolas Menin's apparent claim that Mary was crowned on her wedding day is illogical, since she was only dauphine then: *Traité historique et chronologique du sacre et couronnement des rois et reines de France* (Amsterdam: Jean van Septeren, 1724), 393.

<sup>130</sup> "Procedure: Particulars Regarding the Marriage Treaty," *RPS* (1558/11/8).

<sup>131</sup> It is difficult to identify a customary time between accession and coronation of a queen consort in France. Of those sixteenth-century queens who were crowned, the time between ranged from less than a month (Mary Tudor) to more than two years (Claude de France and Catherine de' Medici). The seventeen-month long reign of François II and Mary Stewart was therefore still within the longer time period, which Catherine de' Medici, now queen mother, had herself experienced.

### III) Queens Regnant

#### A) Mary Tudor

On Thursday, 3 August 1553<sup>132</sup> Mary Tudor made her entry into London, the ceremonial affirmation of her accession. Her accession was in many ways exceptional, since it was contested between two female contenders of opposing faiths; beyond the question of legitimacy, Mary promised a Catholic restoration and Lady Jane Grey the continuation of the Reformed Church. Furthermore, Mary had triumphed away from London, which had been Jane's stronghold during her brief reign.<sup>133</sup> Due to this conflict, Mary – although victorious – faced potential challenges to her legitimacy and authority. In the uncertain politico-religious and legal climate the queen and her supporters had two choices: on the one hand, they could follow tradition to emphasise Mary's legitimacy as the rightful heir to the throne by birth. Alternatively, they could focus on the legitimacy derived from having overcome her rival with God's sanction and adapt the ceremony accordingly. The latter might encourage the evocation of Roman triumphal elements, which increasingly featured in European entries over the course of the sixteenth century.<sup>134</sup> Yet despite descriptions of Mary's entry as a "triumphal procession", the actual event apparently lacked that elaborate festival architecture or pageantry typically associated with Renaissance entries.<sup>135</sup> Instead, impressive displays of pageantry were deferred until the coronation procession on 30 September. This distinction was a traditional feature during the Tudor period, possibly because the swift execution of the first entry upon accession left too little time to prepare elaborate pageantry.<sup>136</sup> This raises the question of the purpose of these accession entries. They were decidedly secular, beginning outside the city gates and concluding upon the monarch's entrance into the royal domain of the Tower of London. The ritualised welcome between civic representatives and the monarch and the incorporation of the former into

<sup>132</sup> Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 38; Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559*, ed. William D. Hamilton, Camden Society 20 (Camden Society, 1877), 2:93; Report of England made to the Senate by Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador to England, Brussels, 18 August 1554, in "August 1554," *CSPV*, 5:934; Imperial Ambassadors in England to Charles V, London, 6 August 1553, in "August 1553, 6–10," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Alternative dates include 31 July: Antonio de Guarás, "Relacion muy verdadera de Antonio d'Guaras: criado de la Serenissima y Catholica reyna de Inglaterra," in *The Accession of Queen Mary: Being the Contemporary Narrative of A. de Guaras, a Spanish Merchant Resident in London*, ed. Richard Garnett (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1892), 51, transl. in *ibid.*, 99; 1 August: Giovanni F. Commendone, "Successi delle Attioni del Regno d'Inghilterra incominciando dal re Edoardo VI fino al sponsalio seguito tra il Ser.Mo Principe Philippo di Spagna et la Ser.Ma Reina Maria," in *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of Escorial*, ed. Cesare V. Malfatti (Barcelona: Malfatti, 1956), 111, transl. in *ibid.*, 23; 10 August: Robert Wingfield, "The Vita Mariae Anglia Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham," ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch, in *The Camden Miscellany*, vol. 28, ed. Harris, et al., Camden 4<sup>th</sup> ser. 29 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1984), 223, transl. on p. 271.

<sup>133</sup> Nine or thirteen days depending on the view-point. E.g.: Richards, "Gendering Tudor Monarchy," 898; Eric W. Ives, *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 2.

<sup>134</sup> Mary's entry occurred at a time in which classical elements began to appear in European entries. However, they only fully took hold in entries in the second half of the century. See: Robert J. Knecht, "Court Festivals as Political Spectacle: The Example of Sixteenth-century France," in *Europa Triumphans*, ed. Mulryne, et al., 1:22; McGowan, "Early Modern European Festivals," 26–28; Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance*, *Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance* 216 (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 66.

<sup>135</sup> Duncan, *Mary I*, 18. She compares it to Henry VIII's reception after the battle of Bosworth; Still, medieval entries could be triumphant without featuring Roman influences. See: Kipling, *Enter the King*, 12, 41.

<sup>136</sup> Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 137.

the procession was a central feature. The sources all confirm that tradition trumped victory in this instance, although in terms of queenship, it was to be the first accession entry of a queen regnant.<sup>137</sup>

Mary's accession entry was particularly crucial as a means for her to take possession of the formerly disloyal capital and its royal stronghold. Contemporaries were aware of this entry's exceptional significance, for the imperial ambassadors urged Mary to "hasten [the entry] as much as possible in order that she may firmly establish her rule, because she now has troops at hand, and for other reasons that have been laid before her Majesty verbally."<sup>138</sup> Her presence and acceptance in London was essential and the entry was an important tool in achieving and demonstrating both simultaneously. It is therefore not surprising that all the relevant English chronicles and histories refer to the entry, albeit in varying detail.<sup>139</sup> Further information is provided by the reports of foreigners such as the resident Imperial and Venetian ambassadors, the papal envoy Giovanni Commendone as well as private Spanish, French and possibly Italian individuals. Not all of these authors were eyewitnesses, but most of them were in England during the time.<sup>140</sup>

Richards designates Mary's entry as "magnificent by any criterion," referring to Mary's clothing, the numbers in her procession, Mary's behaviour throughout and the acoustic celebration of her arrival with a salvo of gunshots from the Tower. She also claims it "was conventional enough", but for the singular feat of it honouring a female monarch.<sup>141</sup> She concentrates primarily on how the ritual was adapted to suit Mary's gender. Like Richards, Duncan refers to the gender question, yet she concludes that very little changed beyond the procession's incorporation of women. Instead, she interprets the entry both as a "demonstration of the cohesive societal and emotional bonds that linked the people of England with their ruler, as well as a way for Mary to define herself as a traditional monarch now that she had triumphed in her claim to the throne."<sup>142</sup> So far this entry has figured prominently in several biographies and monographs on Mary, but it is

<sup>137</sup> Jane Grey had travelled to the Tower by water before her proclamation as queen. See: Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 3; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 35.

<sup>138</sup> Ambassadors to Emperor, 2 August 1553, in "August 1553, 1–5," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; The term "taking possession" is inspired by a passage found in the letter of the Ambassadors to the Emperor, 6 August 1553, in "Aug 1553, 6–10," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11.

<sup>139</sup> Wingfield, "Vita Mariae Anglia," 222–223; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:93–95; John Stow, "Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow," ed. Charles L. Kingsford, in *The Camden Miscellany*, vol. 12, Camden 3<sup>rd</sup> ser. 18 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1910), 29; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 14; Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 81–82; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 38–39.

<sup>140</sup> Ambassadors to Emperor, 6 August 1553, in "Aug 1553, 6–10," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Soranzo to Senate, 18 August 1554, in "Aug 1554," *CSPV*: 5:93; Guarás, "Relacion," 51, 99; Commendone arrived in London shortly after the event: "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 111; I have been unable to confirm or deny the presence of the following two authors: Estienne Perlin, *Description des royaumes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse* ([Paris]: Trepeau, 1558), sig. 15a–16a; Transl. as: Stephen Perlin, "Description of England and Scotland by a French Ecclesiastic, in the 16th Century," in *The Antiquarian Repertory: A Miscellaneous Assemblage of Topography, History, Biography, Customs, and Manners; Intended to Illustrate and Preserve Several Valuable Remains of Old Times*, ed. Francis Grose and Thomas Astle, new ed (London: Jeffery, 1809), 4:508–509; P. V., *Narratio historica vicissitudinis, rerum quæ in inelyto Britannia Regno acciderunt, Anno Domini 1553. Mense Julio* ([Wittenberg], 1553), sig. B5a (A5a); See: Mark Taplin, "Vermigli, Pietro Martire [Peter Martyr] (1499–1562)," *ODNB*.

<sup>141</sup> Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 128–129.

<sup>142</sup> Duncan, *Mary I*, 20.

rarely explored in a comparative context.<sup>143</sup> The analyses of the other entries in this section can provide some context to the English ritual.

The ambassadors' conception of the entry as a means of taking possession of the capital might generate the impression of an elaborate entry through London, either along a north-south or an east-west route, passing by significant civic, religious and royal landmarks. In reality, the accession entry route was relatively short, almost circular and primarily confined to the immediate neighbourhoods of the Tower.<sup>144</sup> The Tower was the focal point, the one essential feature of the whole undertaking. This royal domain and "arcem Londoniensem totius regnii munitissimam" was Mary's destination.<sup>145</sup> Commendone claims that any new monarch "prima che si coronino fa bisogno che in essa dimorino X giorni, et ciò dicono perché essendo cosa di molt'importanza haueranno per sicuro che quello sia uero successore nel Regno quando sarà padrone della Torre."<sup>146</sup> It is impossible to determine the source of his information and the little we know of accession precedents cannot irrefutably corroborate the theory. The Tower appears to have been Edward VI and Henry VIII's destination in their respective entries, but not that of Henry VII in September 1485.<sup>147</sup> Nonetheless, the fact that it had been Jane's residence during her brief reign, certainly endowed Mary's possession of it with particular significance. Aldgate as her entry point was chosen for convenience rather than tradition since Mary advanced towards London from the north-east along Whitechapel.<sup>148</sup> The purpose of this first entry was not to traverse the entire city. This was reserved for the coronation procession, during which Mary would emerge from the Tower to make her way across the east-west axis of the city to Westminster, passing by notable landmarks such as St. Paul's.<sup>149</sup> The principal purpose of Mary's first entry was to take possession of the city's royal military stronghold in a demonstration of power. Such a demonstration principally depended on the impressive number of participants in the procession, as well as their sumptuous attire. Yet the total figure provided varies considerably; the ambassadors speak of 1,000 horses and "over a thousand men-at-arms, mounted and on foot [...] besides her body-guard" throughout.<sup>150</sup> Guaràs and Commendone augment this number considerably to roughly 6,500 and

<sup>143</sup> E.g.: Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 180–181.

<sup>144</sup> Mary progressed west along Aldgate Street onto Leadenhall, where she turned south onto Gracechurch Street, east onto Fenchurch Street, south again onto Mark Lane, and finally east once more to enter the Tower. See: Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:94; On previous routes of accession entries and an overview of all London entries, see: Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 131–138, App. A.

<sup>145</sup> Wingfield, "Vita Mariae Anglia," 223, 271. App. T3.

<sup>146</sup> Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 102. App. T4; Cited in: Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 119.

<sup>147</sup> François Van der Delft, Imperial ambassador to England, to Mary of Hungary and Charles V, London, 31 January 1547, in "Spain: January 1547, 16–31," *CSP Spain*, vol. 9; Edward Hall and Richard Grafton, *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in which Are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of Those Periods. Carefully Collated with the Editions of 1548 and 1550*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: Johnson, 1809), 423, 505.

<sup>148</sup> In 1558 Elizabeth entered London from the north-west, through Cripple- and along Bishopsgate. See: Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 180.

<sup>149</sup> Refer to Chapter 2: IV)

<sup>150</sup> Soranzo to Senate, 18 August 1554, in "Aug 1554," *CSPV*, 5:934; Ambassadors to Emperor, 6 August 1553, in "Aug 1553, 6–10," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Similar estimates are provided by: Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 14.



12,000 men respectively.<sup>151</sup> Although the latter figures seem exaggerated, it is apparent, that the procession was deemed impressive.

One indicator of Mary's success in establishing her authority and evoking her legitimacy was the reaction of the public during the procession. Such information is rare in ceremonial sources, but upon this occasion chroniclers emphasise her reception "cō tāta alegría del pueblo" and the imperial ambassadors even claim that the "public demonstrations made at the entry have never had their equal in this kingdom."<sup>152</sup> In view of the contested accession, these remarks emphasised that Mary, not Jane, was the candidate of choice for English subjects. The two sources cited can certainly be suspected of partiality, but the numerous other writers of various backgrounds who made similar observations have led Sharpe to conclude that "the popular joy at Mary's accession was genuine and effusive."<sup>153</sup> Regardless of the authenticity of these reports or even the joy portrayed, in the entry's reception the principal confirmation of the new queen's authority and legitimacy lay in her public acclaim.<sup>154</sup>

As indicated by Duncan, the adaptations made to accommodate the queen's gender were few. Like her ancestors Mary advanced on horseback in the centre of the procession. In comparison to a male monarch, however, the addition of ladies inflated her procession's numbers and possibly shifted her position slightly further towards the actual centre. She supposedly wore a gown of purple velvet embroidered in gold and set with pearls, the colour and style of which set her apart, even if it differed from a male monarch's appearance.<sup>155</sup> With the themes of mercy and reconciliation, which the sources emphasise, Mary set a preliminary agenda for her reign. The Imperial ambassadors praise her "kindness and humanity", her magnanimity, mercy and clemency.<sup>156</sup> Their favourable assessment relates to the queen's – partial – pardon of William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke and Francis Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, as well as the past and future treasurer John Paulet, Lord St John one day before the entry. Many other writers conclude their accounts of the entry with details of the rehabilitation of prominent Edwardian prisoners, which transpired within the Tower upon the queen's arrival there.<sup>157</sup> Her show of mercy in this context is principally gender neutral. Royal pardons were a common and important feature of royal

<sup>151</sup> Guarás, "Relacion," 51; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 111; 4000 riders according to: V., *Narratio historica*, sig. C1a.

<sup>152</sup> Guarás, "Relacion," 51, 99. App. T5; Ambassadors to Emperor, 6 August 1553, in "Aug 1553, 6–10," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11.

<sup>153</sup> Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 249; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 111; Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 82; Perlin, *Description des royalumes*, sig. 16a; V., *Narratio historica*, sig. C1a; Wingfield, "Vita Mariae Anglia," 222; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:95; Soranzo to Senate, 18 August 1554, in "Aug 1554," *CSPV*, 5:934.

<sup>154</sup> For further discussion on this topic see: Duncan, *Mary I*, 17–18.

<sup>155</sup> Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:93; Ambassadors to Emperor, 6 August 1553, in "Aug 1553, 6–10," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11.

<sup>156</sup> "Aug 1553, 6–10," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11.

<sup>157</sup> These prisoners included Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, as well as Stephen Gardiner and Cuthbert Tunstall, formerly bishops of Winchester and Durham. See: Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 111; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 14; Wingfield, "Vita Mariae Anglia," 223; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:95.

accessions, as monarchs sought to secure their authority and create lasting bonds with their – elite – subjects.

The few participants of the procession referred to by title or name, support the impression that Mary surrounded herself with her regular supporters, but attempted to extend her power base by including natural allies or recent converts to her cause. Thus, Sir Anthony Browne and future Viscount Montague, who had remained neutral during the succession crisis, bore her train. Behind him followed Mary's loyal supporter Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse on horseback, leading a spare palfrey.<sup>158</sup> The Earl Marshal was not present during the entry, since the incumbent was the Earl of Northumberland, then in prison and his successor the Duke of Norfolk was only released from the tower at the entry's conclusion. Mary's sister Elizabeth, heir presumptive, led the group of ladies. Her presence and acknowledgement of Mary was particularly noteworthy and reinforced the new queen's authority with this – albeit short-lived – show of sisterly unity. Behind her followed Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Norfolk and Gertrude Courtenay, Marchioness of Exeter. Both women were restored to court upon Mary's accession and particularly the latter was the queen's close friend and future "bedfellow".<sup>159</sup> Four of the earls preceding Mary were one and all very recent supporters: Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel, William Somerset, third Earl of Worcester and the two abovementioned earls of Pembroke and Shrewsbury. Arundel's role as sword-bearer before the queen is particularly highlighted.<sup>160</sup> From these select few closest to the queen, we can deduce that the entry was a show of reconciliation, as old and new supporters shared the stage.

The English accession entry differed from other European entries in its emphasis on the procession itself. There is little evidence of the extensive symbolism and rituals frequently associated with other entries.<sup>161</sup> Beyond the elementary preparations, which included streamers, coats of arms and rich cloths on buildings and monuments as well as newly gravelled streets, Charles Wriothesley, officer of arms, alludes to only five stages built along the procession route. Not one of these stages reportedly featured elaborate pageantry or classical architecture such as arches or columns; A child outside St Botolph's Aldgate delivered a no longer extant Latin recitation and musical performances followed at the other venues.<sup>162</sup> In the absence of allegory or specific architecture, the procession truly takes centre stage. In this context Smuts assessment of the English rite as one which "emphasized a more generalized ethos of loyalty and royal benevolence" rings true.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 14; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:93–94; J. G. Elzinga, "Browne, Anthony, First Viscount Montagu (1528–1592)," *ODNB*; David M. Loades, "Hastings, Edward, Baron Hastings of Loughborough (1512x15?–1572)," *ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 38; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 14; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:94; J. P. Cooper, "Courtenay [Née Blount], Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter (d. 1558)," *ODNB*; Michael A. Graves, "Howard [née Stafford], Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk (1497–1558)," *ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 14; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:94–95; Julian Lock, "Fitzalan, Henry, Twelfth Earl of Arundel (1512–1580)," *ODNB*; W. R. Robinson, "Somerset, William, Third Earl of Worcester (1526/7–1589)," *ibid.*; Narasingha P. Sil, "Herbert, William, First Earl of Pembroke (1506/7–1570)," *ibid.*; G. W. Bernard, "Talbot, Francis, Fifth Earl of Shrewsbury (1500–1560)," *ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, 137.

<sup>162</sup> Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 14; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:94–95.

<sup>163</sup> Smuts, "Public Ceremony," 73, fn. 23.

One possible reason for the absence of pageantry is the temporal proximity of the English accession entry and the coronation procession. Both were traditionally staged in London, whereas in France and Scotland the locations of both did not necessarily coincide. Furthermore, in France the accession entry into Paris occurred after the coronation in Reims, wherefore the reception was directed at the anointed monarch. In Mary Tudor's case – and the same applies to her predecessors and successor – the accession entry occurred before the coronation and even before the late monarch's funeral. This timing is suggestive, for unlike in France the new monarch was almost immediately publicly and ceremonially active in their role. Still, proof of the presence of the full royal regalia, definitive symbols of royal majesty, is wanting. Although Arundel bore a sword before the queen, the crown is only mentioned in a questionable, albeit surprisingly detailed account by Estienne Perlin.<sup>164</sup> A sceptre is referred to by Wriothesley. Yet the reference is ambiguous since he mentions it in the context of the important ritual welcome of the monarch by the civic delegation:

Pleaseth your highnes, my Lord Mayor, here present, in the name of his brethren and all the commons of this your highnes city and chamber of London, most humbly beseecheth your highnes to be good and gracious Sovereign to these commens of this your city lyke as your highnes noble progenitors aforetyme haue bene, and, accordinge to theyr bounden duety at your highnes cominge, my Lord Mayor presenteth here your highnes with the scepter perteyninge to the office, in token of loyalty and homage, most humbly wellcome your highnes to this your highnes city and chamber of London.<sup>165</sup>

In the absence of the common European key ceremony, the specified sceptre was transferred, however the source does not specify which office the sceptre was associated with, that of the mayor or the queen.<sup>166</sup> The former is certainly more plausible. In a similar scene at the 1554 joint London entry of Mary and Philip, described by John Elder, the item in question is described as a mayoral mace. One can therefore assume that in both scenarios the item represented the mayor's "power and authoritie within the citie of London."<sup>167</sup> This conclusion is further supported by subsequent components of the ritual: on both occasions, the queen received, acknowledged and then returned the item to the mayor, who then carried it before her in the procession.<sup>168</sup> Although the mayor might have been chosen to carry the royal sceptre, this role customarily belonged to peers. Furthermore, even in 1553 the merchant Henry Machyn and others note that the mayor carried a mace.<sup>169</sup> The most plausible reading of this account is to equate the transfer of the sceptre or mace with the key ceremony in France and Scotland. Both visualised the

<sup>164</sup> Perlin, *Description des royaumes*, sig. 15b. Refer to fn. 140 for details on Perlin.

<sup>165</sup> Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:94; According to another source the mayor presented Mary with a sword, which she passed on to Arundel, who then carried it before her while the mayor carried his mace. See: Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 81; The following also mentions "sceptris": V., *Narratio historica*, sig. B5a.

<sup>166</sup> For the key ceremony see e.g.: Visentin and Russell, "Multilayered Production of Meaning," 17; Bryant, *King and City*, 88.

<sup>167</sup> John Elder, "John Elder's Letter, January 1555," in Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 146.

<sup>168</sup> Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:94; Elder, "Letter," 146.

<sup>169</sup> Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 38; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 14.

intricate relationship between the city and the civic officials on the one and the monarch on the other hand and both centred on the idea of homage and hierarchy. Yet this simple ritual of civic welcome pales in contrast to the theatrical embellishment of the key ceremony upon Marie de Guise's arrival in Scotland, which featured a mechanical device of considerable ingenuity.<sup>170</sup> The 'sceptre' referred to by Wriothesley does not appear to be part of the royal regalia. Although, it does not automatically follow that the other regalia were absent, the ambiguity raises the question of whether they were more clearly associated with the coronation and the pre-coronation entry. This would support the interpretation of the coronation as the last crucial step in completing the royal accession. Although Mary was undoubtedly queen before then, symbolically the coronation remained an indispensable ritual to realising the full potential of her queenship.

## B) Mary Stewart

A few months after the death of her husband François II, Mary returned to her native Scotland on 19 August 1561.<sup>171</sup> With her later childhood and formative years spent in France, this return to wield personal authority was a significant if difficult adjustment. Her accession, if one can call it that, proceeded in three stages. Technically, the executive seat of government had become vacant upon the death of the regent, her mother Marie de Guise, on 11 June 1560. Whereas initially the ensuing months may have been considered as an interim period before a new regent was to be appointed, the death of François and the unlikelihood of a future for Mary in France changed the situation completely. Thus, the first stage in this process was Mary's decision to return and launch into her personal rule, alongside the necessary ensuing negotiations with her subjects. In actual terms, she settled into her new role upon her arrival on Scottish shores. Finally, in ceremonial terms, her claim to personal power was acknowledged with her formal entry into Edinburgh on 2 September.<sup>172</sup> The entry addresses many potential conflicts of Mary's personal rule, from the religious divide, to the issue of gender and the authority of an unfamiliar persona as rightful queen. Gender seems to be least relevant in this instance. It is very much an entry of an 'other', although originally one of them, arriving in Scotland.<sup>173</sup> As will be shown below, the 1561 Edinburgh entry complied with few of the emerging European fashions of sixteenth-century entries.

Mary's return to her native country warranted a spectacular ceremonial welcome. It was a unique opportunity for the Scots to welcome back their young queen and to introduce her to the main sights of her realm. The entry into Edinburgh was the first large-scale ceremonial event, yet it was also the starting point of a royal progress, as the queen

---

<sup>170</sup> Refer to Chapter 3: II)

<sup>171</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 2:7; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 66.

<sup>172</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 67; 1 September, in Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 56; Knox claims the entry occurred at the beginning of October after Mary's return from her progress. See: Dickinson, *History*, 2:21.

<sup>173</sup> On entries of the 'other': Susann Baller, *Die Ankunft des Anderen: Repräsentationen sozialer und politischer Ordnungen in Empfangszeremonien, Eigene und Fremde Welten 5* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008), 23.

proceeded on to visit Linlithgow, Stirling, Kincardin, St Johnston and Dundee.<sup>174</sup> Its setting in Scotland's principal city designated it as the most illustrious event. It is also one of the few Scottish examples to have left more than a trace in the records. Although an official account of the event does not survive or, even more likely, never existed, a combination of narrative and diplomatic sources alongside extant municipal records provides numerous pieces to the puzzle.<sup>175</sup> Yet it is strikingly difficult to combine these pieces into a coherent picture. The primary narrative sources are Knox's *History*, Maxwell's *Memoirs* and the *Diurnal*.<sup>176</sup> Each of these accounts is biased in one-way or another, but numerous elements are corroborated elsewhere. An outside perspective is provided by the English ambassador Thomas Randolph in a letter to William Cecil. Four verses of a speech given at one of the pageants described by Randolph were included within the same dispatch and have since been printed on several occasions.<sup>177</sup> Finally, the municipal records contain minutes on the financing of the event as well as on the general preparations for the entry.<sup>178</sup>

The remarkable nature of this event has made it a favourite object of study among scholars. It has been called many things, ranging from Keith Brown's characterisation of it as "a lacklustre event that failed to impress anyone" to Douglas Gray's assessment as "perhaps the most extraordinary royal entry recorded."<sup>179</sup> Despite the fragmented source material many details have been uncovered with the help of the collective efforts of scholars over the years. Yet as the number of studies increases, the theories diversify and their reconciliation with one another becomes increasingly difficult. Anna Mill's work, although dated, laid the groundwork for any serious study of Scottish ceremonial, particularly its civic forms, during the sixteenth century.<sup>180</sup> More recently, the entry figured prominently in four articles and chapters published in the 1990s by Alasdair MacDonald, Peter Davidson, Alan MacDonald and Douglas Gray respectively. The reliability of their work varies considerably.<sup>181</sup> They also show some variation in theme: whereas the financing and planning of the event is Alan MacDonald's principal focus, the ceremony

<sup>174</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 69.

<sup>175</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 2:21; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 67–69; Davidson's suggestion that the lack of an official published account is due to the confrontational nature of the event remains unconvincing, since the Scots had no such tradition of publishing ceremonial accounts in the first place: "Entry of Mary Stewart," 420.

<sup>176</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 2:21; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 56–57; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 67–69.

<sup>177</sup> Thomas Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 7 September 1561, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/X, fos. 160v–161r; Printed in: "September 1561," *CSP Scot*, 1:1017; Thomas Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times: A Series of Original Letters, Selected from the Inedited Private Correspondence of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, the Secretaries Walsingham and Smith, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Most of the Distinguished Persons of the Period* (London: Colburn, 1838), 1:73–74; The transcript of the verses can be found in TNA, SP 52/6, fos. 134r–135v; The first verse only is printed in Markham J. Thorpe, ed., *Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Scotland: Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London: Longman, Brown and Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858), 1:174; The entire speech is printed in Robert S. Rait, ed., *Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1587: Extracts from the English, Spanish, and Venetian state Papers, Buchanan, Knox, Lesley, Melville, The "Diurnal," Nau, &c. &c.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Scottish History from Contemporary Writers 2 (London: Nutt, 1900), 21–22.

<sup>178</sup> 26–29 August and 3 September 1561, in "1561, Jul–Dec," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 3.

<sup>179</sup> Keith M. Brown, *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2011), 185; Gray, "Rose and Thistle," 27. I personally favour the latter assessment.

<sup>180</sup> Mill, *Mediæval Plays*, 77, 80, 188–191, including notes. Also see inserted table comparing royal entries from 1503 to 1633.

<sup>181</sup> Davidson wrongly dates the entry to 6 September 1561: "Entry of Mary Stewart," 416.

and pageantry figure prominently in Alasdair MacDonald's earlier work.<sup>182</sup> Davidson follows the ceremonial analysis of Alasdair MacDonald to some extent, but tries to integrate the entry into a broader "tradition of ambiguous Scottish court ceremonial," including as a final reference point the entry of Charles I into Edinburgh in 1633.<sup>183</sup> Gray studies the sixteenth-century Scottish royal entry in general.<sup>184</sup> Gordon Kipling has since reviewed some of the evidence – somewhat unconvincingly – in a study which compares elements of the entries of Elizabeth Tudor, Mary Stewart and Anne of Denmark in order to uncover the motivations behind the shift from traditional religious to neoclassic pageantry in Scottish royal entries.<sup>185</sup> Other studies like Dean's *Enter the Alien* contextualise this entry without studying it directly.<sup>186</sup> However, the description and interpretation of events has been significantly enriched by very recent interdisciplinary approaches. From Giovanna Guidicini's studies on Edinburgh's ceremonial architecture to Karen Woodworth's thesis on the musical accompaniments of the entry, scholars from various disciplines have provided new insights.<sup>187</sup>

There are two principal interlinked questions, which emerge from the historiography. The first concerns the role of religion in the entry. The other is the question of the relationship between ruler and ruled or court and burgh in the royal entry ceremony. With regard to the first, the entry was the first royal ceremony staged in Scotland following the country's Reformation the previous year. The timing was crucial and marked the event as particularly vulnerable to a symbolic conflict between the respective adherents of the old and new religion.<sup>188</sup> Davidson evokes an atmosphere laden with suspicion and wariness in his article, fed by both the Reformed as well as the Catholic party.<sup>189</sup> In addition, he advances the theory that polyvalent imagery was used as a tool by the Protestant party – and later also by the monarch and the court – to address the complicated politico-religious situation of post-Reformation Scotland.<sup>190</sup> Alan MacDonald explicitly supports the theory that the entry was "a carefully engineered Protestant demonstration," although devised in a shorter period than sometimes supposed.<sup>191</sup> Woodworth strengthens the religious argument made with her evaluation of the musical contributions, which accompanied this

<sup>182</sup> MacDonald, "Triumph of Protestantism," 73–82; MacDonald, "Mary Stewart's Entry," 101–110.

<sup>183</sup> Davidson, "Entry of Mary Stewart," 416.

<sup>184</sup> Gray, "Rose and Thistle," 10–37.

<sup>185</sup> Kipling, "Deconstruction of the Virgin," 127–152.

<sup>186</sup> Dean, "Enter the Alien," 267–295.

<sup>187</sup> Guidicini, "Municipal Perspective," 37–52; Guidicini, "Imagining and Staging," 66–86; Karen Woodworth though, has very little auditory evidence to analyse and her focus lies on the visual interpretation. See: "Music and the Court of Mary Stewart, 1561–1567" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2011), 63–102; A literary approach is taken by Van Heijnsbergen, in "Advice to a Princess: The Literary Articulation of a Religious, Political and Cultural Programme for Mary, Queen of Scots, 1562," in *Sixteenth-century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 99–122.

<sup>188</sup> Entries despite their ritualised sequence easily invited conflict, but in the wake of religious changes they were particularly susceptible to symbolic campaigning by one or more parties. See: Stollberg-Rilinger, *Rituale*, 111, 123.

<sup>189</sup> Davidson, "Entry of Mary Stewart," 417.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 416.

<sup>191</sup> MacDonald, "Triumph of Protestantism," 73–74; He refers to a comment by David M. Bergeron, in *English Civic Pageantry, 1558–1642* (London: Arnold), 23.

entry. Her study reveals the "affective force applied through mixed performative media."<sup>192</sup> Finally, Kipling interprets the pageantry as an iconoclastic attempt to separate and alienate the queen from her subjects. This he believes was allowed to happen because the customary cooperation between burgh and court had ceased temporarily.<sup>193</sup> Was the Protestant message explicit or ambiguous and to what end? The varying responses to the question of the importance of religion already illustrate the debate which has arisen on the subject. The debate revolving around the second question of organisation is equally unresolved. Clearly, the religious evaluations of the entry also relate to the second factor regarding the organisation of the event, they are interlinked. Alasdair MacDonald firmly situates the entry in the politico-religious sphere created when a reformed burgh received their Catholic queen.<sup>194</sup> Similarly, Kipling accounts for the politicisation of the event with a temporary suspension of the customary cooperation between burgh and court in the aftermath of the Reformation and the absence of royal authority.<sup>195</sup> Most historians concur that the organisation of the event lay firmly in the hands of the manifestly Protestant burgh council.<sup>196</sup> More recently, Guidicini has challenged this theory, in part, with her observations on the procession route on 2 September 1561. Reminding her readers that ceremonial entries "represented key opportunities for the public staging of politicized dialogues between the burgh authorities and the Scottish sovereign," she addresses Mary's agency and role.<sup>197</sup> Two distinct variations from the established Scottish ceremonial entry tradition are attributed to Mary, rather than the council. A closer analysis of these changes is necessary in order to establish whether and how this piece of the puzzle fits into the larger picture. How religious and politicised was the pageantry of the entry and who was responsible for it? What influence did or could Mary, the court or Mary's Catholic retainers exert during the entry and its preparation?

Mary's entry in 1561 is generally perceived as one-of-a-kind. How was the room for manoeuvre in any ritual exploited and by whom? The analysis of the burgh records indicate that the burgh council stage-managed the entry: it supervised the financing,<sup>198</sup> decided on the pageantry – although unfortunately any references in the burgh records are limited to their location only –, decreed the dress code for the occasion and directed the preparations proper – such as street cleaning and decorating. It also organised the *propine* or gift to their sovereign, which was furnished by Archibald Douglas, fifth earl of Morton and William Maitland of Lethington.<sup>199</sup> The clearest indication of the extent of their control, however, is the undeniably religious theme of the pageantry as described in the

<sup>192</sup> Woodworth, "Music and Court," 63, 73.

<sup>193</sup> Kipling, "Deconstruction of the Virgin," 128, 135, 137, 139 141.

<sup>194</sup> MacDonald, "Mary Stewart's Entry."

<sup>195</sup> Kipling, "Deconstruction of the Virgin," 128, 135.

<sup>196</sup> It was newly elected in the autumn after the Reformation. See: Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1981), 90.

<sup>197</sup> Guidicini, "Municipal Perspective," 37.

<sup>198</sup> 26 and 27 August 1561, in "1561, Jul-Dec," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 3; Alan MacDonald has demonstrated that raising the money proved to be a lengthy and contested process. See: "Triumph of Protestantism," 77–78.

<sup>199</sup> 26, 27 and 28 August 1561, Edinburgh, in "1561, Jul-Dec," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 3.

narrative sources. The pageants were set up at the “over trone, tolbutth, croce, salt tron, and Nether Bow.”<sup>200</sup> Religious motifs dominated in the three pageants of which detailed descriptions survive, namely those of the Over Tron, Salt Tron and the Nether Bow. In the first, religious advice accompanied the traditional ritual of the key ceremony. A mechanical cloud descended and parted into four segments to reveal a child emerging from it “as it had bene ane angell,”<sup>201</sup> holding the keys to the kingdom and surrendering them to the queen. This far, the ceremony followed the traditional pattern, if not at the traditional venue of the West Port. The pageant closely emulated previous performances during her mother’s entries. Yet, although the angelic welcome might imply God’s endorsement of the young queen, the following act set restrictions on it. For in addition to the keys, the child angel also proffered Mary a Bible and Psalm book in the vernacular. It then made a speech and passed on another three documents “the tennour thairof is vncertane.”<sup>202</sup> Only then did the child retreat and the cloud ascend once more to its original position.<sup>203</sup> The supposed speech is extant:

Wheras yo(ur) people, w(ith) harte both ane & all,  
Dothe here offer to yo(ur) excellence  
Two proper voliumes in memoriall,  
As gyfte most ganand for a godlie prince.  
Wherin yo(ur) grace may reade and vnderstand  
The p(er)fytt waye vnto (the) heavens hie,  
And how to rewle yo(ur) subiectis and yo(ur) land,  
(And) how yo(ur) kingdome established shalbe;  
Judgement & wysedome herin shall yo(u) see.<sup>204</sup>

Mary was anointed queen of Scotland, but her private Catholic convictions challenged her subjects’ traditional concepts of obedience. How could Mary fulfil her role as protector of the true faith – from her principal subjects’ perspective the reformed religion –, if she did not embrace it herself?<sup>205</sup> Her predicament finds its expression in the pageant, as it first welcomes her with open arms, but quickly transforms into an explicit example of the burgh’s appropriation of a more traditional ‘advice to princes’ theme for religious aims. While acknowledging her right to the throne as sanctioned by God, the pageant set conditions for her welcome. The pageant devisers were evidently keen on passing on their beliefs in order to allow her “to rewle [her] subiectis and [her] land” as it was deemed desirable. With little subtlety, the speaker informed Mary that there was no gift “more nedefull for y(ou)r excellence.”<sup>206</sup> The remaining verses irrevocably bind the love and obedience of Mary’s subjects to their religious views.<sup>207</sup> Since the pageant was devised by burgh craftsmen, who were in turn supervised by the burgh council, we may assume that the message expressed the council’s beliefs.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 68.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 56.

<sup>203</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 67–68; BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/X, f. 160v; Wright, *Queen Elizabeth*, 1:73–74.

<sup>204</sup> TNA, SP 52/6, f. 135v.

<sup>205</sup> Duindam, *Dynasties*, 23.

<sup>206</sup> TNA, SP 52/6, f. 135v.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.



Biblical scenes apparently inspired the pageants at the Salt Tron and the Nether Bow. According to Thomas Randolph, English ambassador to Scotland and a likely eyewitness<sup>208</sup>, the first enacted God's punishment of "Corom [Korah], Nathan [Dathan] and Abiron [Abiram]," by sacrificing three puppets on burning scaffolds.<sup>209</sup> The depicted men had taken their tribes to follow Moses on his quest for the chosen land. In time, however, they questioned Moses' position and authority. Moses, in turn, instructed them to offer themselves up for the Lord's justice, which came swiftly and rigorously upon the objectors. The manner of their death was two-fold, as a large group was consumed by fire, but the leaders fell victim to a landslide.<sup>210</sup> The fiery death therefore reflects only part of the judgement, albeit a spectacular part when enacted live on stage. On the one hand, the story refers to the unlawful revolt of individuals against God-given authority. On the other, according to reformed understanding, any opposition against the 'true' faith challenged God's will. The message was truly ambiguous as Davidson claims.<sup>211</sup> Yet according to Randolph this tableau and its ambiguity were a compromise, after the religiously conservative George Gordon, fourth Earl of Huntly vetoed the original explicit scenario of burning a puppet in priestly vestments dressed for Mass. Huntly's interference is the first meaningful indication of prior knowledge of the burgh plans and a reaction against it by members of the court.<sup>212</sup>

Fire also prevailed in the Nether Bow pageant as a mock dragon was consumed by flames in the grand finale. Any interpretation of this pageant rests on the illusive contemporary understanding of dragons. Both in classical and biblical narratives, dragons were frequently considered treacherous, but worthy opponents for heroes. The image of the primordial enemy is emphasised by the New Testament equation of the dragon with Satan.<sup>213</sup> It is therefore likely, that the vanquishing of a dragon symbolised God's triumph over the Devil and the victory of Good against Evil. If abstracted further, the scene enacted the triumph of the 'true' faith over the Antichrist in Rome. In the absence of transcriptions of the speech performed, the clearest reference to the reformed religion is the association of the pageant with another psalm.<sup>214</sup> Taken together, the three pageants reinforced one another and stress the magnitude of the conflict between the reformed elite, burgh or otherwise, and their Catholic queen.

The few references to the two pageants at the Tolbooth and Cross indicate that these primarily complied with general entry traditions through the use of classical

<sup>208</sup> Randolph was in Edinburgh during that period (1–10 September), see: "Sep 1561," *CSP Scot*, 1:1013, 1016–1018.

<sup>209</sup> Thomas Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 7 September 1561, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/X, f. 160v; Printed in: Wright, *Queen Elizabeth*, 1:74.

<sup>210</sup> Num. 16:1–40 (AV)

<sup>211</sup> Davidson, "Entry of Mary Stewart," 417.

<sup>212</sup> Randolph to Cecil, 7 September 1561, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/X, f. 160v; Maxwell records the original version as the actual pageant. See: *Historical Memoirs*, 57.

<sup>213</sup> Rev. 12:7–17 (AV); James H. Charlesworth, *The Good and Evil Serpent: How a Universal Symbol Became Christianized* (New Haven: YUP, 2009), 212.

<sup>214</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 68.

allegory.<sup>215</sup> The first featured two scaffolds, one above the other. On the upper stage Fortune presided over the three virtues Justice, Policy and Love below.<sup>216</sup> Fradenburg claims that the virtues displayed were or would be “embodied in the prince being celebrated.”<sup>217</sup> Without the content of the speeches they supposedly recited, however, any interpretation of the intended message may only be an educated guess. The fortune or luck represented by Fortuna, a Roman deity, was fickle and could be both good and bad. Justice, as a member of the cardinal virtues, was a particular favourite in pageantry of this sort and closely associated with the monarch and his or her consort. Both were dispensers and protectors of justice, symbolised by their bearing of a sceptre. Thus, the display of Justice befitted a consort or regnant monarch equally well. Policy is not found among the typical classifications of the virtues (cardinal, corrective or heavenly, intellectual and theological), but it is a virtue particularly pertinent to a monarch and as such was present on the European ceremonial stage. Finally, Love – also known as Charity – belongs to the three theological virtues. Her role is the most interesting in this combination with her evident link to religion and – the proper – faith. The fact that Fortune presides over the three ladies below, might indicate that Mary’s adherence to the three virtues displayed, would promise her good fortune.<sup>218</sup> Therefore, although this pageant was certainly less confrontational than some of the others, we cannot say with confidence how conventional it was.<sup>219</sup> A little further at the Mercat Cross, the *Diurnal* commands the stage for four – unspecified – virgins clad “in the maist hevenlie clothing.” One must assume that these virgins also represented virtues as in the previous tableau, possibly the four cardinal virtues as Alan MacDonald suggests.<sup>220</sup> However, only the number four is indicative and Justice would thereby have figured twice. The clearest sign of majesty, abundance and good fortune was the wine, which reportedly “rant out at the spouttis” of the cross. The author of the *Diurnal* testifies to its grateful reception by the population.<sup>221</sup>

The manifest religious motifs of the pageants affirm the control of the town council in this domain. Nonetheless, Huntly had – to some extent – intervened successfully at least once, which proves that he had advance knowledge of this particular pageant. It is therefore not inconceivable that Mary might have had some idea of what awaited her, but

<sup>215</sup> Van Heijnsbergen, “Advice to a Princess,” 102. For a short bibliography on the subject see n. 8 on the same page.

<sup>216</sup> Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 56–57; Fortune, Justice and Policy are recorded in Thomson, *Diurnal*, 68; Love is supplied by: NLS, Adv. MS 35.4.2, II, f. 354; Cited in: Mill, *Mediæval Plays*, 190.

<sup>217</sup> Louise O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 119.

<sup>218</sup> Timpe, Kevin and Craig A. Boyd, eds., *Virtues and Their Vices* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 1–34; Strong, *Art and Power*, 8–10, 45, 47, 60, 84, 90, 107, 111, 118, 121, 143, 150, 161; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, 118–122; According to Catholic practice, the four cardinal virtues Justice, Force (Fortitude or Courage), Temperance and Prudence bade farewell to Margaret at the Nether Bow in 1503. See: “The Fyancells of Margaret, eldest Daughter of King Henry VIIIth to King James of Scotland [Fyancells of Margaret],” in John Leland and Thomas Hearne, eds., *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, another ed. (London: White, 1774), 4:289–290.

<sup>219</sup> MacDonald claims it was standard ‘advice to princes’, in “Mary Stewart’s Entry,” 106.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 68.

her choice to complete the entry is noteworthy.<sup>222</sup> As Herries points out, the Over Tron pageant “was scarce favorie to [Mary] at the first entry,” but, he concludes, “she went on.”<sup>223</sup> Apparently, she did not immediately challenge the ritual or its organisers. We are not privy to her reaction to any but the above pageant, but there is no indication of any atypical behaviour from her side. Surely, Randolph, Knox and others would have commented on this. After all, Knox unashamedly censures Mary for her disposal of the gifts at the Over Tron, since she immediately passed them on to Arthur Erskine, captain of the guard, “the most pestilent Papist within the Realme.”<sup>224</sup> This scene figures prominently in Kipling’s and Woodworth’s discussions. Both compare it to a similar tableau at Elizabeth Tudor’s entry into London two years previously, the account of which they believe to have been consulted by the Edinburgh burgh council.<sup>225</sup> Although the latter is mere speculation, the similarities of certain elements of the pageantry cannot be denied. Like Elizabeth, Mary received a Bible in the vernacular, substantiated further by the addition of psalms.<sup>226</sup> The context, however, differed considerably. In 1561 the surrounding pageantry employed traditional Scottish motifs as indicated previously and unlike Elizabeth, Mary could not be expected to embrace the Protestant token wholeheartedly. She complied with the entreaties and accepted the gift, but, unsurprisingly, she would not – as Elizabeth had done – embrace it. With these gifts, the burgh had seized back control of a pageant, which on previous occasions in Scotland placed the emphasis on the monarch rather than the burgh. The position of her subjects as represented by the burgh council was clear, but Mary chose to keep her reaction guarded for the time being.

The preceding focus on the entry’s pageantry, albeit singularly important, fails to demonstrate how this entry was conceived “for the plesour of our Souerane and obtenyng of hir hienes fauouris.”<sup>227</sup> This phrase in the council minutes is significant in the light of what transpired during the entry itself. Did it accurately describe the council’s motivations, at least to some degree? It must be remembered that the celebrations were to include the actual entry – the triumph – as well as an honorary banquet “maid to the princes hir graces cousingis,” i.e. Mary’s French relatives who had accompanied her to Scotland.<sup>228</sup> This association between banquet and entry has so far only been acknowledged in passing, perhaps because the banquet was celebrated two days prior to the entry, on Sunday, 31 August 1561.<sup>229</sup> Yet, in the accounts, the two are clearly associated. The timeline is further suggestive, for on the day between the banquet and the entry, most of the French visitors, who had accompanied Mary from France, departed. Only one of Mary’s uncles, François, Grand Prior of the Order of Malta, and his retinue remained behind with Henri, seigneur

<sup>222</sup> I would not go as far as Kipling to claim that Mary could have “had little idea about the nature of the spectacle she was about to experience.” See: “Deconstruction of the Virgin,” 128.

<sup>223</sup> Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 56.

<sup>224</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 2:21.

<sup>225</sup> Kipling, “Deconstruction of the Virgin,” 134; Woodworth, “Music and Court,” 83–85.

<sup>226</sup> Kipling, “Deconstruction of the Virgin,” 130.

<sup>227</sup> 26 August 1561, in “1561: Jul–Dec,” *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 3.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>229</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 67.

de Damville, the younger son of Anne de Montmorency who was associated with the Guise by marriage.<sup>230</sup> Evidently, the French presence was greatly reduced just before Mary began her ceremonial accession tour. The significance of the banquet and its relation to the entry remains to be explored, but one theory that presents itself, is that the banquet served to impress the queen and her guests. In the entry, on the other hand, the burgh might have decided to be more daring, both to counterbalance the banquet, but also because the larger number of French guests had been sufficiently impressed.

Furthermore, many of the entry's elements were conventional enough. Mary advanced on horseback as befitted the sovereign.<sup>231</sup> A group of sixteen prominent citizens, labelled as the most "honest" of the town, carried the rich pall of purple velvet, red taffeta lining and gold and silk fringes, which distinguished Mary visibly within the procession.<sup>232</sup> The welcoming party included fifty young men who enacted fantastic Moors, clad in yellow taffeta and black hats, their exposed skin blackened and covered in gold chains. These Moors were a common feature of European pageantry and a touch of the exotic. They have also been construed as bodyguards or marshals, guaranteeing the order of the crowds by their intimidating appearance.<sup>233</sup> The ceremonial delivery of the sovereign's gift occurred at the close of the procession on the grounds of Holyrood palace, in close emulation of her mother's entry. Throughout the procession the gift was, transported on a 'cairt triumphant' at its close.<sup>234</sup> Thus far, Mary can only have been pleased with the attention bestowed upon her. The entry route again closely emulated that of Mary's mother and grandmother: Mary entered Edinburgh through the West Port, proceeded up the hill to the castle, then down the High Street, past the Nether Bow in order to return to Holyrood Palace. Yet two significant alterations have induced Guidicini to argue that the entry structure accentuated royal majesty. First, the actual entry, heralded by the firing of the artillery and the arrival of the civic welcome procession only began as the royal company emerged after a dinner at the castle. Secondly, in consequence of the former, the customary and all-important key giving ceremony was relocated from its traditional location at the West Port to the aforementioned Over Tron on the High Street. A constructed gate or arch painted and decorated with various arms – presumably those of the queen and the burgh – replaced the West Port.<sup>235</sup> In consequence of the first alteration,

---

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.; Dickinson, *History*, 2:7, n. 2, 20, n. 15; David Laing, ed., *The Works of John Knox* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1848), 2:268, n. 267, 269, 286, n. 264.

<sup>231</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 67; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 56.

<sup>232</sup> The list included Luke Wilson, the treasurer, James Watson, dean of a guild and Alexander Guthrie, the common clerk. See: 28 August 1561, Edinburgh, in "1561: Jul–Dec," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 3.

<sup>233</sup> The real deal, i.e. a group of fifty Brazilians, was incorporated into Henri II's 1550 entry at Rouen. Mary had witnessed this occasion, as had her mother and various Scottish envoys. See: Margaret B. McGowan, "Forms and Themes in Henri II's Entry in Rouen," *Renaissance Drama*, New Series, 1 (1968): 218; Previous occasions of such exotic elements can be found in England. See: Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 177; Referred to by: Gray, "Rose and Thistle," 26; For thoughts on their additional role, see for example: Dean, "Enter the Alien," 273.

<sup>234</sup> 28 August 1561, Edinburgh, in "1561, Jul–Dec," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 3; 17 July 1538, Edinburgh, "1538," *ibid.*, vol. 2. The propine is not mentioned in Margaret's account; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 67–69.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 67–68; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 56–57; Dickinson, *History*, 2:21.

the entry now transpired between two royal dominions, Edinburgh castle and Holyrood Palace.<sup>236</sup> The second “noticeably weakened the significance of the homage,” which the key ritual entailed. It also denied the burgh authorities their – notional – right “to grant or refuse her [Mary] the right to enter” in the first place.<sup>237</sup> Other scholars have acknowledged the physical as well as ritual boundary constituted by city walls and their paramount importance in the entry ceremony.<sup>238</sup> “Ein Akt inszenierter Freiwilligkeit,” the key ceremony was an integral part of the dialogue between burgh and sovereign, positively determined by its immediate surroundings.<sup>239</sup> Was Mary the instigator of these changes as Guidicini suggests?<sup>240</sup> According to the latter the council responded to the violation of burgh authority by intruding into Mary’s private space. This invasion reportedly occurred in the grounds of Holyrood Palace and even in her “vtter chamber.”<sup>241</sup> In reality the theory of such an invasion of private space, is less convincing than it might appear. The *Diurnal* confirms one transgression after the procession left Edinburgh’s confines and advanced towards Holyrood: the children travelling in the triumphant cart mentioned earlier delivered the final decidedly religious speech as the royal procession reached the abbey in the palace. The same abbey had served as Mary’s Catholic refuge, although its walls had previously been invaded by angry burghers.<sup>242</sup> There is no mention of any burghers at this point. The children, however, strongly advised their queen to refute the Mass and then concluded the proceedings with a final psalm. The cart returned to Edinburgh promptly. The sixteen men carrying the pall remained behind to offer the gift to their queen. This scene transpired in the outer chamber of her apartments.<sup>243</sup> Guidicini’s claim that none of the preceding entries saw the authorities of the burgh of Edinburgh proceed any further than the Canongate” is hardly tenable, in the light of precedents discussed in the chapter on Marie de Guise’s 1538 entry.<sup>244</sup> Conversely, the children’s speeches at – or in – the abbey were certainly irregular, but so was almost every pageant within the burgh confines. Were the religious motifs of the pageants provoked by Mary’s insistence on these changes? If Mary was indeed their instigator, then she must have been privy to and involved in the plans devised by the burgh, for the adapted pageant route is noted in the burgh records by 28 August, four days prior to the entry.<sup>245</sup> It would further prove that Mary had the power to influence the course of events on that day in order to accentuate her display of sovereignty. In this interpretation of events, Mary acquires a level of influence, which is not evidenced elsewhere. Furthermore, although the relocation of the key pageant is

<sup>236</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 67; BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/X, f. 160v; Wright, *Queen Elizabeth*, 1:73–74.

<sup>237</sup> Guidicini, "Municipal Perspective," 46.

<sup>238</sup> Stollberg-Rilinger, *Rituale*, 110. App. T6.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>240</sup> Guidicini, "Municipal Perspective," 46.

<sup>241</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 68–69; Guidicini, "Municipal Perspective," 47–48.

<sup>242</sup> Refer to fn. 171.

<sup>243</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 68–69.

<sup>244</sup> Guidicini, "Municipal Perspective," 48; The gift was delivered to Marie de Guise upon her arrival at the abbey of Holyrood. See: Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:381; 17 July 1538, Edinburgh, in "1538," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 2.

<sup>245</sup> 28 August 1561, Edinburgh, in "1561, Jul–Dec," *ibid.*, vol. 3.

indisputably confirmed by the sources, the surviving evidence is not conclusive on the nature of Mary's reception at the West Port. Some form of ritualised welcome might have occurred. The lack of any reference to courtiers such as heralds involved in the planning of the 1561 entry was a clear distinction from Marie de Guise's 1538 entry. This is a notable, if not conclusive detail.<sup>246</sup> Above all, the nature of the pageantry seems to preclude any profound involvement or influence of the queen. It appears to be almost impossible that Mary was able to negotiate important changes in the procession route, without equally exerting her influence on the pageantry described above or that she was aware of the pageant locations, but only partially of their themes. Only the architectural setup, as discussed by Guidicini, symbolically enhances royal sovereignty. The question remains why the route was changed. Unfortunately, however, the decisions involved do not appear to have been in the interest of those arguably in charge – the burgh council – and out of the control of those it benefitted, i.e. the queen. Did the burgh council themselves initiate the change in an attempt to counterbalance the pageants and make a little good on their promise to stage an entry "for the plesour of our Souerane and obtenyng of hir hienes fauouris?" or was it the other way around?<sup>247</sup> Without further insight into the planning of this event, we cannot solve the conundrum.

So, was this entry a ritual failure? An answer to this question can never be simple: it must consider the type of failure, if there was one and who considered it as such.<sup>248</sup> It is a singularly multi-layered event, where the different layers seemingly negate one another. While the basic procedure followed the ceremonial entry tradition closely, the pageantry appears to question Western European "royal Renaissance conventions" as well as Scottish traditions – or what we know of them.<sup>249</sup> If we believe the various descriptions of the pageantry, then the entire message was decidedly in favour of the new religion. The means of conveying that message rested upon a mixture of biblical and classical motifs, which situate the entry at the transition point from the medieval to the Renaissance tradition. Although the symbolism of the pageantry clearly violated the longstanding concord between monarch, court and burghers, the entry was not jeopardised in its execution. This was, however, far from certain as external changes bore directly on the execution of the prescribed ritual.<sup>250</sup> One party – the Protestant burgh council one must assume – upset the delicate balance enshrined in the ritual, exploiting their position of power to purposefully challenge the other party, i.e. the sovereign, or so it appears. Mary's guarded reaction prevents the underlying religious conflict from breaking out openly. In

<sup>246</sup> Refer to Chapter 1:II) A) The only recorded interaction between burgh and nobility in 1561 is the provision of the gift by Morton and Maitland. Also refer to fn. 199.

<sup>247</sup> 26 August 1561, in "1561, Jul–Dec," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 3.

<sup>248</sup> For a detailed discussion of the scholarship in this field as well as the usefulness of the term "ritual failure", see: Edward L. Schieffelin, "Introduction," in *When Rituals Go Wrong*, ed. Hüsken, 1–20; Hüsken, "Ritualfehler," 129–134.

<sup>249</sup> MacDonald, "Mary Stewart's Entry," 101.

<sup>250</sup> Also see: Clifford Geertz, "Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example." In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, c. 2000), 146–162; Schieffelin, "Introduction," 17; For other studies, see e.g. Karin Polit, "Social Consequences of Ritual Failure: A Garhwali Case Study," in *When Rituals Go Wrong*, ed. Hüsken, 199–208; Christiane Brosius, "The Unwanted Offering: Ubiquity and Success of Failure in a Ritual of the Hindu Right," in *ibid.*, 291–324, esp. 298.

the face of the politico-religious tone of the entry, Mary's apparent willingness to carry through the entire entry is quite noteworthy. We can only infer that she diplomatically accepted her subjects' eagerness to solve the religious dilemma on their own terms and bided her time. As she chose to continue her mother's legacy of negotiation and compromise for the better part of her personal reign, this entry is a perfect illustration of the policy to come. The fact that she did not immediately challenge the pageantry displayed with its subversive message, allowed the parties to conclude the entry in the accustomed manner. The performance of the ritual as such, therefore, clearly did not fail. But what of the results or objectives of the entry ritual? Mary was welcomed back into her kingdom and her authority as queen nominally acknowledged; but it was clearly diminished due to her personal religious beliefs. Was this a true characterisation of the situation in Scotland at large? It was certainly a testimony to the fragility of Mary's authority in her kingdom after years of absence. However, Alasdair MacDonald relates the entry to wider burgh politics and concludes that "in staging this extraordinary entry of 1561, the godly party in the capital had overreached themselves and overplayed their hand; unfortunately for them, and despite the dramatic effectiveness of the speeches and pageants, life had in the end failed to imitate art."<sup>251</sup> As he points out, Edinburgh's provost and bailies were dismissed by order of the queen a little more than a month after the entry. Mary's decision to request their dismissal was an immediate consequence of the council's reissue of two proclamations from June 1560 and March 1561, banishing any Catholic clergy from Edinburgh. This might merely have been the trigger rather than the cause, for Mary's reasoning upon this occasion that the council acted "contrair our [Mary's] commandment, nocht makand ws priue thairto, nor seikand to know our plesour in sic behalffis" could be applied to the entry in equal measure. However, the provost and bailies Mary wished to replace were not the same who had overseen the preparations for the entry, as they had just been newly elected. Furthermore, the provost and bailies chosen to replace them were "solidly protestant" as Lynch claims.<sup>252</sup> Nonetheless, this latter event demonstrates that Mary asserted her authority at a less public and symbolic time when the council directly threatened the fragile religious compromise reached by Mary with her half-brother.

---

<sup>251</sup> MacDonald, "Mary Stewart's Entry," 108.

<sup>252</sup> 10 June 1560, Edinburgh, in "1560, Jan–Jun," 24 March 1561, Edinburgh, "1561, Jan–Jun" and 2 and 5 October 1561, Edinburgh, in "1561, Jul–Dec," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 3; For a more detailed discussion of the affair and a list of councillors, bailies and provosts before and after the Reformation, see: Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, 97–99, esp. 98, Appendix i, pp. 226–264, esp. pp. 234–236.

## IV) Queen Regent

For almost twelve years after Mary Stewart's accession, her mother Marie de Guise did not officially hold political power, she was 'simply' queen dowager and queen mother: In reality, her close involvement in Scottish politics commenced almost immediately after her husband's death, primarily as a member of an advisory council to the lawful regent, James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran and later Earl of Châtelherault, the heir presumptive.<sup>253</sup> On 12 April 1554 her implied role was openly acknowledged with her inauguration as regent of Scotland.<sup>254</sup> On this critical day, Châtelherault ceded his role as governor of the realm and tutor to the queen and transferred his power to Marie de Guise instead.

The transfer of power certainly aroused comment in the sixteenth century. Robert Birrel, the author of a diary covering the years 1552–1605, deemed the event important enough to warrant mentioning it as the only entry for the year 1554.<sup>255</sup> The actual ceremonial of the inauguration, however, is only referred to in a small number of narrative accounts<sup>256</sup> as well as in a few personal and diplomatic letters.<sup>257</sup> Legal and parliamentary

<sup>253</sup> Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, 18. Henceforth I will refer to James Hamilton as Earl of Arran in those sections regarding events preceding 1548 and as Duke of Châtelherault in those concerning events following the bestowal of the title.

<sup>254</sup> The date is derived from: Henri Cleutin, Sieur d'Oysel, French lieutenant-general in Scotland, to Antoine de Noailles, French Ambassador to England, Edinburgh, 15 April 1554, in AdAÉ, CPA 8/12, f. 379v; Robert Birrel, "The Diarey of Robert Birrel, Burges of Edinburghe, Containing Divers Passages of Staite, and Uthers Memorable Accidents: Frome the 1552 Zeir of Our Redemptiōne, Till Ye Beginning of the Zeir 1605," in *Fragments of Scottish History*, ed. John G. Dalyell (Edinburgh: Constable, 1798), 4; Also see: "Discharge of James Hamilton, Duke of Chatelherault as Governor of Scotland," *RPS* (A1554/4/1); The following do not include any or provide erroneous dates: Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114; George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia [...]* (Edinburgh: Arbuthnot, 1583), 164a.

<sup>255</sup> Birrel, "Diarey," 4. The initiation as regent of Châtelherault in 1542–1543, on the other hand, is not mentioned.

<sup>256</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114–116; Pitscottie's account of the period before 1555 is reportedly based on second-hand material. See: W. W. Scott, "Lindsay, Robert, of Pitscottie (c. 1532 – c. 1586)," *ODNB*; Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1583), 164; Buchanan was living in France during this period. See: D. M. Abbott, "Buchanan, George (1506–1582)," *ODNB*; Dickinson, *History*, 1:116; Knox had sought refuge on the continent in 1554 and was most likely at Dieppe at the time of the inauguration. See: Jane E. Dawson, "Knox, John (c. 1514 – 1572)," *ODNB*; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 249–250; Lesley was back in Scotland by April 1554 according to: Rosalind K. Marshall, "Lesley, John (1527–1596)," *ODNB*. Whether he was in Edinburgh to witness the occasion is unknown; "The Historie of Scotlande [...]," in Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1577), 1:482; Holinshed was nowhere near Scotland at this time. See: Cyndia S. Clegg, "Holinshed, [Hollingshead], Raphael (c. 1525 – 1580?)," *ODNB*; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 28; Maxwell was somewhere in Scotland: G. R. Hewitt, "Maxwell, John, Fourth Lord Herries of Terregles (c. 1512 – 1583)," *ODNB*.

<sup>257</sup> Marie de Guise to Lord Conyers, Warden of the English March, 17 April 1554, the same to Lords Dacres and Conyers, Edinburgh, 23 April 1554, the same to abbot of Crossraguel, 21 May 1554, in *RPC Scot*, 14:122, 126–127; D'Oysel to Noailles, Edinburgh, 15 April 1554, in AdAÉ, CPA 8/12, f. 379v; Antoinette de Bourbon to Marie de Guise, 10 April and 11 May 1554, in Marguerite Wood, ed., *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, From the Originels in the Balcarres Papers*, Publications of the Scottish History Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, 7 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1925), 2:210–211; Henri II to Châtelherault, Fontainebleau, 12 December 1553, in NLS, Adv. MS 33.1.9, f. 1.



documents complete the picture.<sup>258</sup> Regrettably, the relevant period is not extant in the financial records, oftentimes so revealing in early modern Scottish history.<sup>259</sup>

The sparsity of sources might be to blame for the fact that for decades, Marie de Guise's inauguration received little attention in historiography. Even in Ritchie's study on Marie's political career and her subsequent article on Marie de Guise and the Estates, the ceremony is marginalised in favour of the political circumstances of this transfer.<sup>260</sup> Although this context of the ritual is highly relevant, it should not be separated from the ceremony proper, for the latter illustrates and evokes many of the relationships at work before and after its arrangement. Alastair Mann's work on the ritual of the Estates, particularly the ceremony of the so-called 'ridings of Parliament', illuminates the processional context of the 1554 inauguration, which coincided with the opening of Parliament.<sup>261</sup> The 1554 ritual is first discussed at length by Blakeway in her thesis on sixteenth-century regency.<sup>262</sup> She initiates a debate around the question whether or not a crown – either Marie's own or the official crown of Scotland – was placed on Marie's head during the inauguration. While she rejects the reading of Marie's inauguration as a 'coronation' both Ritchie and Marshall previously acknowledged that Mary was crowned on this occasion.<sup>263</sup> Dean, although offering a critical analysis of the event, sides with Marshall and Ritchie in her thesis as she remarks that "the ceremonial crowning of the

<sup>258</sup> Robert K. Hannay, ed., *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501–1554. Selections from the Acta Dominorum Concilii Introductory to the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1932), 630–633; "Discharge," *RPS* (A1554/4/1). Although Châtelherault's discharge was filed among the parliamentary records, Marie's appointment as regent is not extant; The context is provided by earlier documents regulating Châtelherault's regency in 1542–1543, as well as French efforts to replace him from 1552 onwards. "Declaration: Appointment of the Earl of Arran as Second Person of the Realm and Governor to Mary Queen of Scots during her Minority," *ibid.* (1543/3/9); "Ce qui a esté advisé par les principaux officiers de la cour de Parlement sur le fait de l'administration du royaume d'Escoce, 1552", in BNF, Dup. 33, fos. 295r–297v; Printed in: Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:274–278; Jean B. Teulet, ed., *Papiers d'état relatif, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus relatif à l'histoire de l'Ecosse au XVIème siècle* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1851), 1:261–266.

<sup>259</sup> The accounts between September 1553 and mid-April 1554 are missing. See: *TA*, 10: vii–viii, 223. The only expense registered for April 1554 is the payment of messengers sent to two Scottish clans "to enter their pleagis" This might be related to Marie de Guise's inauguration, but reveals few actual facts.

<sup>260</sup> Ritchie focuses on the developments leading up to and the consequences of her regency, but does not discuss the ceremonial aspects of the transfer of power. See: *Mary of Guise*, chap. 3, particularly p. 94–95; Pamela E. Ritchie, "Marie de Guise and the Three Estates, 1554–1558," in *Parliament and Politics in Scotland: 1235–1560*, ed. Keith M. Brown and Roland J. Tanner, *The History of the Scottish Parliament* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2004), 179; Equally, Arran's biographers acknowledge the transfer, but not its ceremonial enactment. Marcus H. Merriman, "Hamilton, James, Second Earl of Arran, and Duke of Châtelherault in the French Nobility (c. 1519 – 1575)," *ODNB*; Franklin, *Scottish Regency*, 178; See also: Guy, *Queen of Scots*, 58; Fraser's references to the transfer are negligible: *Mary Queen of Scots*, 65, 76.

<sup>261</sup> This ritual occurred from 1520 onwards if not before, but its first description – aside from the 1554 inauguration – stems from 1587 and details emerge chiefly from 1600 onwards. See: Alastair J. Mann, "The Scottish Parliaments: The Role of Ritual and Procession in the Pre-1707 Parliament and the New Parliament of 1999," in *Rituals in Parliaments: Political, Anthropological, and Historical Perspectives on Europe and the United States*, ed. Emma Crewe and Marion G. Müller (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 135–158, esp. 140–149; Many of the phrases can also be found in Alastair J. Mann, "Symbolism and Ritual in Seventeenth-century Scottish Parliament," in *Parlamentos: a lei, a prática e as representações da Idade Média à Actualidade*, ed. Maria H. da Cruz Coelho and Maria M. Tavares Ribeiro (Lisbon: Assembleia da República, 2011), 482–483; Alastair J. Mann, "House Rules: Parliamentary Procedure," in *The History of the Parliament of Scotland*, ed. Keith M. Brown and Alan R. MacDonald (Edinburgh: EUP, 2010), 3:122–150, esp. 132–133.

<sup>262</sup> Amy L. Blakeway, "Regency in Sixteenth-century Scotland" (Ph.D diss., University of Cambridge, 2010), 630–632; This has since been published as: Blakeway, *Regency*, 59–61. She also discusses the other inaugurations of the sixteenth century.

<sup>263</sup> Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (1977), 198; Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, 94; Ritchie, "Marie de Guise," 179.

queen dowager in this manner was new and unique."<sup>264</sup> The latter view is more plausible, but the interpretation of the evidence is subjective. Nonetheless, it remains a relevant debate, chiefly because of the potential implications of such a crowning.

Marie's inauguration in 1554 was a decisive moment in Scottish history and encapsulated the unique situation that Scotland faced during the mid-sixteenth century. It was first of all an acknowledgement and extension of Marie's authority in Scotland. Hitherto, Marie had played her part in Scottish politics unofficially, within the constraints of her roles as queen mother and dowager. Now she became de facto ruler of Scotland while her daughter remained in France. The ceremony therefore equally addressed the critical question of the consequences of Mary Stewart's absentee queenship. Although the Scottish political system had been adapted to accommodate long and frequent minorities, it was the first time since James I that the ruling monarch resided outside Scotland. This unusual situation, even more so since – unlike James – Mary had left willingly, disturbed the delicate balance and allowed Henri II, the French king and her father-in-law, wide-reaching influence in Scottish affairs. This in turn impacted on the ritual of inauguration as will be discussed below. Religious debate for once retreated into the background, despite the transfer of power from the reform-friendly Châtelherault to the Catholic Marie. The inauguration was an entirely secular event in a parliamentary setting.

The mere occurrence of the inauguration as the consequence of a transfer of regency demonstrates Henri II's role as 'Protector' of Scotland.<sup>265</sup> The transfer was instigated by a French document drawn up by "les principaux officiers de la Cour de Parlemens sur le fait de l'administration du Roy<sup>me</sup> D'Escoce," reportedly from 1552.<sup>266</sup> The document details the deliberations of the signatories on the appropriate age at which Mary Stewart – or any monarch – was to administrate her realm directly without the aid of her governor. These deliberations support the preconceived idea that Mary, upon entering her twelfth year, i.e. in December 1553, was old enough to be in charge of her realm. Interestingly, one of the arguments used is that Mary as "dame naturelle du pais," would hold greater authority and hence elicit greater devotion and obedience among her people than a governor ever could.<sup>267</sup> Since another regent was named after Châtelherault's resignation, the line of reasoning becomes flawed. In a sense, Marie de Guise's regency was a necessity because of Mary's absentee queenship, but according to the French document it cannot be regarded as a separate entity. Mother and daughter appear to be one. The matter of Mary's age was crucial to Henri's plans, since the terms set down in the Scottish Parliament of 1543 stipulated that Châtelherault was "to use the said office in all thingis unto the perfite aige of our said sovirane lady."<sup>268</sup> Thus, Scots law clearly limited his time in office. However, a definition of the term 'perfite aige' was particularly

---

<sup>264</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 197–198.

<sup>265</sup> This was an unofficial title. See the discussion in Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, 30.

<sup>266</sup> BNF, Dup. 33, fos. 295–297; Printed in: Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:274–278.

<sup>267</sup> BNF, Dup. 33, f. 297v.

<sup>268</sup> "Appointment," *RPS* (1543/3/9).

contested.<sup>269</sup> Why could the French king and parlement decide on the subject of Mary's age and the time of Châtelherault's resignation? One answer might be that their power was so extensive, that they could dictate the terms to the Scots. This view has been challenged by Ritchie for the entire period of Marie's regency. She argues that French influence crucially relied on the cooperation of the Scots.<sup>270</sup> This is certainly a more likely scenario, in which Henri II needed to convince the Scots of its expediency and legitimacy before promoting a change in regency. After all, the transfer was first discussed in 1550 during Marie de Guise's visit to France after the successful conclusion of the war against England as a result of extensive French military aid.<sup>271</sup> The fact that Châtelherault continued as regent until 1554 is one indication that Henri was not omnipotent. Châtelherault was certainly not a favourite among the Scottish elites, but he had preserved his position as governor of Scotland for the past twelve years. His consent was required to conclude the transfer. On 19 February, the governor and queen dowager agreed on the end of his regency at Stirling. He promised to resign as regent and governor at the next Parliament "'of his awin fre will'."<sup>272</sup> He did so at the request of "the Queen, the King of France, and the Dowager," but his decision was facilitated by the generous terms which Henri II and Marie de Guise offered. His acquiescence was equally attained by pressure from the Scottish nobility.<sup>273</sup> As he accepted the terms presented to him by Marie de Guise, Châtelherault retrospectively sanctioned the decision of the French *parlementaires*.<sup>274</sup> Ultimately, although Marie de Guise was certainly Henri II's favourite by 1554, she became regent, as Ritchie puts it, "because the Scots wanted her to."<sup>275</sup> Although she had undeniable links to France through her Guise relations and her daughter, Marie was an established Scottish political figure and very familiar to the parliamentary elites.

In how far did the inauguration ceremony address this complex power arrangement? What was the established ritual – or rather what do we know of it – and what were the changes made in 1554? The answer to these latter questions is difficult for we know very little of the tradition. Inaugurations occurred regularly in the aforementioned parliamentary setting and potentially included a 'riding', particularly if it coincided with the

<sup>269</sup> See the discussion in Blakeway, *Regency*, 74; Previous Scottish monarchs for instance, all male, had generally began their personal reign between fifteen and twenty-one years of age. James V, Mary's father, assumed control at sixteen, but had already been proclaimed of age twice previously, at twelve and fourteen. See: Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528–1542*, The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), 9–10, 28; James IV was twenty-one, James III approximately seventeen and James II was nineteen. See: Norman Macdougall, *James IV, The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland 5* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1989), 107, 112; Norman Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study*, The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland 4 (Edinburgh: Donald, 1982), 88; Christine McGladdery, *James II, The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland, 1371–1603*, 2 (Edinburgh: Donald, 1990), 49.

<sup>270</sup> "Treaty of Haddington," *RPS* (1548/7/1).

<sup>271</sup> For a detailed analysis of this voyage, see: Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, 61–71, 81–91; Among the sources from this period are letters such as D'Oysel to Marie de Guise, in Wood, *Balcarres Papers*, 2: Appendix A.a.

<sup>272</sup> Hannay, *Acts of the Lords of Council*, 631.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.* Marie de Guise promised the Governor – with the sanction of Parliament – exoneration from any debts he had incurred or any crimes which he might have committed during his regency; "Discharge," *RPS* (A1554/4/1); The generosity – alternatively interpreted as bribery – features prominently in the narrative accounts of the period, but so does the ability of Marie de Guise to isolate Châtelherault among the Scottish nobility. See: Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114; Dickinson, *History*, 1:116–117; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 244–247; Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* (1583), 164a.

<sup>274</sup> Hannay, *Acts of the Lords of Council*, 630–632.

<sup>275</sup> Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, 5.

opening day of Parliament. Blakeway's study of sixteenth-century inaugurations furnishes three further conclusions. The first is that presumably in the 1515 and 1543 inaugurations of John Stewart, second Duke of Albany and Châtelherault ducal attire visually accentuated their unique role of regent.<sup>276</sup> Secondly, individual pieces of regalia were present upon both occasions. A 1515 source refers to the royal sceptre and sword as well as a ducal coronet and another confirms that "the erles of Ang(us?) and Argyle sett a crounet upon the dukes hede the said daye."<sup>277</sup> The only source for 1543 mentions a "kaip of stait" made purposefully for Châtelherault.<sup>278</sup> Thirdly, Blakeway presumes that akin to the coronation, an oath was taken by the new regent, but with only two oaths surviving – one from the fourteenth century and one from 1567 – it is difficult to trace the tradition Blakeway implies and impossible to draw any conclusions for 1554.<sup>279</sup> The remaining fragmented clues provide the framework from which to assess whether and why Marie's inauguration was truly "new and unique."<sup>280</sup>

In accordance with tradition, the principal scene on 12 April 1554 was set at the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, where the Estates convened. The inauguration was performed on the opening day of the first and only parliament of that year.<sup>281</sup> The point of departure was Holyrood Palace, the royal residence in the Canongate outside the city walls, as was customary in later years. The 1554 procession followed the Canongate to the Nether Bow, entered the burgh of Edinburgh and continued along the High Street to the Tolbooth, which lay adjacent to St Giles Cathedral.<sup>282</sup> Its architectural significance, with the movement directed from "a royal [...] environment to neutral [or civic] territory" was to recreate and acknowledge the link between the sovereign and the Estates, while enabling parliament to "gather without fear of intimidation" outside the royal court.<sup>283</sup> Traditionally, the processional order was determined by rank – ascending from lowest in front to highest in the back – as the riders made their way two-by-two.<sup>284</sup> The narrative sources contain indications of the order in this exceptional situation, but due to a lack of comparable descriptions on previous occasions, it is difficult to ascertain whether any adaptations were made. Pitscottie identifies two different groups, arriving one after the other; first came the

<sup>276</sup> Scottish dukedoms were scarce and usually affiliated with the royal family. See: Blakeway, *Regency*, 56. Albany, as grandson of James II, held the ducal title to match his attire, but Arran, as great-grandson of James II along the female line, only received his duchy – and a French one at that – in 1548, five years after his assumption of the regency; Hannay, *Acts of the Lords of Council*, 50; NRS, E 21/40, f. 16r; Printed in: *TA*, 8:172.

<sup>277</sup> Hannay, *Acts of the Lords of Council*, 50; BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/II, f. 365.

<sup>278</sup> NRS, E 21/40, f. 16r. This could be read either as a cap of estate, an item commonly associated with coronations, or as a cape; Printed in: *TA*, 8:172, 523. The index translates it into cape; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 23; Cited by: Blakeway, *Regency*, 56. She identifies it as a cap; DoST is inconclusive on the matter: "Kaip, var. of Cap n.1 (cap).", *Dictionary of the Scots Tongue* (Edinburgh: Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd), <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/kaip> (accessed 18 May 2016); "Kape, Kaip, n. Also: keip [Later var. of CAPE n.],", *Dictionary of the Scots Tongue* (Edinburgh: Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd), [http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/kape\\_n](http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/kape_n) (accessed 18 May 2016).

<sup>279</sup> Blakeway, *Regency*, 62; Also see: Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 48.

<sup>280</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 198.

<sup>281</sup> See the timeline of Mary's reign on: *RPS*; Châtelherault on the other hand appears to have been inaugurated on the second day of Parliament. See: "Appointment," *ibid.* (1543/3/9).

<sup>282</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114.

<sup>283</sup> Mann, "Scottish Parliaments," 140.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

Duke of Châtelherault with "his lordis and heraldis."<sup>285</sup> The royal regalia – sceptre, crown and sword, known as the *Honours of Scotland*<sup>286</sup> – were "borne befor him in order be his lordis as was the wse to be done befor the governouris and maiestraties at sic tymes."<sup>287</sup> Later, Marie de Guise and Henri Cleutin, sieur d'Oysel "raid in lyke maner" although by themselves.<sup>288</sup> D'Oysel's appearance and place in the procession as the French representative was peculiar. Although Châtelherault as regent came immediately behind the regalia, d'Oysel succeeded him, thereby implying either a higher rank or office than the regent. One might even speculate that despite being a foreigner, symbolically he played a very similar role to that of the Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, which was created in 1603 with the union of the crowns of England and Scotland. His position is a testament to the extraordinary circumstances of Henri's 'protectorate'.<sup>289</sup> But what of Marie de Guise? As queen mother and dowager alike, her rank outstripped that of Châtelherault and in that sense her later arrival is only to be expected. Her attire, although not reported, would have reflected her precedence, irrespective of her new role as regent. As Blakeway has pointed out, even during Châtelherault's regency, Marie's name "preceded all others on the sederunt list," and "she took the highest place of precedence at the head of the council board."<sup>290</sup> The only visual confirmation of her new role, therefore, was her proximity to the regalia and Châtelherault's new place in the return 'riding' from the Tolbooth back to Holyrood after the inauguration.<sup>291</sup> The latter "come doune the gait him allane desolat of septer suord or croun or ony autorietie in Scottland at that tyme, bot was contentit to ryde in among the laif of the lordis and his nichtbouris to beir him companie."<sup>292</sup> This return riding hence acknowledged the transformation of status of both him and Marie, which was accomplished with the inauguration. Unfortunately, d'Oysel is no longer mentioned. It is

---

<sup>285</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114.

<sup>286</sup> For a detailed description of the three *Honours of Scotland* refer to p. 84. Also see: John J. Reid, "The Scottish Regalia: Anciently Styled the Honours of Scotland," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 24 (1889–1890): 18–48.

<sup>287</sup> Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1583), 164b; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>289</sup> The royal commissioner performed "the role of the crown's parliamentary manager, thus usurping the presiding role of the chancellor." See: "The Scottish Parliament: An Historical Introduction," *RPS* (7: Regal Union, Multiple Monarchy and the War of the Three Kingdoms, 1603–1660); Mann, "Scottish Parliaments," 144.

<sup>290</sup> Sadler to Henry VIII, 20 Sept. 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32652, f. 114; NRS, PC 1/1, f. 3r; NRS, PC 1/2, fos. 1–5; Cited in: Blakeway, *Regency*, 57.

<sup>291</sup> Although the return is rarely mentioned it appears to have been customary. According to a resolution from the privy council, taken at Edinburgh on 3 November 1600, the members of Parliament were to "accompany his Maiestie, euerie ane of them in thair awin rankis, to and fra his Hienes Palice of Halyruidhous and the Tolbuithe of Edinburgh." Also see among others the proclamation from 13 October 1612, § 29 of the "Act [...] Establishing the Order of the Ryding," Edinburgh, 25 July 1581 and the "Order of the Proceeding on Horseback," Edinburgh, 28 July 1581. See: "Extracts from the Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland and Other Papers Connected with the Method and Manner of Ryding the Scottish Parliament, MDC–MDCCIII," in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club: Consisting of Original Papers and Other Documents Illustrative of the History and Literature of Scotland*, ed. A. Macdonald, J. Dennistoun, and J. Robertson, Maitland Club Publications 25 (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842), 3:104, 110, 123, 127; Mann does not mention the return in "Scottish Parliaments."

<sup>292</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114–115; Also see: Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1583), 164b. Original: "pompa praeunte per urbem in palatium suburbanum est vecta. Prorex autem [...] in ordinem redactus turbae se immiscuit." App. T7.

therefore impossible to determine the exact role protocol prescribed to him in the procession.

His role during the ceremony in the Tolbooth is remarkable, if certain sources are to be believed. The only dependable information on the proceedings is that Parliament was opened, Châtelherault discharged and Marie appointed as the new regent. Interestingly, the parliamentary records of that day only refer to Châtelherault's discharge not to Marie's inauguration.<sup>293</sup> According to Buchanan's as well as Maxwell's narrative, however, it was d'Oysel who received the ensigns of power from Châtelherault in the name of Mary Stewart. It was also d'Oysel who passed them on to Marie de Guise, although Maxwell emphasizes the consent "of the whole parliament."<sup>294</sup> Buchanan and Maxwell thus accord d'Oysel a central role as Mary's direct representative, who in ceremonial terms, although not a Kingmaker, became a 'Regentmaker'. If this version of events were true, then it would support the theory of d'Oysel being a precursor to the seventeenth-century royal commissioner. D'Oysel himself does not mention his involvement in the day's events, nor does Pitscottie allude to his role in Parliament.<sup>295</sup> Equally, Knox – not afraid to point the finger at Marie's relatives – for once remains silent.<sup>296</sup> Lesley, although he acknowledges d'Oysel's presence alongside Marie de Guise, firmly associates the actions of dismissal from and admittance to the regency with both Mary Stewart as queen and the Estates.<sup>297</sup> Nonetheless, this would not rule out d'Oysel's part if he represented Mary during the ceremony. As in the ensuing discussion of the role of the regalia, it remains a matter of credence. However, it is noteworthy that sixteenth-century sources conjured such a scene. On the other hand, the use of a royal representative in the face of such a sensitive ritual was only logical in the absence of the monarch. After all, the liminal period between Châtelherault's discharge and Marie's acceptance of the regency created a temporary power vacuum, which needed to be bridged within the confines of the ritual. Mary's personnel choice is more surprising than the appointment as such. If d'Oysel served as the royal substitute, then a Frenchman ceremonially safeguarded Scotland, in turn represented by the regalia, during this vacuum. This, more than anything, would prove the high estimation, in which d'Oysel was held, by the Scottish queen and her subjects alike. Although his choice pre-empted any debate on hierarchy in the hypothetical search for a Scottish candidate, it nonetheless emphasised French involvement in and consent to Marie de Guise's appointment.

The final point to make in this discussion concerns the manner of Marie's inauguration, i.e. the question whether an act of crowning occurred or not. The precedents concerning Albany as discussed earlier, indicate that he combined the sword and sceptre of Scotland – acknowledging his role as governor of the realm – with his personal ducal

---

<sup>293</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114; "Discharge," *RPS* (A1554/4/1); "Legislation," *ibid.* (A1554/4/2); The appointment is easily corroborated by diplomatic sources though: D'Oysel to Noailles, Edinburgh, 15 April 1554, in AdAÉ, CPA 8/12, f. 379v.

<sup>294</sup> Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1583), 164; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 28.

<sup>295</sup> D'Oysel to Noailles, Edinburgh, 15 April 1554, in AdAÉ, CPA 8/12, f. 379v; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114.

<sup>296</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 1:116.

<sup>297</sup> Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 250.

coronet, which was placed on his head during the proceedings. In 1554, according to Pitscottie, “the croun [was] sett wpoun hir [Marie’s] heid and suord deliuerit into hir.”<sup>298</sup> Which crown is he alluding to? He claims that the same sceptre – although not mentioned above – sword and crown were carried before Marie in the return procession. Was the 1554 crown Marie’s own crown, which she had received as consort of James V?<sup>299</sup> Blakeway, who argues that Marie “enjoyed every right to wear it whenever she saw fit” and that the inauguration as regent “would doubtless have been an eminently appropriate occasion,” explores this theory.<sup>300</sup> Dean, on the other hand, appears less convinced, as she claims that Marie’s personal regalia did not emit the same authority as the official *Honours of Scotland*.<sup>301</sup> The only other source to directly refer to an act of “crowning,” is Knox’s *History*, in which he decries Marie’s admittance to the regency with his usual vigour. The “crown put upon her head” was “as seemly a sight (if men had eyes) as to put a saddle upon the back of an unruly cow.”<sup>302</sup> Both Knox and Pitscottie are questionable sources, since neither of them was present inside the Tolbooth and both were prone to exaggerations, inaccuracies and bias. Furthermore, Knox’s analogy can be understood figuratively as well as literally. Nonetheless, whether a figure of speech or not, Knox does relate the regency to a coronation. D’Oysel, as eyewitness, merely imparts in a letter to Antoine de Noailles, French ambassador in England, that on the said day “ladicte Dame [ayant esté] investie de la Regence [...] et mise en l’administration & entiere autorité de ce Royaume.”<sup>303</sup> While the annotation in its margins that “elle receut de Doisel l’Epeè, le Sceptre & la Couronne, a qui le Comte d’Hamilton les avoit remis en vertu des pouvoirs qu’il en avoit de la Jeune Reine”<sup>304</sup> appears to be proof of the scenario discussed, its author remains obscure. It is highly unlikely that it formed part of the original letter sent by d’Oysel.<sup>305</sup> It is noteworthy that with moderate hindsight authors like Pitscottie and Knox could at least imagine that a crown was placed on Marie’s head. It proves that the ritual association between inauguration and coronation was not lost on contemporaries. It also implies that the increasingly powerful role of the regent was acknowledged in times of regular and long minorities. The question yet to be answered regards the nature of the regalia. Seventeenth-century parliamentary procedure required all three *Honours of Scotland* to be present in Parliament and there is every indication that the same can be said for the sixteenth century. If they were therefore present at the 1554 inauguration, then the theory of Marie wearing her own crown becomes highly implausible. Equally, Buchanan’s claims that Châtelhelrault “insignia imperii Osellio tradidit” and that d’Oysel in turn, on Mary Stewart’s authority “reginae viduae tradidit” suggests the presence of

---

<sup>298</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:114.

<sup>299</sup> Personal regalia were commonly newly created for individual consorts in sixteenth-century Scotland, rather than an official set being past on.

<sup>300</sup> Blakeway, *Regency*, 61.

<sup>301</sup> Dean, “Representations of Authority,” 198.

<sup>302</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 1:116.

<sup>303</sup> D’Oysel to Noailles, Edinburgh, 15 April 1554, in AdAÉ, CPA 8/12, f. 379v. App. T8.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.* App. T9.

<sup>305</sup> See discussion in Blakeway, *Regency*, 60.

only one specimen of each of the three regalia.<sup>306</sup> Châtelherault would not have transferred his ducal coronet to Marie de Guise. The scene in which the official ensigns of power are transferred simply makes sense. The investiture with sceptre and sword is plausible. What should we then make of the crown? It is impossible to defend any position with certainty. If – and it must remain an if without further sources – a crown was placed on Marie's head, it is slightly more plausible that the crown in question was the official crown. Dean's thesis that in the face of permanent absentee queenship the ceremonial acknowledgement of Mary's representative took on paramount importance is conceivable.<sup>307</sup> If so, we must conclude that Marie de Guise and Mary Stewart were to some extent considered one person in ceremonial terms, the authority of one perfectly mirrored in the other. There were, however, notable limitations, even ceremonially. The acknowledgement of Marie's position occurred in the secular parliamentary setting and not in the sacred confines of an ecclesiastical space. It was not a renewed coronation, since both the ruling monarch and her mother had each been crowned and anointed previously. It was an act of crowning to equate Marie's authority with that of her daughter, sovereign of Scotland. In its entirety, the inauguration confirmed the substantial influence of the French monarchy, but equally its acceptance, to a degree, by the Scottish elites. Without their consent, the transfer of regency would not have occurred. The setting of the inauguration in a convocation of the Estates further necessitated their general consent to what occurred. D'Oysel's preferential position in the 'riding' ceremony was noteworthy, but essentially confirmed his integration into and the French acceptance of this Scottish ritual. His subsequent role during the inauguration was made possible by his authority as representative of the Scottish queen. There is every indication that the 1554 inauguration was certainly not a simple continuation of previous rituals. The unprecedented political balance because of absentee queenship encouraged and even necessitated ritual adaptations. It once again demonstrates the ability of ritual to accommodate a particular and complex context.

---

<sup>306</sup> Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1583), 164a. App. T10.

<sup>307</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 198.



## V) Queen Mother

Mary Stewart gave birth to her son James on 19 June 1566, eleven months after her marriage to Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley.<sup>308</sup> The birth was of the highest significance for Scotland in general and Mary in particular. It was first and foremost a promise of the dynastic continuation of the Stewart monarchy. The fact that her first-born was a boy must have reassured both Mary and her subjects, for regardless of Mary's success as queen, it would mean a return to familiar territory, i.e. a male monarch. Furthermore, her son's claims to the Scottish as well as the English throne were particularly strong because they were derived from both his parents. In the absence of a Tudor heir, James stood to inherit the crown of England and thus sustained Scottish hopes of extending the Stewart monarchy beyond its southern borders. His baptism, held on Tuesday, 17 December 1566 at Stirling, provided Mary with the opportunity to present her male heir on the European stage. It is therefore not surprising, that Mary chose to stage the baptism as a "triumph."<sup>309</sup> The entire event spanned three days and included celebratory feasts on each of them, a hunt on the second day and the climax of a mock siege in combination with a firework display on the final evening. For the first time a sixteenth-century English ambassador openly acknowledged the magnificence of a Scottish ceremony.<sup>310</sup> Repeatedly, contemporaries emphasised the extravagance of the proceedings and Knox begrudgingly acknowledged that they "exceeded farr all the preparation that had ever been devised or set forth afore that time in this country."<sup>311</sup> Throughout the festivities typical elements of a Renaissance fête appeared, including continuous music, masks and technical marvels. What is striking is that within months the "triumph" turned into disaster, as Darnley's murder precipitated the end of Mary's reign, which concluded in July 1567 with her forced abdication in favour of her son. Mary chose to enact various roles throughout the festivities, striking a delicate balance between asserting herself as queen regnant and retreating behind her son as she enacted the part traditionally referred to – in the absence of a king or if the king were indeed her son – as queen mother. The fact that Darnley never appeared throughout the ceremonies, is not only noteworthy, but impacted on the scope of roles Mary was able to draw on.

For an idea of the 1566 event and its context, we rely on the usual combination of diplomatic reports, chronicles and financial accounts. An official account either printed or

<sup>308</sup> Although I have generally chosen to use the older spelling of "Stewart" when referring to Mary and her Scottish relations, I will be using the anglicised spelling of "Stuart" to refer to Darnley, in order to emphasise his English upbringing.

<sup>309</sup> This description was coined by Lynch. See: Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph," 1; Knox speaks of Mary's "care and solicitude [...] for that triumph." See: Dickinson, *History*, 2:192.

<sup>310</sup> Francis Russel, second Earl of Bedford to William Cecil, first Baron Burghley, Berwick, 5 December 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, f. 128v. "The Christening w(hi)ch is looked to be verie sumptuously and honourably done"; printed in "December 1566," *CSP Scot*, 2:451; Dickinson, *History*, 2:192; Philibert du Croc, French ambassador in Scotland, to Catherine de' Medici, queen dowager of France, Jedburgh, 17 October 1566, in Labanoff, *Lettres*, 1:374; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:109; Sir John Forster, Warden of the Middle Marches, to Cecil, Berwick, 19 September 1566, in TNA, SP 59/12, f. 105r; printed in "September 1566," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:723; Lesley, *Historie*, 5; Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph," 1; Guy, *Queen of Scots*, 272.

<sup>311</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 2:192; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 103–105; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:190.

in manuscript form does not survive.<sup>312</sup> Yet on this occasion, the number of ambassadorial sources regarding the planning and execution of the baptism is truly impressive, clearly indicating widespread interest across Europe. Two special foreign envoys witnessed the festivities, as did the resident ambassador from France, while others corresponded or met with the participants afterwards.<sup>313</sup> The English and Scottish queens also provide some context in their letters to officials.<sup>314</sup> It is all the more surprising that an official account was not published. Still, the publication would have been an innovation in Scotland. Furthermore, a written account's intention would have been to augment the impact of the ceremonies through widespread circulation. As the discussion below will illustrate, such an undertaking would have been extremely difficult to achieve, particularly with the considerable number of conflicting interest groups, such as the divided Scots, the English, the French and the Papacy. Instead, to ensure that the proceedings were committed to Scottish memory, several Scottish historians and chroniclers devised accounts of the proceedings.<sup>315</sup> Even the financial records are exceedingly detailed regarding the work of

<sup>312</sup> It is unlikely that such an account was published in its wake. Due to the fact that a festival book was published in 1594 and survives today, the latter festivities have long outshone those of 1566. See: William Fowler, *A True Reportarie of the Most Triumphant, and Royal Accomplishment of the Baptisme of the Most Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Prince, Frederik Henry: By the Grace of God, Prince of Scotland; Solemnized the 30. Day of August. 1594* (Edinburgh: Waldegrave, 1594); Clare McManus, "Marriage and the Performance of the Romance Quest: Anne of Denmark and the Stirling Baptismal Celebrations for Prince Henry," in *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. Luuk A. Houwen, Alasdair A. MacDonald, and Sally Mapstone, Mediaevalia Groningana (Leuven: Peeters, 2000); Lynch, "Reassertion of Princely Power."; Rick Bowers, "James VI, Prince Henry, and 'A True Reportarie' of Baptism at Stirling 1594," *Renaissance and Reformation* 29, no. 4 (2005); Michael Bath, "'Rare Shewes and Singular Inventions': The Stirling Baptism of Prince Henry," *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 4 (2012).

<sup>313</sup> From and to England: "Bedford's Entertainments in S. at ye Christening of ye Young Prince," in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264. [Entertainments]; Printed in: Claude Nau, *The History of Mary Stewart, from the Murder of Riccio until her Flight into England. By Claude Nau, her Secretary. Now First Printed from the Original Manuscripts, with Illustrative Papers from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Collections in Rome*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh: Paterson, 1883), cxlviii–cl; Bedford and Forster to Cecil, in TNA, SP 59/12, fos. 39–40, 105–107, 138–139, 146–147, 146r; printed in *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:601,723, 816, 850; Bedford to Cecil, in TNA, SP 52/12, fos. 116–117, 121–131, 133–134; TNA, SP 52/6, fos. 3–4; printed in *CSP Scot*, 2:441, 446–449, 451–453, 458, 461; Henry Killigrew, English Ambassador in Scotland, Robert Melville, Scottish Ambassador in England' and William Maitland of Lethington to Cecil' and James Stewart, Earl of Moray, to Cecil and Elizabeth I, Queen of England, in TNA, SP 52/12, fos. 75–78, 97–100, 132–133; printed in *CSP Scot*, 2:400–402, 423–425, 457; Maitland to ?, in Robert Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland: From the Beginning of the Reformation to the Year 1568*, ed. John Parker Lawson, Vol. 2: *State Affairs, 1560–8*, Spottiswoode Society Publications 1 (Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, 1734; reprint, 1844–1845), 471; France: du Croc to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow and ambassador in France, Jedburgh, 15 October 1566 in *ibid.*, 2:448; The same, various dates, in *ibid.*, 1:xcvi–xcviii; Scotland: Melville to Beaton, in *ibid.*, 2:461; Papacy: Vincenzo Laureo, bishop of Mondovi, papal diplomat, to Michael Bonelli, Cardinal Alessandrino, Alessandrino to Mondovi, and Pius V to Mary Stewart, in John H. Pollen, ed., *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots during Her Reign in Scotland, 1561–1567*, Publications of the Scottish History Society 37 (Edinburgh: Constable, 1901), 87–89, 91, 93, 94–96, pp. 333–336, 338–342, 344–347; Venice: Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Signori, in *CSPV*, 7:378, 383–384; Spain: Diego Guzmán de Silva, Spanish ambassador in England to Philip II of Spain, in *CSP Simancas*, 1:383, 389, 392, 395–396, 399, 402, 405, 409; Savoy: Emanuel Filbert, Duke of Savoy to Mary, Torino, November 1566, in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, App. 1, no. 18, pp. 454–455.

<sup>314</sup> Mary Stewart to Cecil, Edinburgh, 5 October 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, fos. 106–107; printed in Bain, ed., *CSP Scot*, 2:432; Mary to Bedford, Craigmillar, 3/4 December 1566, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/X, f. 404; printed in Keith, *History*, 2:476; Mary to Beaton, in *ibid.*, 1:xcix; Elizabeth I's "Instructions given to the Erle of Bedford," 7 November 1566, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/X, f. 399–401. [Instructions]; printed in Keith, *History*, 2:477–484; Elizabeth to Jean Stewart, Countess of Argyle, 31 October 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, f. 110; printed in *CSP Scot*, 2:436.

<sup>315</sup> James Melville, *Memoirs of His Own Life*, Bannatyne Club 18 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827), 159–161, 170–173; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 103–105; Dickinson, *History*, 2:192–193; Birrel, "Diarey," 5–6; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:190; Lesley, *Historie*, 5.

the heralds, the firework display on the last evening and the mock siege enacted in its wake. Other briefer entries refer to various other preparations for the three-day festival.<sup>316</sup>

The principal themes of this ceremony revolve around dynasticism, religion and gender since Mary's role combined the imagery of queen mother with her role as queen regnant. Furthermore, as the scale and style of the celebrations surrounding the baptism considerably surpassed previous Scottish celebrations, ceremony takes centre stage. Lynch claims it as the first "truly Renaissance festival which Great Britain had ever witnessed."<sup>317</sup> There were certainly no other baptisms celebrated on such an impressive scale before 1566 and due to a lack of royal children in mid- and late-sixteenth-century England, the English lacked the opportunity to follow suit. Lynch's second observation, however, that it included traditional Stewart elements of conciliatory policy is more relevant to the following discussion. Mary used the occasion to stage publicly the reconciliation of members of her nobility among themselves as well as with the queen.<sup>318</sup> This is further discussed by Sarah Carpenter in her broader analysis of Marian spectacle in the 1560s.<sup>319</sup> Peter Davidson on the other hand, challenges Lynch's interpretation of some of the entertainments, primarily the staged assault on a mock castle on the last evening of celebrations. Whereas Lynch recognises a straightforward ideological message, Davidson stresses the ambiguity in the proceedings. In exact opposition to Lynch, he claims that the "1566 festival is remarkable for its [intentional] absence of an allegorical programme."<sup>320</sup> The questions around which this thesis revolves – i.e. the significance of the ritual, the transformations it underwent, the impact of religion and the relevance of gender – all relate to the abovementioned research, but attempt to construct a wider context and explain the choices and iconography in relation to it.

The dynastic significance of the event was acknowledged by the high-profile sovereigns, who accepted Mary Stewart's invitation to act as godparents: Charles IX of

<sup>316</sup> TA, 12:35–38, 403–408.

<sup>317</sup> Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph," 2, 21; Lynch's in-depth analysis influenced subsequent studies, which allude to but do not focus exclusively on the baptism. On the display of highlanders see: Thomas Brochard, "The Integration of the Elite and Wider Communities of the Northern Highlands, 1500–1700: Evidence from Visual Culture," *Northern Scotland* 6, no. 1 (2015): 3; On kinship: Jane E. Dawson, "'There is Nothing Like a Good Gossip': Baptism, Kinship and Alliance in Early Modern Scotland," in *Perspectives on the Older Scottish Tongue: A Celebration of DOST*, ed. Christian J. Kay and Margaret A. Mackay (Edinburgh: EUP, 2005), 41–42; On its inspirational character: John Harrison, *People, Place & Process: The Royal Court at Stirling, 1542–1543*, Stirling Castle Palace (Historic Scotland), 20–21; Michael Lynch, "The Great Hall in the Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI," in *Stirling Castle: The Restoration of the Great Hall*, ed. Richard Fawcett, CBA Research Report 130 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2001), 19; Bath, "Stirling Baptism.,"; Ian Campbell and Aonghus Mackechnie, "The 'Great Temple of Solomon' at Stirling Castle," *Architectural History* 54 (2011): 91, 93. The authors also highlight its religious importance as the last full Catholic ceremony to be staged in Scotland.

<sup>318</sup> Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph," 4, 10–11, 17; Lynch, "Reassertion of Princely Power," 210; The same concept is referred to in Jane E. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 149; Dawson expands on this idea in "Baptism, Kinship and Alliance," 41–42.

<sup>319</sup> Carpenter, "Performing Diplomacies," 219.

<sup>320</sup> Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph," 10, 21; Lynch, "Great Hall," 17; Lynch, "Reassertion of Princely Power," 210–211; Davidson, "Entry of Mary Stewart," 423–424.

France, Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy<sup>321</sup> and Elizabeth I of England.<sup>322</sup> Mary reportedly chose her son's second name Charles in honour of the first, in addition to the traditional Stewart name James.<sup>323</sup> Although these three did not attend the celebrations in person, each appointed emissaries to act in their stead. Charles sent Jean de Luxembourg-Ligny, comte de Brienne, a neighbour of the Guise. The Savoyard envoy Monsignore di Moretta<sup>324</sup> arrived too late and thus the resident French ambassador in Scotland, Philibert du Croc, acted in his stead.<sup>325</sup> Elizabeth's choice fell on Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford<sup>326</sup>, although the Anglo-Scottish correspondence reveals that the Scots had anticipated a more illustrious representative such as William Cecil, first Baron Burghley or Robert Dudley, first Earl of Leicester.<sup>327</sup> In order to suitably impress the foreign envoys, Mary and her advisors chose to host them in Stirling Castle. Mary Stewart's coronation on 9 September 1543 had been the last significant ceremonial event to be staged there. It was a suitable location for it combined royal consequence with military might; as part of Marie de Guise's dowry, Stirling Castle like no other building symbolised recent royal power. In contrast to Holyrood Palace, another favourite as a ceremonial venue, it was an imposing and fully fortified expanse and could impress the strength and independence of the Scottish monarchy upon foreign visitors. The feasts and celebrations were mainly enacted in the castle's great hall while the baptism itself was performed in the chapel royal, both buildings in the royal domain and near one another.<sup>328</sup> The theme of Scotland's dynastic triumph was emphasised further by a feast celebrated there. A round table, evoking the Arthurian legend, recalled not only the previous occasion on which it had been introduced, i.e. in 1509 by James IV, but also the proximity of Scotland's monarch to the English throne and the promise of a golden age dawning for the Stewarts.<sup>329</sup>

<sup>321</sup> A first cousin of Philip II of Spain, he was married to Charles IX's aunt, Marguerite de Valois. Marguerite was Mary's aunt by her marriage to François, but also the younger sister of her father's first wife, Madeleine de Valois.

<sup>322</sup> "Instructions," 7 November 1566, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/X, f. 399r; Elizabeth to Countess of Argyle, 31 October 1566 in TNA, SP 52/12, f. 110; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 103; Lesley, *Historie*, 5.

<sup>323</sup> Charles James is provided in "Entertainments", in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 244r; Birrel, "Diarey."; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 103, 105; De Silva in his letter to Philip II from 28 December 1566 records James Charles in "December 1566," *CSP Simancas*, 1:399; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:190; Both versions are recorded in Lesley, *Historie*, 5; Lynch draws attention to the evocation of the memory of Charlemagne in the choice of name. See: "Queen Mary's Triumph," 6.

<sup>324</sup> Possibly Ubertino Solaro di Moretta, who had attended the nuptials of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy with Marguerite de Valois and had travelled to Scotland previously in 1561–62.

<sup>325</sup> Mondovi to Alessandrino, Paris, 24 January 1566, in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 93, p. 341; Correr to Signori, Paris, 23 January 1567, in "January 1567," *CSPV*, 7:378.

<sup>326</sup> Bedford was governor of Berwick and warden of the east marches of Scotland.

<sup>327</sup> Moray to Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 13 August 1566 and Melville to Cecil, Edinburgh, 14 August 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, fos. 98r, 99r.

<sup>328</sup> "Entertainments", in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264r; Mondovi to Alessandrino, Paris, 24 January 1566 in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 93, pp. 340, 342; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 103; Knox mentions the Great Hall, but this does not seem likely, nor does anybody pick up on this: Dickinson, *History*, 2:192; For an impression of the layout see: Richard Fawcett, ed., *Stirling Castle, Historic Scotland* (London: Batsford, 1995), 33; Fawcett, *Stirling Castle: Restoration*, 4; The significance of choosing a private chapel to hold the Catholic service in Calvinist Scotland and its exemplary character for other Catholics in the country is discussed by Mondovi in his letter to Alessandrino, Paris, 9 September 1566, in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 72, pp. 279, 283.

<sup>329</sup> The exact timing of this banquet is unclear, but in all likelihood it was staged on the day of the hunt, i.e. the second day. See: "Entertainments", in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264v; Lynch offers different versions. Originally, he assigns this banquet to the third day: Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph," 11–12; Subsequently, he associates it with the second day: Lynch, "Great Hall," 16–17.

The baptism's religious significance revolves around the core ceremony, James's Catholic christening in Stirling's chapel royal. Knox remarks how Mary "laboured much with the Noblemen to bear the salt, grease and candle, and other such things, but all refused."<sup>330</sup> Even if this evaluation were true, Mary stood firm and achieved her goal. The Catholic lords Hugh Montgomerie, third Earl of Eglinton, John Stewart, fourth Earl of Atholl, George, seventh Lord Seton, Robert, third Lord Sempill and James, fourth Lord Ross participated and bore these Catholic emblems.<sup>331</sup> Furthermore, unnamed barons and gentlemen with candles flanked the procession.<sup>332</sup> Most importantly, the archbishop of St Andrews, John Hamilton – not only the Scottish primate but also a Catholic and papal legate – officiated. Three of Scotland's eleven bishops, namely William Chisholm of Dunblane, Robert Crichton of Dunkeld and John Lesley of Ross assisted during the ceremony alongside Malcolm Fleming, commendator of Whithorn Priory.<sup>333</sup> Equally present were the foreign dignitaries from France standing in as godfathers. Even Elizabeth was represented, although not by the staunchly Protestant Bedford. Instead, Elizabeth appointed Jean Campbell, Countess of Argyle and half-sister of the Scottish queen, a choice which also respected the gender allocations of the chosen godparents.<sup>334</sup> Still, the absent Scottish lords and the Earl of Bedford possibly accompanied the procession to and from the chapel and they certainly attended the subsequent celebrations.<sup>335</sup> This solution had a noticeable impact on the grandeur of the occasion within the church and Mary's isolated position among the Scottish elites did not pass unnoticed. Knox records Bedford commenting upon it: "'Madame, I rejoyce very greatly at this time, seeing your Majestie hath here to serve you so many Noblemen, especially twelve Earls, whereof two only assist at this baptisme to the superstition of Popery.'" <sup>336</sup> Still, although the christening was crucial, it was the least public moment of the festivities and the sparsity of high-profile secular figures was compensated by their presence thereafter.

Mary appears to have followed royal and religious customs in not attending the actual christening, but deviated from them in delaying the event for a full six months from her son's birth in June to his baptism in December.<sup>337</sup> A similar timeframe can be observed

<sup>330</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 2:193.

<sup>331</sup> Each of these had a special role in the baptismal rite. See: E. Whitaker, "The Sarum Rite," in *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson and Edward C. Whitaker, 3<sup>rd</sup>, rev. ed. (London: SPCK, 2003), 284–307.

<sup>332</sup> "Entertainments", in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264r; Dickinson, *History*, 2:192; Mondovi to Alessandrino, Paris, 24 January 1566, in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 93, p.341; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 103.

<sup>333</sup> "Entertainments", in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264r; Dickinson, *History*, 2:192; Mondovi to Alessandrino, Paris, 24 January 1566, in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 93, p. 341; Lesley, *Historie*, 5; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 103.

<sup>334</sup> "Instructions," in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/X, f. 399; Mondovi to Alessandrino, Paris, 24 January 1566 in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 93, pp. 341–342; Correr to Signori, 23 January 1567 in "Jan 1567," *CSPV*, 7:378; de Silva to Philip, 28 December 1566 in "Dec 1566," *CSP Simancas*, 1:399; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 103; Elizabeth to Countess of Argyle, 31 October 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, f. 110r.

<sup>335</sup> De Silva to Philip II, Paris, 28 December 1566, in "Dec 1566," *CSP Simancas*, 1:399; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 104–105; Dickinson, *History*, 2:192–193; "Entertainments", in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264.

<sup>336</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 2:192–193.

<sup>337</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 101; Dawson, "Baptism, Kinship and Alliance," 42. The Roman Catholic catechism, which promulgated speedy baptism and which was issued after the Council of Trent, was only published in 1566 and would not have been widely known at the time of the baptism. Nonetheless, the directive itself was not new and as far as is known previous Scottish royal baptisms had never been delayed to such an extent.

in 1594, which suggests that Mary's model initiated a new tradition. Was the 1566 delay always intended? Mary sent out the first invitations to the Scottish nobility in August. They specified the place but not the time and the first date ever recorded in the surviving correspondence is 12 December.<sup>338</sup> Yet according to the bishop of Dunblane, Mary originally "pensava tra pochi giorni [after the birth of her son] d'haver fatta la solennità del Battesimo."<sup>339</sup> However, discussions arose soon after the birth and many people had an opinion on the right time, the right place or the right godparents and their respective representatives.<sup>340</sup> In response to this the conscious choice was made to delay; the chosen scale and the nature of the eventual ceremony – generally determined by Mary's wishes<sup>341</sup> – demanded a longer and prudent period of preparation. According to Dunblane, the primary reason was the tenuous religious balance. Since Mary wished to celebrate the baptism according to the Catholic rite, she first needed to convince her overwhelmingly reformed nobility to accept it and this took time.<sup>342</sup> Dunblane's logic is convincing: although the church preferred a speedy baptism, this was subordinated to the political stability in Scotland and the long-term success of the Catholic cause. After all, the Catholic baptism was a significant first step towards a re-Catholicization. The religious dimension was of primary importance to Dunblane's correspondents in the Vatican.<sup>343</sup> However, it is certainly not the only reason, for another decisive factor was the expectation of the foreign guests. Particulars of the individual foreign parties, who were to witness the occasion, were still expected by the end of September. Their arrival in Scotland was consequently weeks off.<sup>344</sup> The comte de Brienne eventually arrived in the first week of November. By mid-November several parties began to express their impatience with Moretta, whose arrival was continually expected without avail.<sup>345</sup> Bedford on the other hand only entered Scotland on 9 December 1566.<sup>346</sup> This clearly shows that a date before November would

<sup>338</sup> Mary to Patrick, 5<sup>th</sup> Lord Gray, Crammald, 16 August 1566, in Thomas Thomson, ed., *Letters and Papers Relating to Patrick Master of Gray Afterwards Seventh Lord Gray*, Bannatyne Club 48 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1835), Appendix x; Mondovi to Alessandrino, Paris, 21 August 1566 and 9 September 1566, in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 71–72, pp. 269, 276, 281, 283; Lynch therefore suggests that the baptism was originally planned for October. See: "Queen Mary's Triumph," 4; First mention of 12 December is made by Lethington, 19 November 1566, in Keith, *History*, 2:471; Also see Bedford to Cecil, Doncaster, 25 November 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, f. 121r; The news had reached London by then: De Silva to Philip, London, 25 November 1566, in "November 1566," *CSP Simancas*, 1:392. As time advanced the date was deferred again, first to 15 and finally to 17 December.

<sup>339</sup> William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane to Giovanni Morone, cardinal-bishop of Porto, Rouen, 16 November 1566, in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 81, pp. 315, 317. App. T11.

<sup>340</sup> For evidence of discussion on the best procedure for the baptism, see: Killigrew to Cecil, Edinburgh, 28 June 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, f. 77v; Bedford to Cecil, Berwick, 27 July 1566, in TNA, SP 59/12, f. 39v; printed in "July 1566," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:601; Moray to Cecil and Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 13 August 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, fos. 97r, 98r; Barbaro discloses to the Signori that for security purposes the papal nuncio will not travel to Scotland before the baptism, see Paris, 5 July 1566, in "July 1566," *CSPV*, 7:371.

<sup>341</sup> Carpenter, "Performing Diplomacies," 223.

<sup>342</sup> Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 81, pp. 315, 317.

<sup>343</sup> Mondovi to Alessandrino, Paris, 21 August and 9 September 1566, in *ibid.*, 71–72, pp. 269, 276, 279, 282.

<sup>344</sup> Forster to Cecil, Berwick, 19 September 1566, in TNA, SP 59/12, 105; The French had decided on de Brienne by early September. See Mondovi to Alessandrino, Paris, 9 September 1566, in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 72, pp. 279, 282.

<sup>345</sup> De Silva to Philip, London, 11 November 2016, in "Nov 1566," *CSP Simancas*, 1:389; Bedford to Cecil, Garendon, 17 November 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, f. 116r; Lethington to ?, 19 November 1566, in Keith, *History*, 2:471; Correr to Signori, Paris, 26 November 1566, in "November 1566," *CSPV*, 7:378.

<sup>346</sup> Forster to Cecil, Berwick, 2 November 1566, in TNA, SP 59/12, f. 132r; printed in "November 1566," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:783; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:190; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 103; De Silva to Philip, London, 11

have been inconceivable once Mary had decided on these godparents. Her and the prince's illness in October 1566, another possible factor, hence occurred before the foreign envoys arrived and was too brief to have any great impact.<sup>347</sup> A final cause for delay was the considerable costs of the festivities. Mary raised the money through a loan of 12,000 pounds from the Edinburgh merchants as early as September – indicating that she was already aware of its eventual scale – and then successfully requested the same sum in extraordinary taxation from Parliament. The sum, dedicated to the promotion of “the honour and estimatioun of oure soveranis, thair realme and commoun weill thair of,” fell well short of the 100,000 pounds granted to her son for the 1594 baptism of Prince Henry Frederick.<sup>348</sup> Yet, it was the only such taxation throughout Mary's reign and it was raised for festivities centred on the queen's particular wish for a Catholic baptism.

Mary's primary role in the proceedings was that of a host, who incorporated and balanced the different groups which had come together. Lynch and Dawson have emphasised how these entertainments were part of a greater programme promoting forgiveness according to the best examples of Stewart conciliatory policy.<sup>349</sup> Mary applied the inspiration from her male progenitors to the complex political and religious situation at hand. She took centre stage at the banquets held both after the church ceremony and on subsequent days, participated in the hunt and mingled with the other guests during the grand finale of the enacted siege and the fireworks display on the final evening.<sup>350</sup> Yet throughout, she also acted as mediator. On the first evening Mary shared a table with the foreign dignitaries, de Brienne on her right, Bedford on her left.<sup>351</sup> Beyond that, the servants embodied the spirit of peace, for the Protestant Bedford was served by two nominally Catholic lords and one Protestant, whereas one Catholic and two Protestants attended the Catholic de Brienne. Three of the chief Protestant councillors served the queen.<sup>352</sup> The following day passed primarily with hunting, an activity well-suited to include and accentuate the role of the queen. Lynch surmises that Diana, goddess of the hunt as well as childbirth, provided the theme for these activities, although the sources do not reveal any of the associated imagery.<sup>353</sup> During the Arthurian themed dinner the food was served from a moving stage – one of those technical devices so increasingly important in wooing an audience – which was modified for the various courses. Throughout, it was

---

November 1566, in “Nov 1566,” *CSP Simancas*, 1:389; Bedford to Cecil, Berwick, 9 December 1566, in TNA, SP 52/12, f. 129r; Birrel, “Diarey,” 6.

<sup>347</sup> Lethington to Cecil, Jedburgh, 24 October 1566, in TNA, SP 59/12, f. 108r; printed in “October 1566,” *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:773; Barbaro to the Signori, Paris, 3 November 1566, in “Nov 1566,” *CSPV*, 7:373; De Silva to Philip, 4 November 1566, in “Nov 1566,” *CSP Simancas*, 1:388; Also see: Lynch, “Queen Mary's Triumph,” 4–5.

<sup>348</sup> Forster to Cecil, 19 September 1566 mentions the loan in TNA, SP 59/12, f. 105r; Dickinson, *History*, 2; For the 1566 taxation see: “Legislation: Taxatioun Grantit of Xij M Li.,” *RPS* (A1566/10/2). A comparison of the two sums can be found in Lynch, “Great Hall,” 19.

<sup>349</sup> Refer to fn. 318.

<sup>350</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 104–105; “Entertainments”, in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264; Dickinson, *History*, 2:192.

<sup>351</sup> Mondovi to Alessandrino, Paris, 24 January 1566, in Pollen, *Papal Negotiations*, 93, pp. 341–342; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 104; Dickinson, *History*, 2:193; “Entertainments”, in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264r.

<sup>352</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 104. Every lord serving du Croc was Protestant, mirroring the makeup of the queen's servers; For more detail, see: Lynch, “Queen Mary's Triumph,” 10–11.

<sup>353</sup> Lynch, “Queen Mary's Triumph,” 11.

decorated with laurel, an important symbol of wealth, peace, healing and victory.<sup>354</sup> For the first and second course the food was handed down by six nymphs to twelve satyrs.<sup>355</sup> The combination of nymphs and satyrs was common, symbolising male and female aspects of nature. The natural bi-sexual theme, with links to fertility, was especially expedient for Mary's purpose, but also conformed to the classical core of a truly Renaissance triumph.<sup>356</sup> A conduit – another example of clever workmanship rather than intricate symbolism – delivered the third course. A traditional ceremonial theme accompanied the fourth course as a globe descended from the top of the hall to the stage, opening to reveal a child reciting a speech.<sup>357</sup> The imagery lacks only a set of keys to become identical with the pageantry displayed initially during ceremonial entries. The evocation of a globe, potentially symbolising the sun or earth and the image of a child descending down to earth from above together might have been a testimony to the good fortune bestowed on the Scots with their queen and young prince. It could equally have been a welcome to their guests, akin to that staged in entries. After the fourth display, however, the stage broke and slightly marred the image of a resplendent and highly cultured Marian Scotland.<sup>358</sup>

Another item on the night's agenda was George Buchanan's quasi-mask *Pompae Deorum Rusticorum*. Lynch interprets the text to present Mary as "another Arthur, a bringer of the age of gold and fulfiller of the prophecy of Merlin" on the one hand and "the goddess Astrea, [...] restorer of harmony to a world of chaos" on the other.<sup>359</sup> In stark contrast to this evaluation, Davidson remarks on the *Pompae's* "bland" contents, lacking any political agenda, only acknowledging Buchanan's accomplishments in versification.<sup>360</sup> The text is certainly conspicuous in its use of imagery. It harmonises well with the overall theme of the triumph: reconciliation and peace. The basic pattern is the alternation of verses addressed to the king (in fact the young prince) and the queen (his mother). The presentations are made by satyrs, fauns and multiple nymphs. The mystico-natural setting cannot be mistaken and the modern reader searching for political allegory is put off by frequent references to the lure of the chase, the pleasures of nature and its advantages over urban life. Nonetheless, its panegyric character shines through in the expression of admiration for the new prince and his mother. Mary is commended for her exemplary virtue, the fruit of her marriage and the fact that under her rule "in melius properantis pignora secli." James is promised a strong and blessed future as the king of destiny, he in whom the forces of nature would finally merge.<sup>361</sup> Clearly, the imagery and terminology emphasize Mary's role as mother and catalyst. Throughout, although Mary is styled as queen, her son is already referred to as king. Furthermore, the initial reference to

<sup>354</sup> Annette L. Giesecke, *The Mythology of Plants: Botanical Lore from Ancient Greece and Rome* (Getty Publications), 36.

<sup>355</sup> "Entertainments", in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264v.

<sup>356</sup> Jennifer Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 54, 64, 113, 270.

<sup>357</sup> "Entertainments", in BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 264v.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>359</sup> Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph," 12.

<sup>360</sup> Davidson, "Entry of Mary Stewart," 424.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, 426–429, esp. 427, 428. App. T12.



Mary is as “Queen his Mother.”<sup>362</sup> Davidson is therefore not wrong in his claims to an ambiguous iconography. On the one hand, more could have been done to emphasize Mary’s position as queen of Scots. On the other, the emphasis on the young prince as king of destiny flaunted the Stewart succession before all foreign guests, but the English in particular. In the struggle to find the right balance between impressing and appeasing the foreign guests, it might have been a conscious choice to impress by emphasising the future with its claims to come and to appease by downplaying the past and present. Mary and the organisers consciously chose to accentuate her female virtues as mother, a role previously associated with a consort queen and not yet associated with regnant queenship in England or Scotland.

The culmination and triumph unfolded on the third day. Surprisingly, narrative sources and letters contain little information on this climax, the dramatized siege of a mock castle on Stirling rock, illuminated by a firework display. In fact, the *Diurnal* is the only source to mention the “fort” or “forth” (castle) and the artillery display involved in the pageant. The *Treasurer Accounts* on the other hand provide numerous details in this regard, especially concerning the firework display.<sup>363</sup> From these accounts we learn of the building of the castle and the assembling of a great stock of artillery.<sup>364</sup> Furthermore, the accounts mention the creation of costumes for landsknechts, moors, horsemen, devils and wild highland men. They further specify that these costumes were to be worn by “fyftein soldiouris of the companyes quha combattit within and without the forth togidder with the foirsaidis hieland men having the executioun of the fyeworkis in thair handis.”<sup>365</sup> We cannot re-enact the story played out by these men for want of further specific references to the development of the staged battle. The only other indication available in the accounts refers to the mechanism for the “closing of the forth haldin in Stirviling aganis the men of warre.”<sup>366</sup> In all likelihood, Lynch based his speculations that the men within symbolized order and the monarchy, whereas the wild forces without threatened this institution, primarily on this information. The conclusion to this scene, according to him, was the successful defence of the castle – and with it order and the Stewart monarchy – as those seeking to harm it were defeated.<sup>367</sup> The theory is rejected by Davidson as “highly speculative.” His reasoning is in turn based on the first quote above, which suggests that the fifteen specified roles were distributed both “within and without.” It is certainly true that the information imparted in the sources is ambiguous. In this case, however, it would appear almost incredible that the display as such was characterized by an “absence of signification.”<sup>368</sup> Although the imagery of the three-day-long celebrations appears to have been reserved, which itself was a political statement, it was never arbitrary. This impression

---

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 426–429, esp. 426, 428.

<sup>363</sup> *Diurnal*, 105; *TA*, 12:403–408.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*, 405, 407–408.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*, 405–406.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*, 405.

<sup>367</sup> Lynch, “Queen Mary’s Triumph,” 10; Lynch, “Great Hall,” 17; Lynch, “Reassertion of Princely Power,” 210–211.

<sup>368</sup> Davidson, “Entry of Mary Stewart,” 424.

must also be extended to Mary's role in the proceedings. She appears to have been present at every event except the christening ceremony. In contrast to French customs and Charles IX's example at Bayonne, neither she nor any of the nobles participated in the manifold displays. However, it would be short-sighted to attribute her role as spectator to her gender. The active involvement of the elite was a French trait, which the Scottish had not adopted.<sup>369</sup> Furthermore, although a spectator, Mary was also the host and her passive role in the triumph did not detract from this. Indeed, her presence in close proximity to her foreign guests was desirable if not essential, in order to preserve the fragile peace between the different parties.

The 1566 baptism was remarkable and novel in a number of ways and contexts. The separation of the baptism from the birth, the distinguished guests and the extensive preparations undertaken all ensured the emergence of a new ceremonial event, which surpassed most Tudor and Stewart endeavours of the first half of the century. The childlessness of all of Henry VIII's children and the close connection of the Scottish royals with the English succession furnished a high incentive for staging a Scottish triumph. The baptism itself was the first ceremonial manifestation of Mary's new Catholic course as she publicly entrusted her son, no less than the next Scottish king, to Rome. The division of the guests highlights the difficulties monarchies and ritual faced due to the religious schism, but the ceremony equally demonstrates the inventiveness of those willing to overcome them. The ritual in its entirety was flexible enough to continue. Moreover, it was the first ceremony on Scottish soil, which truly resonated across Europe as the abundant diplomatic correspondence on the subject demonstrates. By overseeing the celebrations Mary asserted her role as regnant queen. Despite its grandeur however, conciliation was the principal theme in the proceedings, which sought to transcend religion, politics as well as state boundaries, all of which provided ample cause for controversy among the assembled groups. In this, Mary's son truly was her greatest asset. Not only did he sustain the hope for Scotland's and the Stewart dynasty's future internally, but he also diverted the focus away from his mother in the European arena. Both domestically and internationally, Mary as a figurehead had been and remained controversial. In order to secure her religious triumph, she needed to divert attention away from herself and focus on the future. Although Mary hosted and attended the event as a king would, her primary role as host and mediator was often realised through the use of female and maternal iconography. The combination of multiple aspects of king- and queenship compensated the complete absence of her husband.<sup>370</sup> Due to the lack of detailed descriptions of all the ceremony involved, it is impossible to determine the extent of this imagery. Yet the evidence is sufficient to suggest that Mary and the organisers consciously exploited Mary's numerous roles.

---

<sup>369</sup> Lynch observes that the "monarch as spectator was not unusual" and that the "Scots were not used to seeing their kings in action" in such contexts. See: "Queen Mary's Triumph," 9.

<sup>370</sup> On the crucial relation between both roles, see Laynesmith, *English Queenship*, 8, 30, 73, 129–130; Fradenburg, *Women and Sovereignty*, 2.

## VI) Conclusion

The rituals discussed in this chapter differ considerably in terms of aims, execution and their emphasis on different forms of queenship. While the rituals coincide across the Anglo-Scottish and Franco-Scottish borders, individual elements do not. Whereas the English accession entry as enacted for Mary Tudor was first and foremost a procession and encompassed pageantry only in the form of recitations and music, the Scottish entries of both Marie de Guise and Mary Stewart included more complex pageantry with mechanical, allegorical and symbolic elements. This different interpretation has a bearing on the accession narrative developed in each country. It should further be noted that Mary Stewart's accession entry in France as queen consort took place in association with the coronation of her husband at Reims. It is noteworthy that three women – Mary, her mother-in-law and queen mother Catherine de' Medici and her sister-in-law and queen of Spain Élisabeth – each appear to have had a separate entry into Reims before the coronation, whereas the male members of the family such as François II's brothers, the future kings of France, do not appear to have been received separately. Whether there was a French tradition for the consort or other female relatives to have a separate pre-coronation entry is impossible to tell in the absence of detailed and conclusive source material. It is however notable, that these women played a prominent role in mid-century monarchical representation, despite their ineligibility to ascend the French throne. This emphasises the multiplicity of monarchical roles which could coexist successfully, in ritual at least, but also the desirability to diversifying representation at the beginning of a reign, particularly if the new monarch was relatively young. While Catherine's public presence embodied continuity, Mary's symbolised the future. Last but not least, Élisabeth's attendance asserted French prominence with its personal ties to the Spanish Empire.

The rituals reveal how far they were influenced by their immediate contexts, despite an apparent conformity to tradition. Frequently it is difficult to pinpoint what the tradition is in the first place. This applies not only to the above-mentioned coronation entries in France, but to all Scottish ceremonies discussed in this chapter. Nonetheless, Mary Stewart's accession entry into Edinburgh is a case in point. On the one hand, with one exception, the principal setup corresponded closely to that recorded at her mother's – consort – accession entry twenty-three years previously. On the other hand, the visual and auditory display of the performers seems to be anything but traditional for a regnant monarch. While we do not have any earlier comparable records from Scotland to base this conclusion on, other European examples underline the oddity of the event and the fact that it is relatively well documented in Scottish records could suggest that the Scots were aware of its exceptionality. Furthermore, the outspoken warning contained in the first pageant of Mary Stewart's Edinburgh entry, which links her subjects' loyalty to her religious beliefs, is a testament to the exceptional situation in Scotland after the recent Reformation and many years of absentee queenship. While religious discord tangibly influenced Mary Stewart's ceremonial return, the same does not apply to Mary Tudor's ritual accession,

despite the fact that both queens adhered to their Catholic beliefs in partially reformed countries. There are several reasons for this. First, the progressional focus of the English accession entry prevented such expressive interference of subjects. Yet even in the subsequent civic coronation procession, which included a multitude of pageants, the themes were carefully devised to celebrate rather than chastise or reform the English queen.<sup>371</sup> Beyond the composition of the town council, it must therefore be a question of the relationship between queen and court on the one hand and the civic deputies on the other. Mary Stewart's authority was impeded by her absentee queenship. Mary Tudor, on the other hand, had just emerged out of the recent succession crisis as the rightful and triumphant Tudor heir.

The organisation of entries distinguished them from the classic royal rituals such as baptisms, inaugurations and coronations or funerals. All entries discussed prominently included the town elites and in most cases the burghers principally organised the entries. Symbolically, the reciprocal nature of the ritual is encapsulated in the meeting between sovereign and civic deputies at the beginning of the procession. In England, this meeting entailed an exchange of the mayoral ensigns rather than the more common key ceremony which we find in Scotland. Yet according to Guidicini the transfer of the Scottish key ceremony from the West Port to the Over Tron in Edinburgh shifted the balance between the monarch and the burgh in favour of the former. This was further supported by the setup of the entry between two royal domains, Edinburgh castle and Holyrood palace. However, the pageants performed during the entry tell a different story. Generally, the involvement of the crown and court in the preparations appears to vary considerably. Whereas the future Lyon king Lindsay played a very active part in the preparation of Marie de Guise's entry in 1538, his successor is not mentioned once in the records for the 1561 entry of Mary Stewart. This appears to be related both to the timing of the entries and the personal relationships of the monarchs. In 1561 Mary's absenteeism result in a loss of control of parts of the narrative by the crown and its officials. In Mary Tudor's case a similar scenario is unthinkable, since the court kept a close eye on the preparations and as mentioned previously, the accession entry had a different focus to its Scottish counterpart.

In the accession entries of Marie de Guise and Mary Stewart as consorts as well as the former's inauguration, the religious context was largely uncontested and did not necessitate any alterations to the ritual. Instead, other elements diverged based on the individual circumstances. For instance, one may cautiously conclude, albeit based on very limited source material, that the specific context impacted the accentuation of the consort's dynastic heritage. Marie de Guise's French-Lorraine origins were duly acknowledged during her entry into Edinburgh in 1538 and the queen integrated into the Stewart dynastic narrative by emphasising her origins, yet with regard to the pre-coronation entry into Reims Mary Stewart's Scottish heritage does not play any distinct role in the records. The difference between the two cases is evident, since Marie de Guise

---

<sup>371</sup> See chapter Chapter 2: IV)

had only recently arrived in Scotland, spoke little Scots, if any, and was potentially accompanied by a Franco-Lorrainian entourage. Mary Stewart, on the other hand, had grown up in France, spoke the language fluently and knew the court and the royal family intimately. The entry ritual was clearly important in both countries, but it was adapted to suit the narrative or context of each individual case. With regard to Marie's inauguration as regent, the entire ceremony can be regarded as an anomaly. I would argue that not only the transfer of the regency but above all its ritual enactment with the transfer of the regalia was entirely dependent on Mary Stewart's absentee queenship. While the basic ritual was integrated into the 'ridings of Parliament,' the elaborate ceremony included several notable variations to earlier inaugurations. The prominence of the French envoy d'Oysel is nothing short of astounding. Still, the apparent willingness of the Scottish elites to accept the queen dowager – a Guise – as their regent and d'Oysel as Mary Stewart's representative demonstrates both the continued dependence of the Scots on France for the time being as well as their trust in these two individuals particularly. Furthermore, the absence of the queen in the long-term necessitated a compelling display of royal authority, which might even have warranted Marie de Guise to be invested with the full regalia, crown included.

The flexibility of the rituals and all they entail is clearly showcased whenever the need arises. Despite the relevance of both religion and gender in the execution of royal rituals, the divergence from tradition does not jeopardise the ritual as such. In terms of religion, the 1566 baptism in Stirling clearly shows that the combination of religious and secular elements ensured such adaptability that the ritual's efficacy was not affected despite the disparate religious views of the attendants. In terms of gender certain adaptations are made for regnant queens, such as the inclusion of a large retinue of ladies in the procession of Mary Tudor. However, both Mary Stewart and Mary Tudor frequently followed the example of their male predecessors without any substantial difficulties. They even combined traditionally male and female roles and iconography to achieve a more nuanced ritual, as is the case in the 1566 baptism. With her alternating emphasis on her regnant queenship and a role more akin to that of queen mother, Mary Stewart was able to reconcile her two conflicting aims of showcasing Stewart might on the one hand and emphasising reconciliation and concord with her subjects and European neighbours on the other. It is this multiplicity of roles, which could be expressed by one individual as in the above case or spread across several people as in the case of the French coronation entry, which emerges from the discussion in this chapter. Rituals, in turn, were flexible enough to accommodate the variety. If handled adeptly, multiplicity and ambiguity could enhance their efficacy. To a certain degree ambiguity also ensured the ultimately successful staging of the 1561 entry ceremony in Scotland. However, in this particular case, there was a very real possibility of ritual failure. If Mary had taken offense and interrupted the entry prematurely, relations between the burgh and monarch might have broken down completely for a time. In this case her queenship itself could have been jeopardised, depending on the reaction of the other elites, but also that of the public. Although Mary

chose to complete the ritual without any reported marked signs of disapproval – the quick passing on of the gifted Bible notwithstanding – the question remains whether the distorted dialogue itself might not be seen as a ritual failure. Evidently religious differences could not be overcome easily. Still the honouring of Mary and her French escort at a previous banquet might be interpreted as an attempt to create different spheres for different messages. Mary first received the distinguished welcome, followed by an admonishing one. This created an uneasy compromise, which both sides accepted to a degree. Hence it is the combination of different parts of the ritual, which was more encompassing than the immediate entry, which achieved the necessary balance to prevent a ritual failure.

## Chapter 2: Coronation

### I) Introduction

In both sixteenth-century England and Scotland the accession of a new monarch culminated in the coronation. While the Anglo-Saxons introduced the rites of coronation and unction in the late seventh century, Scottish kings only obtained these privileges seven centuries later.<sup>372</sup> In 1329, after the conclusion of the Wars of Independence against England, Pope John XXII issued the decisive papal bull, which invested the archbishop of St Andrews or any substituting bishops with the power to anoint future Scottish kings.<sup>373</sup> Henceforth, Scottish monarchs and consorts were crowned and the former anointed. The practice was therefore only two centuries old by the time of Mary Stewart's coronation in 1543. Six of the nine coronations up to and including Mary's had to be staged and adapted for minors. Finally, although the bull resulted in the introduction of the consort coronation, the act of anointing was possibly not introduced before the fifteenth century and there is no conclusive evidence to confirm whether or not Marie de Guise was anointed in 1540.<sup>374</sup>

The distinctive histories of the English and Scottish coronations reflect their significance. Generally, coronations with the rite of unction were decisive in infusing the new monarch with divine grace. In England as in France, the body natural of the monarch was so transformed that he – or she in the case of Mary Tudor – was believed to be able to heal scrofula by the royal touch. This practice survived not only the accession of queens regnant and the Reformation, but was equally performed by James I, even though it was unheard of for previous Stewart monarchs and indeed James himself until his accession to the English throne.<sup>375</sup> This demonstrates that the concept of king- or queenship differed and despite the continued use of a coronation ceremony in both countries, the transformation of the English monarch into a quasi-divine being simply did not occur in Scotland. Thus, Thomas remarks that the 1513 coronation of James V “marked James's transformation from a private individual into a public figure with divinely bestowed powers of majesty.”<sup>376</sup> The transition is intriguing and raises the question of accession. When did Scottish monarchs become the rulers of their kingdom? Peter Thomson, the Bute Pursuivant and Islay Herald during James's reign, states that “Mast worthy kingis ar thair quhilkis ar crownit with prelatys of halykyrk & sacrit & anontyt.”<sup>377</sup> This confirms that the coronation did not establish king- or queenship. Instead – reliant on spiritual sanction – it instilled the monarch with the required dignity to perform his role “worthily.” Hence, a

<sup>372</sup> Schramm, *English Coronation*, chap. 2, esp. 15–16.

<sup>373</sup> William Gibson-Craig, Henry James, and Cosmo Innes, eds., *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland [National MSS]* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey Office, 1870), 2:22–25.

<sup>374</sup> Dean, “Representations of Authority,” 240, 256, 261–262, 271–272, 276.

<sup>375</sup> Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History, new (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2015), 45–46, 51, 57–59, 67–68; Also see Hunt's discussion on the continued relevance in *Drama of Coronation*, 1–4.

<sup>376</sup> Thomas, “Crown Imperial,” 43.

<sup>377</sup> NLS, Adv. MS 31.7.22, f. 44r; Cited in: Thomas, “Crown Imperial,” 43.

monarch's accession may be taken to occur immediately upon the death of his or her predecessor and not to rely on the coronation.<sup>378</sup> This equally applies to England, where the later sixteenth-century legal concept of the king's two bodies distinguished between the enduring body politic and the mortal body natural.<sup>379</sup> The ceremonies in both countries largely acknowledged this underlying concept of monarchy. However, the ritual accession narrative is not fully straightforward in both countries. Both in England and Scotland, the full regalia – prominent symbols of sovereignty – first feature in the coronation procession to the church and not in the preceding accession entries. However, the coronation is only one further piece in the puzzle in the succession narrative as enacted for these queens and any preliminary conclusions must be combined with those derived from a discussion of the funeral ceremonies. Yet regardless of the role of the coronation in the accession narrative, the necessity of the ritual is uncontested in both countries. Its significance for the actors involved depended on the individual circumstances and so did the necessary adaptations based on gender and religion. However, in comparison, variations in the basic ritual also reflect underlying differences in the comprehensive conception of sovereignty of both countries.

---

<sup>378</sup> Dean dates the change in perception to the reign of David II who is considered king upon his accession in 1329 rather than from his coronation in 1331 onwards. See: "Representations of Authority," 123–124; Bower's fifteenth-century chronicle still calculates the reigns of early Stewart monarchs from the day of the coronation. See: Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. Alexander B. Scott and Donald E. Watt, new ed. (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1996), 7:361, 447. Chronicles, however, often maintained this tradition even after the legal interpretation had changed; Also see: Brown and Tanner, *Parliament and Politics*, 105–106; Whereas Pitscottie still begins his account of James V's reign with the coronation, for Mary's reign he first turns to the death of her father. Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:279, 2:1–2.

<sup>379</sup> Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 329–330; Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, 179, 183, 190.



## II) Marie de Guise

Upoun the xxij day of Februare, the Quenis grace was crounit in the abbay kirk of Halyrudhous, be said abbot of Abirbrothok, qua sang mess that day<sup>380</sup>

Marie de Guise's coronation at Holyrood on Sunday, 22 February 1540<sup>381</sup> – twenty months after her marriage to James V – is without doubt the ceremonial apex of her consort queenship. Marie was queen of Scotland, with or without the ceremony, but the consort coronation was an important tradition initiated in the fourteenth century under David II, which only ceased after Anne of Denmark's coronation in May 1590.<sup>382</sup> Like Marie, most consorts had been crowned separately from their husbands, but a twenty-month delay between accession and coronation was unusual, particularly given the political and religious stability of James's personal reign.<sup>383</sup> The Reformation was not yet an issue. Instead, gender expectations and above all the integration of the ceremony into a comprehensive dynastic programme dominated the agenda.

Marie's coronation incited unusually little comment in narrative sources, even by Scottish standards. The *Diurnal* alone includes a brief entry on the date, place and its officiator. Even if we suppose that heraldic documents were lost, one might expect to find further references in other extant sources such as Pitscottie's *Historie*.<sup>384</sup> After all, several chroniclers mention Mary Stewart's coronation, despite the inauspicious character that is usually attributed to it.<sup>385</sup> Does this lack reflect the value attributed to the ceremony by contemporaries or is it merely a coincidence? The first extant ordinance of the Scottish coronation ceremony, the seventeenth-century "Forme" excludes any reference to a consort coronation, since Charles I was to be crowned alone.<sup>386</sup> The only other sources to provide some particulars are the financial accounts of Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange, Lord High Treasurer and James Hamilton of Finnart, Master of Works.<sup>387</sup> Apart from confirming when Marie's coronation roughly occurred in the first place, they allow us to draw conclusions on the preparations for the ceremony.

The nature of these sources steers our attention away from Marie and has led scholars to focus on how James V capitalised on her coronation to enhance his own public image as well as that of the Stewart dynasty generally. Thus, Carol Edington argues that it

<sup>380</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 23.

<sup>381</sup> The specific day, although only mentioned in the quote above, is likely. The financial entries for the coronation begin in October 1539, but they continue into February 1540. Furthermore, eleven chaplains "of the Kingis chapell being in Edinburcht at the Quenis coronatioun" were paid for their duties between 14 February and 12 March and the proposed date falls into this period. The year, which is not supplied by the *Diurnal* can also be inferred from these sources. See: TA, 7:297; Hence Dean's proposal of 8 February is quite unlikely: "Representations of Authority," 286.

<sup>382</sup> Gibson-Craig and Innes, *National MSS*, 2:22–25.

<sup>383</sup> Only Joan of England, first wife of David II, and Joan Beaufort, wife of James I were crowned on the same day as their husbands. The delay between accession and coronation ranged between one day in the case of Annabella Drummond and over a year for Euphemia Ross.

<sup>384</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 23.

<sup>385</sup> Refer to Chapter 2: III)

<sup>386</sup> NRS, PC 5/4, fos. 138v–139r; On Henrietta Maria's absence, see: Dougal Shaw, "Scotland's Place in Britain's Coronation Tradition," *Court Historian* 9 (2004): 43.

<sup>387</sup> TA, 7:254, 277–278, 285–286, 297, 302, 347; Paton, *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, 288.

served as the stage for the public introduction of imperial imagery in Scotland in the form of a refashioned crown, first displayed by James on this occasion. It was his own kingship that James wished to accentuate and the event provided him with the opportunity to do so.<sup>388</sup> This interpretation of Marie's coronation as a showcase for Stewart kingship is seconded by Thomas and Dean. The latter further broadens the scope of this thesis to include previous consort coronations.<sup>389</sup> Although Dean discusses both king- and queenship over the course of four centuries, the structure of her thesis accentuates the display of kingship and thereby automatically subordinates consort ceremonies to the regnant monarch's perspective. She confirms Downie's findings that "the institution of the queen's coronation in the fourteenth century was [...] part of an overall domestic political interest in strengthening the institution of monarchy" and upholds the claim for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>390</sup> Marshall alone takes a Marie-centric perspective in illustrating the coronation's significance as a guarantee of Marie's queenship. Without the ceremony, or so Marshall argues, Marie remained vulnerable and only with it was she well and truly queen.<sup>391</sup>

Scholars mostly agree that James deliberately delayed Marie's coronation until she became pregnant and Marshall even implies that eventually James might have repudiated Marie if she would have failed in her duty to provide him with heirs.<sup>392</sup> Indubitably, Marie was approximately six months pregnant at the time of the ceremony in February 1540. Furthermore, the first entry in the *Treasurer Accounts* from October 1539, listing expenses incurred by the goldsmith John Mosman in fashioning the queen's crown, might well have coincided with Marie's discovery of her pregnancy.<sup>393</sup> However, it is unlikely that awaiting this pregnancy was the sole reason for the delay. Marie's previous fertility was a convincing argument in her favour as a marriage candidate, she had already proven herself capable of bearing sons. Upon the one other occasion during which a consort coronation was delayed for a year or more, the queen in question, Euphemia Ross, had previously borne sons to her husband Robert II before their joint accession.<sup>394</sup> The principal distinction between Marie and her immediate predecessor Madeleine de Valois – for whom the

<sup>388</sup> Edington, *Court and Culture*, 111.

<sup>389</sup> Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 63; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 11, 213–214, 239, 287, 290.

<sup>390</sup> Downie, *Queenship in Scotland*, 87–89; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 212–213.

<sup>391</sup> Marshall, *Mary of Guise (1977)*, 79–80; Ritchie deals with the coronation in a half-sentence, in *Mary of Guise*, 14. Although she studies Marie's political role before her regency, she does not consider her time as queen consort in any detail.

<sup>392</sup> Edington, *Court and Culture*, 111; Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 63; Marshall, *Mary of Guise (1977)*, 78; In her more recent chapter on Marie de Guise, Rosalind K. Marshall only mentions the coronation in passing: *Scottish Queens, 1034–1714* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2003), 115; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 287.

<sup>393</sup> TA, 7:254; In two letters, presumably from October 1539, Antoine, duc de Lorraine and Antoinette, duchesse de Guise, express their hope that "Dieu [...] vous doyent byen tost ung beau fyls." App. T13. See: Marguerite Wood, ed., *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, From the Originels in the Balcarres Papers*, Publications of the Scottish History Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, 4 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1923), 1:8–19, pp. 33–36. It is unclear whether they were aware of her pregnancy by this point.

<sup>394</sup> Robert was crowned in 1371, whereas Euphemia was not crowned before 1372 or quite possibly 1373. Boardman surmises that the delay was caused by succession debates, since Euphemia was Robert II's second wife and the sons of her predecessor legally superior to her own children in terms of primogeniture. "Euphemia (b. in or before 1329?, d. 1388/9)," *ODNB*; Downie agrees with his conclusions: *Queenship in Scotland*, 89–90.

coronation was supposedly planned immediately – was Marie's lower rank.<sup>395</sup> This however, is equally unlikely to have been the sole reason. Three other possibilities may prove feasible. The first is the wish to honour Madeleine's memory by preventing a direct association between the receptions of the two queens. The second is the financial situation in 1538, whereby a third of Marie's dowry was withheld until their first anniversary in 1539.<sup>396</sup> By that time, James would have been conscious of the fact that his wife was not yet pregnant. Another contributing factor might have been the acquisition of gold for the refashioning of the regalia and Marie's role in procuring it. Miners from Lorraine, requested specifically by Marie from her father, arrived in July 1539 and took up work in the mines of Crawford Muir thereafter. In a similar vein, Jonathan Spangler highlights the impact of masons, sent by her father in the same year, on the architectural scheme of James V.<sup>397</sup> Finally, Dean suggests that the urgency to crown Marie immediately might have been lessened by the fact that the queen dowager Margaret Tudor, an anointed queen of Scotland, was alive and well.<sup>398</sup> In this case, Marie's pregnancy could well have been an argument in favour of a coronation, to confirm her status publicly before the birth of legitimate heirs to the throne. The combination of these factors seems likely to have induced James and the Scottish elite to first defer and then hold the coronation in February 1540.

Regardless of the role of Marie's pregnancy in initiating the coronation, her visible pregnancy assisted James V's representation of the strength and virility of the Stewart dynasty. The scene was set at Holyrood Abbey, which Dean has shown to have been "favoured [by Scottish monarchs] as the ceremonial setting" of weddings and consort coronations from 1449 onwards.<sup>399</sup> As the fourth such coronation in sequence to be staged at Edinburgh, Stewart monarchs attempted to shift the ceremonial focus to this centralised location. However, for a multitude of reasons this centralisation never extended to the wider range of royal ceremonies, particularly to the monarch's coronation. To an extent this also applied to the officiator at the ceremony of both kings and queens. The primate of Scotland, David Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews "sang mess that day" and in all probability performed the coronation and unction.<sup>400</sup> His involvement heralded the

<sup>395</sup> Only one administrative source refers to the coronation specifically, the others merely mention the preparations made for the couple's arrival: *TA*, 6:313, 303, 310; 17 March 1535–1536, in "1536," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 2; Lindsay of the Mount refers specifically to the coronation "in the fair Abbey of the Haly Rude." This implies that it was to take place shortly after her arrival, while in Edinburgh. David Lindsay, *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490–1555*, ed. Douglas Hamer, Scottish Text Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1931), 1:111; However, as Dean points out, the extant sources do not mention the preparation of a crown for Madeleine, which would have been essential for a swift coronation. Generally, Scottish consorts do not appear to pass on their regalia to one another in the sixteenth century. See: Dean, "Representations of Authority," 287.

<sup>396</sup> Refer to Chapter 3: II)

<sup>397</sup> *TA*, 7:48, 182, 184; Jonathan Spangler, "Aulic Spaces Transplanted: The Design and Layout of a Franco-Burgundian Court in a Scottish Palace," *The Court Historian* 14, no. 1 (2009): 59.

<sup>398</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 287; See Thomas's argument on this matter, in: "Crown Imperial," 63.

<sup>399</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 276; Edinburgh is mentioned in: *TA*, 7:254; Holyrood: Paton, *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, 288; Abbey church: Thomson, *Diurnal*, 23.

<sup>400</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 23; His presence at the coronation is further confirmed by a record of his expenses for new sandals of red damask: Robert K. Hannay, ed. and trans., *Rentale Sancti Andree, Being the Chamberlain and Granitar Accounts of the Archbishopric in the Time of Cardinal Betoun, 1538–1546*,

close association between himself and Marie de Guise in the years to come. In the past, however, both for monarchs and consorts, the (arch-)bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld and Dunblane officiated at some coronations, particularly in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. As mentioned previously, extant sources suggest that James capitalised on Marie's coronation to further develop his own monarchical iconography, which depended on the display of the *Honours of Scotland*. Unlike the English equivalents, they had little legendary background. The sceptre and sword had been papal gifts to James IV, the first supposedly by Alexander VI in 1494 and the second by Julius II in 1507. The sword featured religious motifs and incorporated the emblems of its donor. The sceptre combined religious with Scottish iconography, the latter represented by a figure of St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland.<sup>401</sup> The crown's origins are unknown, but segments of it probably predate the sceptre and sword. All three items underwent extensive remodelling between 1532 and 1540, to enhance and personalise them. The sword only needed repairs, but a new section was inserted into the sceptre, featuring fleur-de-lys, thistles and James V's monogram, thereby significantly extending its length.<sup>402</sup> The work on the sceptre and sword was concluded before the marriage to Madeleine in 1537, but the crown underwent extensive remodelling, both in 1532 and again immediately before Marie's coronation in 1540. Whether or not the crown's imperial arches date from 1532, in 1540 they were carefully detached alongside the jewels and pearls, before the principal circlet was melted down and recrafted with additional gold. The new design featured alternating fleur-de-lys with crosses fleury, an additional 23 precious stones added to the original gems and pearls and a new orb and cross of French workmanship for its centre above the reattached arches. The cross, like the sceptre bears James V's initials.<sup>403</sup> The combination of original items honoured by tradition or consecrated by the highest Christian authority on Earth, the pope, together with elements specifically fashioned to promote general, specifically Scottish and distinct personal symbols of royal authority, clearly demonstrate James's keen appreciation of ceremony. A flurry of activity resumes in 1539 and particularly in 1540 in close proximity to the date of Marie's coronation. This centred around Marie's regalia, two sets of robes royal for her and the king and finally the king's crown "deliverit to the Kingis [grace] in the palice of Halyrudehous the viij day of Februar following."<sup>404</sup> The evidence suggest that the crown was present during the ceremony, but the circumstantial nature of these claims

---

Publications of the Scottish History Society 4 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1913), 93; See Dean on the history of consort consecrations: "Representations of Authority," 240, 261–262, 272, 276. She finds two references to the anointing of consorts, but only for Margaret Tudor is the evidence conclusive. For papal bull see fn. 373.

<sup>401</sup> Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 55–57; Charles Burns, "Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs: The Golden Rose and the Blessed Sword," *Innes Review* 20 (1969): 162, 167, 171–172, 177–178, esp. App. 164, p. 189; Alexander J. Brook, "Technical description of the regalia of Scotland," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 24 (1889–1890): 94–115; Brian Barker, *The Symbols of Sovereignty* (Newton Abbot: Westbridge Books, 1979), 224–228; For images see: Charles J. Burnett and Christopher J. Tabraham, "The Honours of Scotland: The Story of the Scottish Crown Jewels," (1993): 16–23.

<sup>402</sup> TA, 6:285–286; Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 55–57; Barker, *Symbols of Sovereignty*, 225–226.

<sup>403</sup> TA, 6:25–26, 73, 179, 7:278; Brook, "Regalia of Scotland," 56–93; Barker, *Symbols of Sovereignty*, 217–223; Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 59–61. Thomas argues that the arches were first attached in 1532; Dean suggests that arches were added in 1503. See: "Representations of Authority," 177.

<sup>404</sup> TA, 7:278.

does not reveal in what manner it was used. Furthermore, the only proof that the sword and sceptre were present on this occasion, is that a sword of honour was occasionally associated with monarchs during previous consort coronations. Yet despite the circumstantial nature of the evidence, Dean assumes that James was invested with the full regalia and both she and Thomas deduce that he wore the crown during the proceedings.<sup>405</sup> Provided that the crown was present, it is equally conceivable that it was displayed in proximity to the king, particularly since on former occasions the king attended bareheaded. If James V attended in full regalia then Dean is certainly justified in her assessment that the king's unprecedented appearance visually subordinated Marie. However, the evidence is too scanty to draw any definitive conclusions.<sup>406</sup>

The coronation's significance for Marie should not be underestimated, particularly since it was the first occasion on which she appeared in front of her subjects, invested in full consort regalia. These included a crown and sceptre, as well as her royal robes of purple velvet. The entire set was newly created specifically for her between October 1539 and February 1540. Thirty-five ounces of Scottish gold went into the crown, which was additionally beset with precious stones. The sceptre, by contrast consisted of "xxxj unces half unce of silver" and was later gilded.<sup>407</sup> Based on an inventory from 1542, we may deduce that this sceptre culminated in "ane quhyt hand," thereby imitating the French *main de justice*. This was an unmistakable symbol of the queen's role in preserving justice, as well as an illustration of her close association with France. While details of the 1540 ceremony do not survive, on a previous occasion, the king rather than a prelate invested the queen with the sceptre, thereby acknowledging a direct but dependent link between his own dispensation and safeguarding of justice and her judiciary role.<sup>408</sup> The newly fashioned consort regalia accentuated Marie's position and demonstrated her own contribution to the monarchy, both in terms of alliances, expertise and resources, as well as aiding the augmentation of royal symbolism. With the colour and fabric of her "rob royall" echoing James's attire in purple velvet with a white taffeta lining, the coronation was a joint display of monarchical authority.<sup>409</sup> The queen both aided and enhanced the king's authority, but also lay claim to an authority of her own, which would cease in the absence of a consort. It is important to underline the interdependence of both partners on one another. The greater the connections of the consort, especially on the international stage, the greater was the possibility but also the need for the monarch to enhance his ceremonial representation.

<sup>405</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 271, 289–290; Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 63.

<sup>406</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 289.

<sup>407</sup> *TA*, 7:278, 285–286.

<sup>408</sup> Thomas Thomson, ed., *A Collection of Inventories and Other Records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse, and of the Artillery and Munitioun in Some of the Royal Castles, 1488–1606* (Edinburgh: 1815), 76; Also see: Dean, "Representations of Authority," 276, 289, 317; Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 64.

<sup>409</sup> *TA*, 7:277. Although the material was identical, the price for the queen's fabric was slightly higher while the king, received more of it; The feature of like attire began in the fifteenth century: Dean, "Representations of Authority," 255–256, 289.

Despite the ceremony's significance for both James and Marie, the coronation was allegedly confined to the royal domain of Holyrood Palace. There is no indication in the extant, albeit fragmentary, burgh records of any procession through Edinburgh or the Canongate and since the ceremony took place in Holyrood Abbey, there was no need for the king and queen to leave the grounds. This was not unusual. Consequently, the principal audience consisted of the religious and temporal elites of the kingdom, perhaps enhanced by a civic deputation. Entries for wood in the *Accounts of the Masters of Works* suggest that James had a construction of some sort erected.<sup>410</sup> The details provided do not suffice to conclude what its immediate purpose was, but previous suggestions range from exterior jousting structures, to scaffolding inside the Abbey, either for tiered stalls to seat the audience or a raised platform according to the English example, to increase the visibility of the ceremony for all spectators.<sup>411</sup> All of these propositions are equally plausible and accord with the theory that an effort was made to incorporate the select audience into the proceedings. The secluded setting, however, might begin to explain why the narrative sources largely ignore the event, however other ceremonies mentioned by them are similarly confined to the royal domain. Despite James's documented efforts to promote a grander and imperial iconography, history has largely ignored Marie's coronation. Official printed accounts of ceremonies only appear under James VI, so potential heraldic manuscripts and oral eyewitness accounts were the only sources of information for contemporary chroniclers. This implies that the publicity ceremonies like this coronation achieved, sufficed to project the concept of royal authority in the Scottish context. The ceremony was undoubtedly important, both for James V and Marie, as well as for the Scottish elites, but unlike in England and France it only transpired in a carefully controlled and secluded environment.

---

<sup>410</sup> See: Paton, *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, 288.

<sup>411</sup> Edington, *Court and Culture*, 111; Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 65; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 287–288.

### III) Mary Stewart

On Sunday, 9 September 1543 Mary Stewart was crowned at the chapel royal in Stirling castle. She had become queen of Scotland in the first week of her birth and at nine months old, was still too young to actively participate in the ceremony. Nonetheless, as the sixth royal minor to be crowned, religion and gender had little bearing on the ceremony. Instead, in the context of English attempts to broker a personal union of the crowns with a marriage between Mary Stewart and Edward VI, the importance of asserting Scottish independence dominated the symbolism of the event.

The coronation was significant enough to find its way into sixteenth-century histories and chronicles. Yet although it was apparently performed "with greit triumphe," contemporary chroniclers reveal few details of the nature of the ceremony, chiefly because they did not witness the occasion.<sup>412</sup> The only foreign commentaries on the event, by the English commissioner Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir William Parr, warden of the marches, are similarly brief, although both men played prominent roles in the Anglo-Scottish politics of 1543. They too, however, were not involved in the ceremonies.<sup>413</sup> Furthermore, as mentioned previously, medieval Scottish coronation *ordos* are no longer extant.<sup>414</sup>

What then was the political importance of a ceremony considered "not very costly" by Sadler?<sup>415</sup> His assessment, especially in the absence of other detailed information, has long influenced portrayals of the celebrations despite his obvious bias and the important fact, that he did not witness the celebrations first hand. Even Marcus Merriman, for whom the coronation was "a political act of the first importance" and "Mary [Stewart]'s first big moment on the stage of Scottish, British and European History," refers to it as "modest, austere and low key" in comparison with later Scottish coronations.<sup>416</sup> Only recently, has

<sup>412</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 25; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 5; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:15; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 169, 174–175; Dickinson, *History*, 1:50.

<sup>413</sup> Sir Ralph Sadler to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, 11 September 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32652, fos. 69–70r; Printed in: *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.2:174; Joseph Bain, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century. Formerly in the Possession of the Dukes of Hamilton, now in the British Museum*, Camden Society, New Series (London: H.M. General Register House, 1892), 2:26, pp. 31–33; Arthur Clifford and Walter Scott, eds., *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, (Edinburgh: Constable, 1809), 1:287–289. Sadler sent Henry Ray, Berwick pursuivant, to Stirling to report on the situation there, but this report is not transmitted; Parr to Suffolk, Warkworth, 13 September 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32652, f. 81; Printed in: "Sep 1543, 11–15," *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.2:181; Bain, *Hamilton Papers*, 2:30, pp. 38–41.

<sup>414</sup> Although the seventeenth-century "Forme" claims to reiterate the coronation order of former centuries, it must be approached with care. Thus, the partiality of its author, Jerome Lindsay, Lyon king of arms, might explain the unusual prominence of this herald in the proceedings. See: Lindsay, "Forme," 6–11; For a discussion of the "Forme's" reliability, see: Lyall, "Coronation Service," 3–21; Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 53; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 185.

<sup>415</sup> Sadler to Henry VIII, 11 September 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32652, f. 70r; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 111.

<sup>416</sup> Examples of historians influenced by Sadler's assessment: Edington, *Court and Culture*, 111; Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 26; Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*, 127; The coronation is referred to by all of Mary's biographers in varying detail, but has had little impact on scholarship beyond Merriman's short discussion of it as well as mere passing references by researchers of Scottish sixteenth-century ceremony: David H. Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots from her Birth to her Flight into England: A Brief Biography, with Critical Notes, a Few Documents Hitherto Unpublished, and an Itinerary* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897), 7; Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 26; Guy, *My Heart Is My Own*, 25; Marshall, *Mary of Guise (1977)*, 133; Rosalind K. Marshall, *Mary of Guise: Queen of Scots, Scots' Lives* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 2001), 53; Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, 3:17; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 111; Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 53.

the coronation been studied in any detail, as part of Dean's thesis on Scottish ceremonial. Dean's focus lies on the financing of the event as well as the relevance of her minority with regard to ceremonial. Much of the latter is based on sparse source material and her conclusions as well as the ones I will make in the following necessarily rely on a number of conjectures.<sup>417</sup> What is striking though, is how the ceremony oscillated between adaptation and continuity.

In 1543 its context is crucial to understand the coronation's timing and significance. Both were closely associated with the latest developments in Anglo-Scottish relations and to some extent with Scotland's relations with the continental powers, above all France. A few months before, Mary Stewart's distant future had first been determined by the Earl of Arran, governor of Scotland and later Duke of Châtellherault in the Anglo-Scottish peace negotiations, which concluded in the treaties of Greenwich on 1 July 1543. These, among other things, proposed the marriage of Mary and Edward, son and heir of Henry VIII, as a lasting resolution to the latest outbreak of the Anglo-Scottish Wars in 1541. The rapprochement with England, the intended personal union of both countries and particularly a clause ensuring the young queen's upbringing in England from the completion of her tenth year onwards, increasingly fostered support for the Francophile opposition party led by Cardinal David Beaton and supported by Marie de Guise.<sup>418</sup> Within a month of the treaties the Scots changed policy and eventually the Estates officially annulled them, although not before December 1543.<sup>419</sup> As the first important step in this direction, on 26 or 27 July, with the "common assent of all parties," Marie de Guise and the infant queen moved from Linlithgow to Stirling castle. Not only did a "gret army" led by Beaton's supporters accompany them on their journey, but their destination was Scotland's best-fortified royal castle, strategically situated at the threshold to the highlands and additionally forming part of Marie de Guise's jointure lands. It was thus a place, where Arran could not exert his full influence as governor, despite the supposed neutrality of Mary's guardians.<sup>420</sup> Furthermore, a group of Scottish lords had signed a bond at Linlithgow immediately before the move, pledging themselves to prevent – by force if need be – anyone from removing the young queen to England. They had also declared their

<sup>417</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 189–197.

<sup>418</sup> Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscumque generis acta publica*[...]. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Tonson, 1728), 14:786–792, 792–796; Transl. as: "The Treaties With Scotland," Greenwich, 1 July 1543, in "July 1543, 1–5," *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.1: 804; For a more detailed account of the months leading up to the treaties as well as of the ensuing political changes, see: Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*, 113–125.

<sup>419</sup> The explanation given is that Henry broke the peace and failed to ratify the treaties. See: "Legislation: Renunciation of the Treaties of Greenwich," *RPS* (1543/12/31).

<sup>420</sup> Sadler to Henry VIII, Edinburgh, 26 July 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32651, fos. 144, 141 (298); Printed in: Joseph Bain, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century*. Formerly in the Possession of the Dukes of Hamilton, now in the British Museum, Camden Society, New Series (London: H.M. General Register House, 1890), 1:426, 425, pp. 597, 593; "July 1543, 21–25," *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.1:951, 952. Arran and Beaton each appointed two guardians for Mary; Parr to Suffolk, Warkwourth, 26 July 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32651, f. 147 (298); Printed in: Bain, *Hamilton Papers*, 1:427, p. 597; "Jul 1543, 21–25," *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.1:949; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 174; Parr to Suffolk, July enclosed in Suffolk and Tunstall to Privy Council, Darnton, 2 August, in NRS, E 33/3/4, f. 139; Printed in: Bain, *Hamilton Papers*, 1:433, pp. 602, 606 and 437, p. 614; "July 1543, 25–31," *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.1:966, 978; Clifford and Scott, *Sadler State Papers*, 1; Merriman speaks of a company of "2500 horsemen and a thousand heavily armed men on foot," in Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*, 126; *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* ed. Michael Lynch (Oxford: OUP, 2001), s.v. "Stirling/Stirling Castle", 591.



queen a captive of the English and so her move in their company could be considered a liberation of her person.<sup>421</sup> Arran meanwhile, professed his assurance that Mary “was in good and indifferent keeping,” where “she woolbe preserved [...] till she be of the yeres appoynted for her delyverance to be maryed in England.”<sup>422</sup> On 25 August the treaties were ratified at Holyrood, in the absence of Beaton’s party.<sup>423</sup> On 3 September Arran met with Beaton at Falkirk and switched sides. He accompanied Beaton to Stirling and the coronation proceeded but six days later.<sup>424</sup>

In view of the recent estrangement from England, the date of the coronation, on the thirtieth anniversary of the battle of Flodden – a catastrophic defeat for the Scots, which also cost them their king – was particularly significant. Despite their heavy losses both in 1513 and 1542, the Stewart dynasty prevailed. Furthermore, the fact that Mary was crowned immediately after Arran’s defection highlights the importance of the ceremony in asserting Scotland’s independence and in safeguarding its “ancient laws and liberties.”<sup>425</sup> Scottish independence was regularly established in opposition to England, the *auld ennemie*. In 1543, an anointed sovereign, regardless of her gender or minority, was a powerful signal towards other European powers. Mary’s gender, although irrelevant in the ceremony proper, played an important part in the eventual delay of her coronation. At first, the recent military defeat at Solway Moss on 24 November 1542, her young age and her mother’s withdrawal from the public eye in the weeks after her birth prevented any ceremonial to be enacted. Initially, her baptism would have taken precedence, although it has left few traces in the records.<sup>426</sup> However, once these impediments were removed and the baptism concluded, the Anglo-Scottish alliance and English influence was already strengthening and Henry VIII would surely have preferred a joint coronation with his son after their marriage. The fact that Mary was a girl, permitted this logic. However, once the Scottish nobility wished to assert Scotland’s independence, the coronation became crucial and gender no longer played a role. From 9 September onwards, Mary was widely recognised not only as the rightful, but for the moment sole monarch of Scotland.

The September ceremony centred on a show of renewed unity of the Scottish elites. In view of the queen’s young age, these elites largely directed the coronation and its surrounding events. Herries claims that “a parliament was convened at Stirlin [...] where

<sup>421</sup> Copy of the “Secret Band” by Cardinal Beaton and others, 24 July 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32651, f. 213; Printed in: Bain, *Hamilton Papers*, 1:446, pp. 630–632; “Jul 1543, 21–25,” *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.1:945; For a more detailed discussion of the bond, see: Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 55–56.

<sup>422</sup> Sadler to Henry VIII, 28 July 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32651, f. 159; Printed in: Bain, *Hamilton Papers*, 1:433, p. 604; “Jul 1543, 25–31,” *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.1:966.

<sup>423</sup> Sadler to Suffolk, Parr and Tunstall, Edinburgh, 24 August 1543 and Sadler to Henry VIII, 25 August, in BL, Add. MS 32651, fos. 261, 263; Printed in: Clifford and Scott, *Sadler State Papers*, 1:269–270; “August 1543, 21–25,” *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.2:72, 79.

<sup>424</sup> Sadler to Henry V, Edinburgh, 5 September, in BL, Add. MS 32652, f. 41; Printed in: Clifford and Scott, *Sadler State Papers*, 1:282–283; Bain, *Hamilton Papers*, 2:13, p. 19; “September 1543, 1–5,” *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.2:132; There are no extant records detailing the planning of the coronation by the Scots. The English first mention it in a letter from Parr to Suffolk, Warkwourth, 5 September 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32652, f. 38; Printed in: Bain, *Hamilton Papers*, 2:12, p. 17; “Sep 1543, 1–5,” *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.2:131.

<sup>425</sup> This phrase reappears continuously, but here is taken from the “Treaties With Scotland,” 1 July 1543, in “Jul 1543, 1–5,” *L&P Henry VIII*, 18.1: 804.

<sup>426</sup> TA, 8:165.

the young Queen was crowned."<sup>427</sup> It is implausible that the coronation proceeded within a full Parliament, since for 1543 the only recorded sessions began in March and December and proceeded in Edinburgh. Nonetheless, other sources refer to "the lords [that] convened at Stirling," to a notice to the Estates to attend the coronation and the "universall consent of the nobylitye and estaitis" thereunto.<sup>428</sup> Members of the Estates traditionally attended the coronation, but in this instance the ritual appears to have been integrated into a semi-formal convention involving "all the principall Erlis, Lordes, Bischoppes and Commissioneris of burrowis."<sup>429</sup> Within this convention, according to English testimony, on the two days prior to the coronation, Arran confessed his former – religious – sins, performed his penance and received absolution. Reinstated into a symbolically unified community, he resumed his central role as governor and tutor to the queen in the coronation ceremony. In the procession either to or from the chapel, or even both, he bore the crown before the queen, alongside two other prominent nobles of the kingdom, Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox and next-in-line in the Scottish succession after Arran with the sceptre and Archibald Campbell, fourth Earl of Argyle with the sword.<sup>430</sup> Cardinal Beaton as archbishop of St Andrews officiated the ceremony and probably crowned and anointed Mary, but it is impossible to determine who organised the entire event.<sup>431</sup> The sources indicate that the calculated display of unity was only broken by the absence of the anglophile 'Assured Lords', including the three earls of Angus, Glencairn and Cassilis as well as several lords.<sup>432</sup>

Tradition played an important role, but to what extent one can only conjecture due to the lack of details in the sources on this and previous occasions. Except for Buchanan's reference to the "consuetis ceremonijs" the chronicles largely evoke the "greit triumphe" and "solempnitie" of the occasion rather than tradition.<sup>433</sup> The little we do know of the coronation implies a combination of tradition, creativity and adaptability. Its celebration on a Sunday carried religious significance, but this was merely conventional – especially in a European context – and not a prerequisite.<sup>434</sup> Furthermore, Mary was only the second of the Stewart monarchs crowned at Stirling, a precedent set by her father in 1513. The setting suggests that John, fifth Lord Erskine played an important role in the proceedings as keeper of Stirling Castle, but his exact involvement remains elusive in extant records.<sup>435</sup> The confinement of such ceremonies to royal domains more generally was customary, as

---

<sup>427</sup> Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 5.

<sup>428</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:15; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 169, 174.

<sup>429</sup> Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 174.

<sup>430</sup> Argyle supposedly disdained the anglophile nobles according to: Harrison, *People, Places & Process*, 200.

<sup>431</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 5:358; The ordinance is not very clear on this point. See: Lindsay, "Forme," 7–8.

<sup>432</sup> Sadler to Henry VIII, 11 September 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32652, f. 70r; On the 'Assured Lords' see: Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*, 113–116.

<sup>433</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:15; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 25; Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia (1583)*, 153b; Sadler refers to tradition when he informs Henry VIII that the coronation proceeded "with such solemnity as they do use in this country," 11 September 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32652, f. 70r.

<sup>434</sup> Before Mary three Stewart kings were crowned on a Sunday, four on a weekday.

<sup>435</sup> Harrison, *People, Places & Process*, 206–207.

well as expedient for a nine-month old queen.<sup>436</sup> The day of festivities apparently comprised the short procession to and from the chapel, the principal ceremony within it, as well as a banquet thereafter.<sup>437</sup> Beaton's role as officiator broke the sequence of three Stewart coronations possibly officiated by the (arch-) bishop of Glasgow, but complied with the papal bull of 1329. The regalia mentioned by Parr amount to the three *Honours of Scotland* refashioned by James V and surviving today. Their prominence in the display of sovereignty in Scotland is unquestionable. Above all, in the face of earlier history and the abduction of their antecedents by England's Edward I in 1296, these "honours took on mythical significance as physical representations of an independent nation."<sup>438</sup> With their use, Mary was presented as her father's rightful heir, a Stewart worthy of the anointment and regalia that she was about to receive. Their symbolism substantiated the independence theme of Mary's coronation. Noble bearers might have been customary by the sixteenth century, but the positions do not appear to have been hereditary or even tied to offices. The seventeenth-century "Forme" only decrees the Lord Chancellor and other unspecified noblemen as bearers of the principal and lesser regalia in the return procession. In 1543, however, rather than a noble, Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, was chancellor. During James VI's coronation in 1567 the bearers differed completely. The choice appears to have been made based on prominence and availability at each individual event. Unfortunately, we lack a similar list of bearers from James V's coronation as a further – anterior – point of reference. However, Dean muses that the prominent role of "leading earls" emerged in the sixteenth century alongside a more marked involvement of heralds such as the Lyon king of arms.<sup>439</sup> The "Forme" further suggests that the coronation regalia also comprised royal robes, the royal seal and spurs but it is impossible to verify their presence in 1543. These lesser items were to be borne by the hereditary Earl Marischal and Lord High Constable. The royal robes alone are mentioned on previous occasions, albeit elusively.<sup>440</sup> Still, the spurs as the symbol of knighthood call attention to one aspect of the ceremony, which was probably influenced by Mary's gender. Habitually, Scottish monarchs were knighted before their coronation while she was not. However, there had been other exceptions to the rule, irrespective of gender.<sup>441</sup>

<sup>436</sup> This changed with the coronation of James VI in 1567, which proceeded in Stirling's parish church. See: Thomson, *Diurnal*, 118.

<sup>437</sup> The entries regarding the feast are listed among Marie de Guise's expenses and some refer directly to the coronation. See: NRS, E 33/3/4, fos. 26–30; Discussed in: Dean, "Representations of Authority," 193.

<sup>438</sup> Mann, "Symbolism and Ritual," 484.

<sup>439</sup> Lindsay, "Forme," 7–8, 11; Parr to Suffolk, 13 September 1543, in BL, Add. MS 32652, f. 81; Lesley lists John Stewart, fourth Earl of Atholl as bearing the crown, James Douglas, fourth Earl of Morton the sceptre and Alexander Cunningham, fourth Earl of Glencairn as bearing the sword. See: *Historie*, 17; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 185; Richard D. Oram, "Dunbar, Gavin (c. 1490 – 1547)," *ODNB*; During the 'riding' to Parliament, senior nobles bore the regalia. See: Mann, "Symbolism and Ritual," 482.

<sup>440</sup> Lindsay, "Forme," 8. At the beginning of Mary's reign, the two officeholders were William Keith and George Hay, seventh Earl of Erroll. Their involvement in the ceremony is possible, but remains purely speculative; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 127, 155, 178. There is no reference to the robes or any other item associated with the coronation in the *Treasurer Accounts* in 1543.

<sup>441</sup> Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 47; James Cooper, *Four Scottish Coronations*, Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society and the Glasgow Ecclesiological Society Special Issue (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, 1902), 8.

It is impossible to trace many distinct Scottish features in the extant sources for 1543, but the "Forme," if reliable, can reveal certain details. The most crucial element is a revised order of proceedings concerning the monarch's oath when compared to English or French coronations. According to the "Forme," the monarch takes his oath after the unction, investiture and coronation and immediately before his subjects reciprocate with their oaths of fealty. The monarch's oath becomes a consequence rather than a prerequisite for the highest sanction of royalty. This suggests that as monarchs they transcended the laws of the kingdom and their acknowledgement of their duty was subjected to their divine right to rule.<sup>442</sup> Due to Mary's age, this part of the proceedings must have been delegated to a proxy, possibly to Beaton or Arran. No such adaptation was necessary for the subsequent act of homage, for which the monarch's crown is removed and placed nearby. As the peers kneel and recite their oaths, they symbolically touch the crown, rather than the person.<sup>443</sup> This ritual, if it transpired as such, suggests that homage is due first and foremost to the enduring office, to the body politic or the monarchy per se, and only by consequence to the body natural, i.e. the person filling it. The arrangement is particularly expedient in the case of a minor. A similar example, although in a more dynastic context, is the Lyon king's recitation of the monarch's genealogy of up to six generations, which supposedly preceded the act of crowning.<sup>444</sup> This is a strong symbol of the enduring dynasty and body politic, embodied by many individuals.

Several other elements obscure this image of supreme, enduring and unlimited power. First, as Lyall points out, the direct association between coronation oath and the subsequent act of homage creates a stronger contractual relationship between monarch and subjects than in the English or French ceremony.<sup>445</sup> Secondly, the extant copy of an oath for James II from the 1445 Parliament, implies that upon this occasion at least, the king swore a second oath in a parliamentary setting eight years after his accession as a minor. This oath not only emphasised James's duties towards "God and halykirk" but also "to the thre estatis of [his] realm."<sup>446</sup> As during the coronation, the Estates appear to have reciprocated immediately with their own oaths of fealty. Historians have interpreted this parliamentary procedure as a sign of the rising importance of the Estates and their ability to limit the monarch's sovereignty.<sup>447</sup> There is no evidence to suggest similar proceedings for later monarchs, but the oath's wording might have influenced that of the coronation. Furthermore, in 1543 Parliament first convened in March, well before Mary's September coronation. Generally, although not exclusively, the Scottish Estates convened after the

---

<sup>442</sup> Lindsay, "Forme," 8–9; Also see: Thomas, "Crown Imperial," 55; Shaw, "Scotland's Place," 51.

<sup>443</sup> Lindsay, "Forme," 9.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>445</sup> Lyall, "Coronation Service," 19.

<sup>446</sup> "Procedure: Oaths of Homage and Fealty," *RPS* (1445/3-6).

<sup>447</sup> Roland J. Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament: Politics and the Three Estates, 1424–1488*, Scottish Historical Review Monographs Series 12 (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2001), 112–115; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 167–168.

ceremony.<sup>448</sup> This deviation potentially changed the association between them and the queen, with the latter more dependent on the former. Nevertheless, during Mary's minority government lay in the hands of a regent and from September onwards an accompanying regency council. Both received their authorisation from the Estates. The Scots were also well acquainted with the restructuring of power after a monarch reached majority.

Mary's coronation, as far as we know, was largely typical of late medieval and renaissance Scottish coronations. Her gender mattered little, especially since she was a baby not yet a year old. Her age was also of little consequence, as with time the rituals as well as the exercise of government had been adapted to function during minorities. This decisive moment for Mary had little resonance abroad, except for the sneering remarks of English diplomats on the lacking costliness of the proceedings. There was no need for the minority government to impress continental powers with the opulence of Scottish ritual, the ceremony sufficed to substantiate Scottish independence towards England. For the young queen, it did not immediately change anything. Scottish king- and queenship was bestowed through and graced with divine sanction, but it did not lay claim to divinity itself. Nonetheless, the coronation was considered an indispensable monarchical ritual. Towards the end of her life, after her forced abdication, facing trial for treason and subsequent execution, Mary would define herself by referring to the sanctity of the transformation brought about by the coronation as she asserted her royal privileges and immunity as "anoynnted Queene of Scotlande."<sup>449</sup>

---

<sup>448</sup> Parliament opened the day after the coronations of Robert II and James I. The coronation of James II appears to have been embedded in a Parliament, convening several days prior to the ritual.

<sup>449</sup> "Report of the Manner of the Execution of the Sc. Q.," 8 February 1587, in Henry Ellis, ed., *Original Letters Illustrative of English History, Including Numerous Royal Letters from Autographs in the British Museum, and One or Two Other Collections* (London: Harding & Lepard, 1827), 3:114.

## IV) Mary Tudor

Mary Tudor was crowned on Sunday, 1 October 1553 at Westminster Abbey. The principal festivities spanned four days, beginning with her procession to the Tower of London by water, the ceremony with which she created fifteen knights of the Bath, the civic procession by land from the Tower to Westminster and finally the coronation itself. In its combination, this powerful display of sovereign authority involved a multitude of people and ideas, but equally assigned each and everyone their time and place. The Imperial ambassadors refer to the coronation as the third and final regal act to confirm Mary's queenship, the two former consisting in her public proclamation and the accession entry discussed previously.<sup>450</sup> The coronation festivities were certainly the most spectacular series of rituals with which she distinguished herself from the rival claimant to the throne, Jane Grey. With their completion, Mary was England's first anointed queen regnant.

The significance of the English coronation ordinances – the two-centuries-old *Liber Regalis* and the "Devices" of Henry VII and Henry VIII – becomes apparent when contrasted with the lack of similar surviving testimony on the Scottish coronation proceedings.<sup>451</sup> They provide a framework within which any adaptations or continuities in the 1553 ceremonial can be assessed. The details of what transpired at Mary's coronation are derived from a combination of sources, ranging from heraldic manuscript accounts, to chronicles and diplomatic correspondence. The latter contains very animated accounts that were dispatched throughout the summer of 1553. Eyewitnesses included the French and Imperial ambassadors, as well as one Henry Penning, a special envoy sent by Cardinal Reginald Pole and the pope. Commendone also includes an account of the coronation in his extensive report on the situation in England from 1553 to 1554, but he had already left the country before the coronation.<sup>452</sup> The substantial similarities between Commendone's and another Italian account printed in Rome in 1553 suggest a common source. The Italian account was soon after translated and published in Spanish with minor adaptations. Clearly, both in Rome and Spain, the religious and administrative elites were distinctly interested in the consequences of the accession of an undeniably Catholic queen within a Protestant church.<sup>453</sup> By contrast, extant English reports on the coronation

<sup>450</sup> Ambassadors to Emperor, 6 August 1553, in "Aug 1553, 6–10," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11.

<sup>451</sup> "Liber Regalis," 81–112, 112–130; Hunt claims that this manuscript was in fact "almost [...] part of the regalia," as it was stored alongside them at Westminster Abbey. See: Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 21; "Little Device," 219–239.

<sup>452</sup> "Relation de l'entrée de la reine d'Angleterre dans Londres," 30 September 1553, in Rene A. de Vertot and Claude Villaret, eds., *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre* (Leyden: 1763), 2:196–203; Renard to Prince Philip, London, 3 October 1553, in "October 1553, 1–5," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Henry Penning's report to the Pope, [Dillingen, 21 October 1553?], in "October 1553, 16–31," *CSPV*, 5:813; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 99–131; Transl. as: "Events of the Kingdom of England," in Malfatti, *Accession, Coronation, and Marriage*, 3–61; Relevant individual diplomatic correspondence can be found in Louis-Prospere Gachard and Charles Piot, eds., *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, Collection de chroniques belges inédites (Brussels: Hayez, 1882), vol. 4; Pierre C. Weiss, ed., *Papiers d'état du cardinal de Granvelle d'après les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Besançon* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1843), vol. 4.

<sup>453</sup> *Coronation de la serenissima Reina Maria d'Inghilterra fatta il di primo d'Ottobre MD.LIII* (Rome: Bladus, 1553). This was supposedly printed from an eyewitness account by Italian merchants; A similar account by an unknown author was published by Antonio de Guarás, in *Relacion muy verdadera de A d G.: criado de la [...] reyna de Inglaterra* (Medina del Campo: Del Canto, 1554, sig. D2b–E2b; Repr. and transl. in Malfatti,

proceedings – largely compiled by heralds and including lists of participants, inventories and expenses – , remained one and all unpublished, a feature worth considering in the upcoming analysis.<sup>454</sup> The earliest descriptions to be published domestically can be found in chronicles, diaries or histories. In England, several contemporary London chronicles offer some first-hand and oftentimes detailed reports of Mary Tudor's coronation proceedings. They are especially instructive on the public elements of the ceremony, which their authors probably witnessed first-hand, such as the pageantry performed during Mary's coronation procession.<sup>455</sup>

Mary's coronation is one of the most rewarding rituals for historians of gender history. Most recent studies have discussed it in this context. From Richards to Duncan the question of how the ceremony – lacking applicable precedents – was adapted to accommodate Mary's gender on the one and adhered to tradition on the other hand instructs their research.<sup>456</sup> Although all the key changes have been discussed at length, there yet remain certain – limited – points to be made. Furthermore, a discussion of these issues is all the more necessary in the wider context of this thesis, in order to address the question of the ceremonial representation of Mary Tudor, but also to present a point of comparison to other ceremonies. Another related line of inquiry is the study of precedents as historians now recognise Mary as a ceremonial role-model for Elizabeth I.<sup>457</sup> Finally, the ceremony is equally significant in a religious context, as a potential early indicator of Mary's agenda to re-establish Catholic traditions and possibly papal supremacy.<sup>458</sup>

The sixteenth-century English four-day ritual was far more elaborate than the one-day coronation observed in Scotland and concentrated into a tighter time frame than its French equivalent, where the entry into the capital occurred separately at a later date. Most individual locations of the different stages, from the Tower for the knighting

---

*Accession, Coronation and Marriage*, 67–75, 117–123; Also see: "La Coronacion de la Inclita y Serenissima reyna dona Maria de Ynglaterra [...]," in *ibid.*, 150–155.

<sup>454</sup> CoA, MS I 7, fos. 65r–73v, 75r–77r; Other copies and inventories: CoA, MS I 18, fos. 113–115r, 116–132; CoA, MS W Y, fos. 120–121, 144–145r; TNA, SP 11/1, fos. 26–35; Printed in parts in: James R. Planché, *Regal Records: Or, a Chronicle of the Coronation of the Queens Regnant of England* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1838), 1–28; John Anstis, ed., *Observations Introductory to an Historical Essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath* (London: Woodman, 1725), App. 67, pp. 52–53; On the knighting ceremony: BL, Add. MS 4712, fos. 52–62; Printed in: Anstis, *Observations Introductory*, App. 68, pp. 53–56; BL, Cott. MS Nero C/IX, fos. 168v–170v; Printed in: Anstis, *Observations Introductory*, App. 88, pp. 99–106; On the coronation feast: BL, Add. MS 34320, fos. 84v–98r; BL, Add. MS 78184, fos. 1–16; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson B 146.

<sup>455</sup> John Mychel, *A Breuiat Chronicle Contayning All the Kynges, from Brute to This Day, and Many Notable Actes, Gathered out of Diuers Chronicles, from Willyam Conqueroure, Vnto the Yeare of Christ. M.V.C.LV. With the Mayors, and Shiryffes of the Citie of London, rev. ed.* (London: King, 1555), O2a; Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), 4:6–7. The 1577 edition does not provide any details of the event; Stow, *Chronicles of England, 1072–1075*; The following contemporary accounts remained unpublished: Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*; Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, vol. 2; Wingfield, "Vita Mariae Anglia"; Stow, "Two London Chronicles".

<sup>456</sup> Richards, "Gendering Tudor Monarchy," 895–924, esp. 897–902; Duncan, *Mary I*, chap. 2; Also see: Hilary Doda, "Lady Mary to Queen of England: Transformation, Ritual, and the Wardrobe of the Robes," in Duncan and Schutte, *Birth of a Queen*, 49–68, esp. 58–63; Anna Whitelock, "'A queen, and by the same title, a king also': Mary I: Queen-in-Parliament," in *ibid.*, 89–112, esp. 191–192; Hunt, "Reformation of Tradition," 63–80; Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 191–197; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 133–139; Beem, *Lioness Roared*, chap. 2, esp. 77–79.

<sup>457</sup> E.g. Hoak, "Coronations," 138; Richards, "Examples and Admonitions," 34–35, 42; Paulina Kewes, "Godly Queens: The Royal Iconographics of Mary and Elizabeth," in *Tudor Queenship*, ed. Hunt and Whitelock, 47–62; Hunt, "Reformation of Tradition," 69, 73–75; Whitelock, "Queen-in-Parliament," 104.

<sup>458</sup> Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 128–130; Strong, *Coronation*, 205–206; Hoak, "Coronations," 136–137.

ceremony to Westminster Abbey and Palace for the coronation and banquet were as predetermined as its overall setting in London. The different elements lead into one another as the queen travelled full circle twice to and from her royal domains in Westminster: originally by water from Whitehall to the Tower and back again on horseback through the city two days later. Then, on the final day of coronation she travelled by water and on foot from Whitehall to the Palace of Westminster and on to Westminster Abbey before eventually returning in a similar manner.<sup>459</sup> This traditional framework was well established and Mary's adherence to it was her greatest argument in favour of her legitimacy.

The combination of ceremonies ensured that the queen moved in and out of the public space, occasionally involving the general population and at other times purposefully excluding it. Hence her audience changed continuously, as did her partners in the dialogue, which every ritual enacted. Her journey on the Thames on Thursday, 28 September, and her civic procession across London on Saturday, 30 September, were the two most public occasions. The participants encompassed aristocratic, ecclesiastic and civic representatives, the audience the general populace. Mary proceeded past citizens' houses, trade halls, squares and churches. In contrast to the accession entry, the joy of the people no longer figures prominently in the sources. Instead, the Imperial ambassadors feel obliged to attest to the tranquillity of the proceedings.<sup>460</sup> The civic procession specifically drew attention to the relationship between the queen and the city of London, as a total of ten pageants awaited Mary between Fenchurch and Fleet Street. These included the traditional ritual welcome by the Lord Mayor Thomas White and his aldermen as they presented her with a purse of 1000 gold pounds. Various mercantile groups devised the pageants, among them the foreign merchants from Genoa, Florence and the Hanseatic League, but foremost the city's representatives.<sup>461</sup> Still public, but more exclusive was the procession to and from Westminster Abbey on Sunday, 1 October.<sup>462</sup> These processions progressed in full view of London's populace – although to differing degrees – safely situated at a distance on the riverbanks or behind rails.<sup>463</sup> By contrast, the knighting ceremony, the coronation and the subsequent banquet targeted a select audience. The groups of participants were largely determined by tradition, yet Mary's gender elicited the inclusion of an unprecedented

<sup>459</sup> Some of these sources mention Whitehall, others the Palace of Westminster both as point of departure and arrival. See: CoA, MS I 7, fos. 65r, 66r, 68r, 72r; CoA, MS I 18, fos. 117, 120v, 122r, 126r; SAL MS 123/3, fos. 3r, 10v; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 44–45; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:03; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6–7; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 114, 117; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 27, 30–31; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1072–1074; Renard to Philip, 3 October 1553 in "Oct 1553, 1–5," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; *Coronation*, sig. A2a; Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 84; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:196, 202.

<sup>460</sup> Penning refers to both the joy on the day as well as anticipated trouble beforehand in his letter to the Pope, 21 October 1553, in "Oct 1553, 16–31," *CSPV*, 5:813; Ambassadors to Emperor, 30 Sept. 1553, in "September 1553, 21–30," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11.

<sup>461</sup> *Coronation*, sig. A3a; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 115; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 43, 45; Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 8; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 29–30; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:198; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1073–1074; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; CoA, MS I 7, f. 66r.

<sup>462</sup> SAL MS 123/3, f. 6r; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:7; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 31; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1074.

<sup>463</sup> CoA, MS I 7, fos. 65r, 67r; CoA, MS I 18, fos. 117r, 118r, 119r; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 44; Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 84; SAL MS 123/3, f. 1v; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1073–1074.



number of peeresses in the last two rituals.<sup>464</sup> Each ceremony comprised the ritualised dialogue between Mary and individuals or entire groups. During the knighting ceremony, the queen enacted this dialogue with the knights-to-be. The candidates were carefully chosen from among those who had either supported Mary or her mother, remained faithful to the Catholic religion or had been victimised during her predecessors' reigns. By bestowing the honour of knighthood on to them, she bound them strongly to her person and reign.<sup>465</sup> During the coronation, the dialogue encompassed everyone present. The traditional English ritual commenced with Mary's presentation to those assembled by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and officiator<sup>466</sup> and the guests reciprocated with their assent to her queenship.<sup>467</sup> Shortly after, Mary swore her coronation oath promising to maintain England's laws and liberties. The timing of this oath was crucial, since it preceded the unction and investiture and thereby created a dependency between the oath and the divine sanction of her queenship that clearly subjected her to the laws evoked in the former despite the concept of the latter. Mary cherished her oath throughout her reign, alluding to it repeatedly over the years.<sup>468</sup> The exchange between monarch and subjects concluded with the homage rendered to her by representatives of individual groups, both temporal and spiritual, kneeling before her and swearing to be "fathfull and trwe." Their kiss on the queen's left cheek followed this act, while Gardiner simultaneously proclaimed the queen's pardon of all prisoners, with but a few exceptions.<sup>469</sup> In concordance with tradition, a similar exchange occurred at the coronation banquet in the evening, where her noble subjects – possibly including the newly created knights – served Mary. At one point, however, the guest's loyalty was tested in an established ritual involving the queen's champion, Sir Edward Dimmock. He entered on horseback after the second course, and challenged those present to declare any objection to the rightful and newly anointed queen. This act was accompanied by the symbolic throwing of his gauntlet, as he dared someone to take it up and thereby make his intentions known. The ritual concluded as tradition dictated, with Dimmock unchallenged, retrieving his gauntlet and receiving a fee from the queen before departing.<sup>470</sup> This dialogue enacted behind closed doors rarely made it into the chronicle accounts. Instead, it was very much focused on the political and

<sup>464</sup> CoA, MS I 7, fos. 69r, 72v; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116–117; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:199–200, 203; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 46.

<sup>465</sup> For the list of candidates see: CoA, MS I 7, f. 65v. Biographies of most of the individuals can be found in the ODNB.

<sup>466</sup> The customary officiator would have been Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan or possibly Robert Holgate, archbishop of York, but both were imprisoned at the time of the coronation.

<sup>467</sup> CoA, MS I 7, fos. 69v–70r; SAL MS 123/3, f. 6r; *Coronation*, sig. A3b; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:200–201; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 31; Renard to Charles V, 3 October 1553, in "Oct 1553, 1–5," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; "Little Device," 228–229.

<sup>468</sup> Mary's oath is no longer extant. On the traditional pre-sixteenth-century oath see: Hoak, "Coronations," 147–148; Edward VI's oath survives, but is not representative of Mary's oath. See: TNA, SP 10/1/9, f. 25v; Also see: Whitelock, "Queen-in-Parliament," 92; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 128; For the unction and other ceremonies see: CoA, MS I 7, fos. 70v–71r.

<sup>469</sup> CoA, MS I 7, fos. 71–72r; SAL MS 123/3, fos. 7r, 9–10r; *Coronation*, sig. A4a; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:201–202.

<sup>470</sup> CoA, MS I 7, fos. 73r; Renard to Charles V, 3 October 1553, in "Oct 1553, 1–5," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; *Coronation*, sig. A4a; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 117; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:203; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1074.

religious elites who partook in it and it was only noteworthy to the European diplomats reporting to their respective monarchs and courts on the continent.

A remarkable feature of Mary's accession is the evident need felt by contemporaries to bolster her authority in, as well as beyond, ceremony through royal proclamations, letters patent and legislation. First, as Hunt has discussed in detail, around mid-September councillors proposed the reversal of the traditional sequence of the coronation before the first opening of Parliament. They could thereby revoke legislation concerning Mary's bastardy and alleviate any other of her subjects' concerns prior to the decisive coronation ceremony. With the support of the imperial ambassadors Mary resolved to maintain the traditional order, fearing that otherwise she might be too dependent on Parliament.<sup>471</sup> Soon after Mary issued an official declaration in which she appointed Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel and Lord High Constable<sup>472</sup> "to doo, and exercise everie thinge and thinges on oure behalff to be done and exercysed, for the full makinge of those knightes of the Bathe" and guaranteed that these knights were to "have holde and inioye the said Order of the Knighthod [...] in as large and ample manere as anye othere Knighte or Knightes of lyke degre, beinge made in the tyme of oure progenitours."<sup>473</sup> Arundel subsequently represented the queen twice during the two-day proceedings on 29–30 September. On the first day, when the candidates for knighthood entered the bath chamber and "all naked [were] putte into the bathe," Arundel and four others administered the oath "presentinge the quenes person", for obvious reasons.<sup>474</sup> Yet although the monarch's presence on this occasion was customary, it had not always been required and another account of the 1553 ceremony merely states that the ritual proceeded according to "thold vsage of Englande".<sup>475</sup> On the second day Arundel represented the queen, despite her presence, during the knighting ceremony enacted in the chamber of presence. While the queen performed the girding of the knights with their swords according to tradition, she delegated the final act to Arundel. As the swords were now claimed, the final act only entailed the placing of Arundel's hand on the knights' shoulders two by two, accompanied by the proclamation of "heare be treue knyghtes."<sup>476</sup> This was a more momentous adaptation than that of the day before but less easy to explain. Physically, Mary could have performed the entire ceremony, so why did she perform one part but not the other? The thesis that this was due to her not being a knight herself is equally questionable, since not all previous male monarchs had been knighted

<sup>471</sup> Ambassadors to Emperor, London, 19 September 1553, in Gachard and Piot, *Collection des voyages*, 4:124–125; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 124–128; Whitelock, "Queen-in-Parliament," 91.

<sup>472</sup> This appointment was for the coronation only.

<sup>473</sup> TNA, Patent Roll, 1 Mary p. 2 m. 37d; Printed from another copy in Anstis, *Observations Introductory*, App. 66, pp. 51–52.

<sup>474</sup> BL, Cott. MS Nero C/IX, f. 168v; CoA, MS I 7, f. 65v; CoA, MS I 18, f. 117r; BL, Add. MS 4712, f. 52r.

<sup>475</sup> CoA, MS I 7, f. 65v; According to this record the monarch only appeared twice in the presence of the knights-to-be: during the meal and in the presence of the court during the official knighting ceremony. See: BL, Cott. MS Nero C/IX, f. 168v, 170r; For precedents see: Anstis, *Observations Introductory*, App. 56, 58, pp. 36, 40; Richard III's coronation had a similar arrangement. See: Anne F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond, eds., *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1984), 23; Cited by Duncan, in: *Mary I*, 193, fn. 123.

<sup>476</sup> BL, Add. MS 4712, f. 53r; CoA, MS I 7, f. 65v; BL, Cott. MS Nero C/IX, f. 170r.

before their coronation. Mary, however, continued to delegate the actual knighting ceremony throughout her reign, initially to Arundel and after her marriage to her husband Philip.<sup>477</sup> The terms of Arundel's official appointment acknowledge the potential challenge to the efficacy of the ritual due to these changes. However, this does not automatically mean that such a challenge was likely. Only the manuscript accounts refer to Arundel's unusual role, whereas two of three chronicles which acknowledge the ceremony, state that Mary "mad [these] knyghts of the Bathe."<sup>478</sup>

Adaptations on account of the queen's gender continued in the other ceremonies, but there was no longer the need for a deputy to act on Mary's behalf. How much of a challenge were these modifications and how did they affect the representation of royal authority? The sources frequently differ on details, particularly on the queen's dress and the regalia. This enigma of Mary's appearance in the civic procession and the coronation is largely seen as one of the most powerful illustrations of the ceremonial difficulties facing the first queen regnant of England. The consensus among historians is that Mary and her staff consciously chose to transcend traditional gender roles by presenting her "as both king and queen, as sovereign lord and virgin bride," although interpretations differ regarding the details. Richards, for example, identifies Mary's appearance in the civic procession as that of a queen consort and in the coronation, predominantly as that of a regnant monarch, while Duncan has since questioned this relatively neat division and rightly so.<sup>479</sup> Every attempt was made to invoke the traditions established by regnant monarchs in the short and long term, albeit with some exceptions. This, however is a conclusion drawn from a careful study of the multitude of sources available to us today. How did contemporaries experience the occasion? One should consider more carefully whether they were able to discern between regnant and consort traditions. Such a distinction required them to be well versed in the different precedents, however it had been six years since Edward VI's coronation and twenty since the coronation of Anne Boleyn, the last of a consort queen. Hence the answer to this question must differ depending on the group of witnesses one considers. Surely, foreign observers, local onlookers and participants in the ritual would have very different expectations and experiences? These issues have so far figured only indirectly in previous analyses.

For the civic procession, the contemporary English author of the unpublished *Chronicle of Queen Jane* describes Mary in a dress of blue velvet lined with ermine, while two later English chronicles, published after 1580, change the colour to purple. The latter corresponds to the description of the monarch's apparel provided in the "Little Device".<sup>480</sup>

<sup>477</sup> Duncan, *Mary I*, 107. Henry VII and Edward IV for instance do not appear to have been knighted before their accession despite later creating knights themselves.

<sup>478</sup> CoA, MS I 7, f. 65v; BL, Add. MS 4712, f. 53r; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 45; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:103; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28.

<sup>479</sup> Duncan, *Mary I*, 21; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 136–138; Richards, "Gendering Tudor Monarchy," 900–902; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 131–132; Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 191–197; Beem, *Lioness Roared*, 78–79.

<sup>480</sup> Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1072; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; "Little Device," 222.

Yet the French and Italian writers put Mary in “un long manteau de drap d’argent.”<sup>481</sup> Finally, the manuscripts refer to cloth of gold, furred with miniver and powdered ermine, the traditional attire of a consort. This last official testimony carries more weight than that of the chronicles or foreign reports, but it was unavailable to the public.<sup>482</sup> In turn, Mary’s headdress, a circlet of gold set with precious stones, as well as the caul she possibly wore in combination with the former, are quite clearly the headgear tradition accords to the consort. The regnant monarch went bareheaded.<sup>483</sup> These discrepancies in the sources have prompted Richards to claim that they reflected the uncertainty of the people and chroniclers on whether they saw “a queen qua royal wife dressed in white cloth of gold or a monarch dressed in blue or purple velvet” during the procession.<sup>484</sup> This is one possibility, although this presumes that these authors knew enough of what tradition prescribed. Furthermore, the ordinances refer to the circlet of gold in her hair as “capite nudato” or “bareheaded”, with the circlet merely a convenience to keep the hair “constringantur”.<sup>485</sup> Without the caul Mary could be considered bareheaded, albeit different in appearance to a male monarch. Even if she did wear a caul, her brother had already deviated from such a tradition by wearing “a whit velvet cappe” during his own procession.<sup>486</sup> Similarly, with the cloth of gold she wore, possibly in combination with silver, she resembled her brother, who dressed in cloth of silver embroidered with damask gold and accentuated with white velvet for the occasion.<sup>487</sup> Tradition was flexible and precedents difficult to determine without careful study. Although there is evidence that the queen and her advisors consulted extant documents, we cannot presume the same regarding the chroniclers or foreign observers.<sup>488</sup> On the following day during the coronation procession, the *Chronicle of Queen Jane* again insists on the blue velvet gown and the circlet of gold upon Mary’s head. The manuscript reports, on the other hand, refer to Parliament robes like those worn by her brother and other male ancestors, i.e. of crimson velvet lined with ermine. Were the purple velvet robes prescribed for the consort in the *Liber Regalis* – but not the “Little Device” – and supposedly worn by Anne in 1533,

<sup>481</sup> “Relation de l’entrée,” in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:197. App. T14; *Coronation*, sig. A2b; Commendone, “Ritratti d’Inghilterra,” 114–115.

<sup>482</sup> SAL MS 123/3, f. 2r; CoA, MS I 7, f. 67r; “Little Device,” 224.

<sup>483</sup> SAL MS 123/3, f. 2r; CoA, MS I 7, f. 67r; *Coronation*, sig. A2b; Both circlet and caul are mentioned in Commendone, “Ritratti d’Inghilterra,” 115; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1072; The caul only in “Relation de l’entrée,” in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:197; Despite their close acquaintance with the queen, the Imperial ambassadors’ claim that Mary wore a small crown is very unlikely given the general agreement of the other sources. Ambassadors to Emperor, 30 Sept. 1553 in “Sep 1553, 21–30,” *CSP Spain*, vol. 11. The English is quite specific, however without access to the original it is impossible to say whether this translation is correct; For the traditions see: “Liber Regalis,” 82, 108. The queen’s description refers to the day of coronation. Also see: “Little Device,” 222–223.

<sup>484</sup> Richards, “Gendering Tudor Monarchy,” 900–902.

<sup>485</sup> “Liber Regalis,” 108. App. T15; “Little Device,” 223.

<sup>486</sup> CoA, MS I 7, f. 33r; Printed in: John G. Nichols, ed., *Literary Remains of King Edward VI: Edited from His Autograph Manuscripts; With Historical Notes, and a Biographical Memoir* by J. G. Nichols (London: Nichols & Sons, 1857), 1:cclxxx.

<sup>487</sup> CoA, MS I 7, f. 33r; Duncan, *Mary I*, 26. She identifies the precedent set by both Edward and past queens consort and concludes that Mary herewith symbolically combined the roles of consort and sovereign.

<sup>488</sup> *APC*, 4:425; See: Duncan, *Mary I*, 22.

the inspiration for the chronicle's description?<sup>489</sup> The fact that purple velvet characterises the traditional attire of the reigning monarch in a public procession on one and that of the consort on the next day, is confusing enough. Subsequently, minor discrepancies arise concerning the various wardrobe changes during the coronation. For her anointing, foreign sources claim Mary disrobed and appeared in a purple velvet petticoat, whereas the manuscripts describe her dressed in the "crymsyn velvet" robe of consorts, leaving only her mantle behind.<sup>490</sup> Subsequently, for the investiture the same crimson velvet features in the manuscripts, perhaps akin to Edward VI's "Ryche Robes", whereas the foreign sources propose a robe or shift of white taffeta, invoking the colobium sindonis or dalmatic, which the ordinances prescribe.<sup>491</sup> What we can therefore determine, but only in hindsight, is that Mary's attire, although in accordance with consort traditions in many respects, was not as strikingly different from the attire of regnant monarchs – both in actuality and as presented in the ordinances – as might be believed.

Variations in descriptions extend to the ladies' mode of transport in the civic procession. All sources confirm that Mary was seated in a litter with a canopy borne overhead as befitted a queen consort.<sup>492</sup> This is the plainest indication that Mary consciously followed consort traditions, for she was well able to ride, of which the accession entry is a case in point. As during the knighting ceremony, it is not clear why such a choice was made. It did, however, substantiate her image as virgin queen. The variations regard the number and type of draft animals – two to six and mules or horses – and the furnishing of the queen's carriage. Generally, in the sources, the trappings of the animals echoed the lining of the carriage, i.e. cloth of gold, but in this instance the *Chronicle of Queen Jane* deviates by recording red velvet instead.<sup>493</sup> Both the mules and red velvet trappings have no precedent in the ordinances and are exclusive to individual reports. The confusion continues regarding the ladies following the queen and although their presence was novel in a reigning monarch's procession – if he or she proceeded alone –, the queen consort tradition encompassed this female retinue.<sup>494</sup> Three carriages carried twelve ladies, among them Elizabeth and Anne of Cleves, while the remaining women

<sup>489</sup> SAL MS 123/3, f. 4v; CoA, MS I 7, f. 69r; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 31. Foreign commentators fail to comment on her dress entirely; "Liber Regalis," 100, 108; This decrees crimson velvet, but the headgear is also referred to in: "Little Device," 226; For Edward see: SAL MS 123/1, f. 3v; Anne Boleyn's coronation in: Hall and Grafton, *Hall's Chronicle*, 803.

<sup>490</sup> SAL MS 123/3, f. 7r; CoA, MS I 7, f. 70v; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:201; *Relacion*, sig. D5b; Tradition prescribed crimson satin for the monarch. See: "Little Device," 226, 232; CoA, MS I 7, f. 40v.

<sup>491</sup> SAL MS 123/3, f. 7r; CoA, MS I 7, f. 70v; *Coronation*, sig. A3b; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:201; "Liber Regalis," 94; "Little Device," 232; For Edward VI see: CoA, MS I 7, f. 40v.

<sup>492</sup> "Little Device," 223; SAL MS 123/3, f. 2r; CoA, MS I 7, f. 67r; *Coronation*, sig. A2b; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 114; Renard to Philip, 3 October 1553 in "Oct 1553, 1–5," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:197; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 45; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1072; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:103.

<sup>493</sup> Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 114; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:197; *Coronation*, sig. A2b; Transl. as horses in: *Relacion*, sig. D4b; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1072; 2 horses: "Little Device," 223; White damask furnishings in: CoA, MS I 7, f. 67; CoA, MS I 18 f. 119r; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 27–28.

<sup>494</sup> "Little Device," 224.

advanced on horseback. The ladies' attire is again a matter of discussion, with foreign eyewitnesses recording silver in line with the furnishings of their carriage, while the manuscript accounts record them as wearing crimson velvet. The descriptions of the other two carriages equally diverge.<sup>495</sup> The first appearance of a queen regnant complicated the imagery and its symbolic message; however, many diversions appear to be based on cultural misunderstandings or human error in remembering details of the proceedings in retrospect.

The insignia, both those borne before her and those which she was invested with, were the most indisputable signs of the nature of Mary's sovereignty. As during her accession entry, the sources do not clearly identify the sceptre or crown among the regalia in the civic procession. Only two later English chroniclers credit the mayor with the honour of carrying the sceptre of gold, while the crown is not mentioned at all.<sup>496</sup> The sword, on the other hand, is referred to repeatedly – including in the "Little Device" – and was most likely borne by Arundel, although some English chroniclers attribute the honour to John de Vere, sixteenth Earl of Oxford. In that respect male precedents dictated the arrangements<sup>497</sup> The same applies to other items mentioned with their bearers, although they are not referred to in the ordinances, such as the queen's cloak and hat, borne by Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex and the seal borne by Gardiner.<sup>498</sup> Less conclusive is the presence of Sir Edward Hastings, master of the horse, who led a spare courser trapped in cloth of gold on Mary's behalf, and that of the two squires of honour representing the former English duchies of Guyenne and Normandy. Their presence would be as much a part of the procession of a queen consort as of that of a regnant monarch.<sup>499</sup>

In the coronation procession on the following day, noblemen first bore a complete set of regalia before the queen. Of the trio preceding her directly, William Paulet, first marquess of Winchester and Lord Great Chamberlain as well as Lord High Treasurer bore the orb on the right, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal the crown in the centre and Arundel, Lord High Constable, the sceptre on the left. Ahead of them, Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby and Lord High Steward bore the Curtana, flanked by Henry Neville, fifth Earl of Westmorland and Henry Clifford, second Earl of Cumberland with the two swords of justice, all unsheathed and behind them Edward Courtenay, first

<sup>495</sup> SAL MS 123/3, f. 2; CoA, MS I 7, fos. 67r–68r; CoA, MS I 18, fos. 113v, 119v–120r; *Coronatione*, sig. A2b; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 115; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:197–198; General details in: Ambassadors to Emperor, 30 September 1553, in "Sep 1553, 21–30," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Renard to Philip, 3 October 1553, in "Oct 1553, 1–5," *ibid.*; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1073; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 2:10.

<sup>496</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1073; Other sources refer to a mace. See: "Little Device," 223; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28; CoA, MS I 7, f. 33r.

<sup>497</sup> A peer: "Little Device," 223; Arundel: SAL MS 123/3, f. 1v; CoA, MS I 7, 67r; CoA, MS I 18, f. 119r; Oxford: Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1073.

<sup>498</sup> SAL MS 123/3, f. 1v; CoA, MS I 7, 66v; CoA, MS I 18, f. 119r; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28; For Edward VI see: CoA, MS I 7, f. 33r. The seal is not mentioned in 1547.

<sup>499</sup> SAL MS 123/3, fos. 1v–2r; CoA, MS I 7, fos. 66v–67v; CoA, MS I 18, f. 119; *Coronatione*, sig. A2b; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28; Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 1073; "Little Device," 222–225; These mention two coursers: Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 114–115; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:197.

Earl of Devon with a sheathed sword. At the front of the group William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke bore the spurs and alongside him John Bouchier, second Earl of Bath, St. Edward's staff. The roles described above were not hereditary from the fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries. Neither the *Liber Regalis* nor the *Little Device* link the bearing of the regalia to particular offices, instead nobles are appointed to bear them, either in general or with reference to their particular titles. These titles change from one document to the other and then again with regard to Mary Tudor's coronation. There is but one correlation between the *Little Device* and the sources on Mary's coronation, which is that the Earls of Arundel bore the sceptre on both occasions. Even the offices which these nobles enacted at the coronation do not correspond with the items carried, since at Henry VIII's coronation the Lord High Steward, Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, bore the crown, while in 1553 the same officeholder, the Earl of Derby, carried the Curtana instead. As Lord High Steward during Edward VI's coronation, John Russel, first Earl of Bedford did not carry any of the regalia<sup>500</sup> Therefore, the choices appear to have been based on the power relations of a particular monarch. Furthermore, with the offices distinct from the roles in the procession, royal favour could potentially be bestowed on a larger selection of candidates. It was Mary's prerogative and that of her advisers to determine who preceded her. Nonetheless, tradition was upheld in the arrangement and sequence of the regalia. The display of the royal and previously male regalia alone was a clear indication of Mary's regnant queenship. Yet Commendone has his own version to share, in which a second sceptre replaces the aforementioned orb.<sup>501</sup> During the investiture, he reports, the queen received these two sceptres, which he describes as "uno di Re, et l'altro con la colomba in cima solito darsi alle Reine."<sup>502</sup> The apparent incorporation of both sceptres into the ceremony would have been the most blatant deviation from tradition and precedence and indicative of Mary claiming both regnant and consort positions. However, the manuscript accounts make no mention of a second sceptre, but instead refer to the orb. Duncan concludes that the foreign writers must have confused the orb with the queen's sceptre, which is possible. It is surprising though, that de Noailles as an eyewitness should do so.<sup>503</sup> Mary also received three other traditional items of regalia, not referred to during the procession, namely two rings – one to be worn on the "mariage fynger" –, bracelets and sabatons for her feet.<sup>504</sup> In all this she predominantly followed tradition, but unlike her male predecessors, Mary interpreted the ring as proof that she was "married to this commonweale, & the faithful members of the same."<sup>505</sup> She also incorporated Edward VI's

<sup>500</sup> "Little Device," 84–85, 227; BL, Cott. MS Tib. E/VIII, f. 93v; SAL MS 123/1, f. 4r.

<sup>501</sup> CoA, MS I 7, fos. 68v–69r; The principal regalia without their bearers are mentioned in: SAL MS 123/3, f. 4; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:199. For once de Noailles does not follow Commendone's example; The regalia, but not the bearers correspond to Edward's procession: CoA, MS I 7, f. 39v.

<sup>502</sup> Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116; The two sceptres in the investiture can also be found in: *Coronation*, sig. A3b; *Relacion*, sig. E1a; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:201.

<sup>503</sup> CoA, MS I 7, f. 71r; SAL MS 123/3, f. 8v; Duncan, *Mary I*, 33; Strong on the other hand does not question the presence of the queen's sceptre: Strong, *Coronation*, 206.

<sup>504</sup> CoA, MS I 7, fos. 41r, 71r; SAL MS 123/3, f. 8.

<sup>505</sup> Mary's Guildhall speech, in: John Proctor, *The Historie of Wyates Rebellion: With the Order and Maner of Resisting the Same, Wherunto in the Ende Is Added an Earnest Conference with the Degenerate and*

innovation of the triple crowning. As Strong prominently discussed, the act of the triple crowning only had two precedents: the inauguration of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope. The former's example might explain the interpretation of the foreign observers who attributed the crowns to the three kingdoms ruled by the English monarch – England, Ireland and France –, much like the three kingdoms of the Empire.<sup>506</sup> The act augmented Mary's majesty, as it had Edward's, by emphasising her imperial status. It also symbolically articulated the union of tradition, imperial dignity and personal queen- or kingship within one person. It is likely that only those present recognised and were supposed to recognise the significance of the triple crowning. Yet according to the extant public narrative, it did not happen as it is not mentioned in the English chronicles and only one crown figured in the procession to the Abbey, which members of the public witnessed.

What then was the public narrative on Mary's queenship in the pageantry of the civic procession? Wherever extant, descriptions of the pageantry prove how allegorical displays frequently acknowledged Mary's sovereignty in a decidedly female context. The most striking reinterpretation according to Duncan is found in the first pageant devised by the Genoese merchants at Fenchurch Street. Underneath a triumphal arch embellished with Latin inscriptions, four giants guarded a child in female clothing "siting in a chaire", borne up by two men.<sup>507</sup> Drawing a parallel to a pageant during Edward's civic procession, in which a child representing the king sat on a throne borne up by four others, Duncan argues that the 1553 imagery equally represented the queen on a throne. This display of female monarchy, independent of any male, truly symbolised the novelty of regnant queenship. The symbolism of the four bearers in 1547, representing Regality, Justice, Truth and Mercy, however is transferred to the inscriptions. They extended the congratulations of the Genoese to the queen and heralded the triumph of virtue, justice, truth and piety within her reign, thereby restoring prosperity to the kingdom.<sup>508</sup> It is noteworthy that Commendone alone records that the Florentine pageant near Leadenhall inaugurated female role models for a regnant queen. Among them was not only Mary herself, but the "Maiden" warrior goddess Athene, the warrior queen of the Massagetai, Tomyris, and the biblical heroine Judith. A slogan addressed each of them in turn and hailed Mary as "Salus publica", Athene as "Invicta virtus", Tomyris as "Libertatis ultrici" and finally Judith as "Patriae liberatrici." With these inscriptions, the pageant honoured Mary not only as victorious, majestic and godly but as a liberator and deliverer of her people and as the incorporation of Christian, classical and female virtue and all they encompassed. Scholars have been quick to draw the comparison between Tomyris and Judith, famous for

---

Seditious Rebelles for the Serche of the Cause of Their Daily Disorder (London: Caly, 1554), sig. G6a; For a more detailed discussion see: Duncan, *Mary I*, 36; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 132–133.

<sup>506</sup> CoA, MS I 7, fos. 41r, 71r; SAL MS 123/3, f. 8r; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116; *Coronatione*, sig. A3b; *Relacion*, sig. E1a; Strong, *Coronation*, 202; Also see: Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 93–94.

<sup>507</sup> Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 29; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 45.

<sup>508</sup> CoA, MS I 7, f. 36r; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra." The inscription reads: "Virtus superauit, Justitia dominatur, veritas triumphat, pietas coronat, salus Reipublicae restituitur."; Veritas is replaced by *virtus*, in: *Coronatione*, sig. A3a; *Relacion*, sig. D4b; Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:198; Duncan, *Mary I*, 27; As Duncan notes, Anglo comes to the same conclusion, but does not comment on its significance or the similarity to Edward VI's pageant: Anglo, *Spectacle*, 319.



decapitating their enemies, thereby saving their peoples, and Mary, on whose orders John Dudley, first Duke of Northumberland was decapitated for treason.<sup>509</sup> Yet despite the poignancy of this comparison, it was not committed to English written memory. Customary pageantry also depended on ungendered elements and there is reason to believe that the greater part of the population focused on these; the chroniclers certainly did so. An element of awe and the inclusion of the populace were as important in impressing the consequence of the occasion upon the people and forging an emotional link with their sovereign as the classical, religious or mythical allegory, if not more so. From the mechanical devices displayed by the Baltic merchants in their pageant on Gracechurch Street and by the Florentine merchants further down near Leadenhall to Peter, the Dutchman, who performed his acrobatics high above the crowds on St Paul's steeple, the procession route provided ample opportunities to experience marvels. The same applies to the entire redecoration of the streets and the multitude of conduits running wine.<sup>510</sup>

The coronation's setting in Westminster Abbey ensured that religion was an indispensable part of the proceedings. Yet in the heated religious climate of Mary's accession, the coronation served as an indicator of the queen's religious agenda. The fact that it was celebrated "according to the rites of the old religion" resonates throughout the sources. The chronicles refer to its emblems, the "myters and crosiars", its "servyce all in lattyn", as well as more generally to the "solemnities then vsed according to the old custome."<sup>511</sup> Mary's focus lay on her coronation oath and her anointing. Adaptations had been made for Edward VI's coronation, but Mary insisted on resuming the pre-Reformation ceremonies. In his oath, Edward unlike his predecessors swore "to make no newe lawes but such as shalbe to thonour and glory of God, and to the good of the Commen Wealthe."<sup>512</sup> Although this did not directly refer to the reformed religion, both its constitutional and religious implications were rejected by Mary. The complete oath is no longer extant, but the Imperial correspondence reveals that she deliberated on the form of her oath and eventually chose to follow her father's example with one important addition. She added the words "just and licit" to the traditional phrase to "observe the laws of England." This slight alteration sanctioned her right to amend the religious legislation introduced during her brother's reign.<sup>513</sup> The act of anointing, on the other hand, did not so much differ in form as in intention. Regardless of gender or religion, both Edward and Mary were anointed six times "wth holly oyle and creme" as prescribed for a

<sup>509</sup> Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 115; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 19; *The Oxford Companion to World Mythology*, ed. David Leeming, Oxford Companion Series (New York: OUP, 2005), 36; Herodotus, *The Histories*, ed. Carolyn Dewald, trans. Robin Waterfield, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 91–93. Jdt. 8–16 (Katholische Einheitsübersetzung); Anglo, *Spectacle*, 320–321; Cited in: Duncan, *Mary I*, 27–28.

<sup>510</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; Stow, *Chronicles of England, 1073–1074*; The Florentine pageant included an artificial angel who automatically raised a trumpet to his lips, the sound simultaneously produced by a trumpeter hidden in the pageant below. See: Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 29.

<sup>511</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles (1587)*, 4:6; Stow, *Chronicles of England, 1074*; Stow, "Two London Chronicles," 30; Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 31; Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 84; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 45.

<sup>512</sup> APC, 2:31.

<sup>513</sup> Ambassadors to Charles V, 19 September 1553 in Gachard and Piot, *Collection des voyages*, 4:125; Transl. in "September 1553, 16–20," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11.

regnant monarch in the *Liber Regalis* and *Little Device*.<sup>514</sup> Yet during Edward's coronation Archbishop Thomas Cranmer supposedly preached that "The oil, if added, is but ceremony."<sup>515</sup> The authenticity of the document has recently been questioned, but regardless of whether it transpired thus, reformers reinterpreted the significance of ceremonies and Mary apparently feared that the chrism had been corrupted during Edward's reign. She therefore secretly requested a new supply of holy oils from the Emperor in Brussels, which she could trust to comply with Catholic traditions.<sup>516</sup> The origin of these oils, however, was not generally known and another change introduced by Edward was maintained, namely her escort of one ecclesiastical and one temporal representative. Both in 1547 and in 1553 Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham and Francis Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury accompanied the monarch, whereas the ordinances designated both positions solely to bishops.<sup>517</sup> This alteration curtailed the religious aspect of the ceremony, if only a little. It would therefore be misleading to assume that Mary and her councillors chose to exclusively follow the traditional pre-Edwardian ceremony. Yet the queen was uncompromising on those issues, which she felt strongly about.

The English coronation is singular in its combination of individual rituals into a four-day spectacle. In 1553 each of these rituals proceeded in its traditional framework, despite the unprecedented accession of a queen regnant. Upon closer scrutiny, however, the rich source material provides numerous examples of how gender as well as to a lesser extent religion directly impacted on their enactment. Mary and her councillors recognised the legitimising function of tradition and therefore largely complied with a combination of recent and longstanding precedents. Yet while some historians might have underestimated the extent of her adherence to tradition, the attempt to combine features of the rituals designated for the ruling monarch and the queen consort is clear. This was evidently a conscious choice. For both in the knighting ceremony as well as during the civic procession, Mary presented herself as king and queen, without any apparent necessity to compromise.

<sup>514</sup> The manuscripts only reveal where Edward was anointed – on breast, shoulders, hands and forehead. Mary was anointed "as ther vnto aptayne": CoA, MS I 7, fos. 40v, 70v; CoA, MS I 18, fos. 86v, 123v; SAL MS 123/1, 5r; SAL MS 123/3, f. 7v; The foreign sources record the six-part unction, but refer to her temples instead of her hands: *Coronation*, sig. A3b; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:201; For the precedents, see: "Liber Regalis," 93; "Liber Regalis," 232; Although the Imperial ambassadors as eyewitnesses claim Mary was only anointed twice, this might simply refer to the two different oils used in the proceedings See: Renard to Emperor, 3 October 1553, in "Oct 1553, 1–5," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Consorts were anointed in two places. See: "Liber Regalis," 101; One alteration was made after the unction on account of her gender: Instead of the abbot of Westminster, her gentlewoman Frances Waldegrave, wife of Sir Edward Waldegrave, a longstanding member of Mary's household, closed her garments. See: CoA, MS I 7, f. 70v.

<sup>515</sup> John Strype, ed., *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer, Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury: Wherein the History of the Church, and the Reformation of It, [...] Are Greatly Illustrated [...]*, new ed. (Oxford: OUP, 1840), 1:206.

<sup>516</sup> On the originality of the document: Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Foxes, Firebrands, and Forgery: Robert Ware's Pollution of Reformation History," *The Historical Journal* 54, no. 2 (2011): 307, 342–343; Also see: Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 84; Ambassadors to Charles V, London, 9 September 1553, in Gachard and Piot, *Collection des voyages*, 4: App.17, p. 117; Same to same, 14 September 1553, London, in "September 1553, 11–15," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Charles V to Ambassadors, Valenciennes, 20 September 1553, in "Sep 1553, 16–20," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Bishop of Arras to Renard, Mons, 13 September 1553, in Weiss, *Papiers d'état*, 4: App. 32, p. 105; Penning to Pope, 21 October 1553?, in "Oct 1553, 16–31," *CSPV*, 5:431.

<sup>517</sup> CoA, MS I 7, f. 69r; Commendone, "Ritratti d'Inghilterra," 116; "Relation de l'entrée," in Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 2:199; For the precedents, see: "Liber Regalis," 84, 100, 108; "Little Device," 227–228.

Since the civic procession was the most public ritual, this further suggests that the fusion of both roles was principally aimed at her subjects at large. In the regulated environment of her coronation, she instead emphasised her king-like status, carefully ensuring that her relationship with the ruling elites was determined by the traditional ceremonies of power, majesty, acclamation and obedience. Foreign dignitaries, who were present during most of the ceremonies, guaranteed that detailed reports circulated abroad. However, the same level of detail is noticeably absent from any English chronicles, which suggests that the portrayal of Mary's queenship in this central ritual figured less in the public awareness. The foreign reports – purposefully or not – generally exaggerate the ambiguity of Mary's appearance. Duncan's characterisation of Mary as "both king and queen, as sovereign lord and virgin bride" is undoubtedly true, but it is worthwhile to consider how the emphasis on one or the other was tailored to different audiences, both by the queen herself as well as those reporting on the occasion.<sup>518</sup>

---

<sup>518</sup> Duncan, *Mary I*, 21.

## V) Conclusion

The coronations discussed in this chapter legitimise and substantiate queenship across the Anglo-Scottish border, but according to the widespread early modern conception of monarchy, they no longer constituted it. Thus, contemporary chroniclers clearly mark Mary Stewart's reign from before her coronation, while Mary herself emphasised her position as French queen dowager despite the fact that she had never been crowned in France.<sup>519</sup> With regard to Marie de Guise, it is impossible to tell what role the coronation played in securing her political career after the death of her husband, but her consort queenship was only confirmed, not initiated by the coronation. It was thus considered to be one among several constituting moments of monarchical authority, also including the death and burial of the predecessor, the proclamation of the new monarch, the first election or appointment of major office holders and the previously discussed royal entries. Among these the coronation was potentially the most important legitimation. Testimonies survive to demonstrate how both Mary Tudor and Mary Stewart cherished the moment of coronation and anointment during their lifetime, albeit to varying degrees and with different emphases. While Mary Tudor exercised the royal touch according to English ritual tradition and emphasised the vows expressed through her coronation ring alongside the oath she took, Mary Stewart promoted her anointed status during the years of her captivity, particularly in the concluding phase of her trial and immediately preceding her execution.<sup>520</sup> As the individual circumstances of the coronations discussed in this chapter vary, so does the significance of the ceremony, both in relation to the main protagonists – the queens – as well as to their court, country and collective memory.

While the significance of the ceremony frequently transcended the life and reigns of these queens, the particular circumstances of Mary Tudor's accession bestowed her coronation with exceptional gravitas. As the decisive ritual which clearly distanced her from the short reign of the rival claimant Jane Grey, its consequence cannot be overstated. The smooth dénouement of the ritual was evidently more doubtful than it had been during the preceding first entry into London, with several sources emphasising the tranquillity of the proceedings as noteworthy. The fragility of Mary's position is also evidenced in her decision to compromise on matters of religion. A number of recent ritual changes made by and on behalf of her brother were maintained. Although the chronicles stress that the coronation was conducted according to tradition, i.e. Catholic ritual, some of the most important changes from Mary's perspective, such as the addition of the phrase "just and licit" to her oath and the replacement of the holy oils, were made discreetly and probably did not register among the greater part of the population. Due to the religious

<sup>519</sup> Labanoff, *Lettres Inédites*, 191; "Copie of the Warrant [...] for the Execucon of Marie Queene of Scotts" [Warrant for Execucon] in BL, Harl. MS 290, fos. 203–204r; Printed in: "February 1587," *CSP Scot*, 9:254.

<sup>520</sup> On Mary Tudor's coronation oath as well as its association with the coronation ring, see: Ambassadors to Emperor, London, 7 January 1554, in "January 1554, 1–10," *CSP Spain*, vol. 12. Also refer to fn. 505. Mary's Guildhall speech, in: Proctor, *Historie of Wyates Rebellion*, sig. G6a; For a more detailed discussion see: Duncan, *Mary I*, 36; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 132–133; On her use of the royal touch see: Brogan, *Royal Touch*, 41, 45–46; On Mary Stewart, see for instance: "Advis pour M. de Villeroy" and "Rapport," 8 February 1587, in Labanoff, *Lettres Inédites*, 183, 237.

complications, Mary's coronation was both a necessity as well as a possible liability, which needed to be handled with caution. This religious dimension is largely irrelevant in the other two coronations discussed, since both ceremonies precede the Reformation in Scotland. In terms of personal significance, however, historians have identified Marie de Guise's coronation as a pivotal moment. Unlike in Mary Tudor's case, it is not the ceremony alone which augments Marie's authority and legitimacy, but the supposed reason for the ceremony, her pregnancy. In fact, it is more likely that the combination of economic, political and personal factors contributed both to its initial delay and eventual celebration. It is impossible to speculate whether the failure to become pregnant or the absence of a coronation could have seriously threatened Marie's position as consort in the long run. Yet the evidence clearly highlights the dynastic importance of the ceremony for both king and queen and the crucial role which the unprecedented magnificence of the royal and consort regalia played. Mary Stewart's coronation, on the other hand, held only a limited significance for the nine-month-old queen. Although she cherished her anointed status in later years, in 1543 her queenship was accepted and uncontested before the ceremony occurred. After all, the situation had allowed the postponement of the ceremony for nine months, despite the young queen's presence in the country throughout. Disputes had arisen instead on who was really in charge: who and how many were to rule on her behalf during the minority? The coronation celebrated the temporary resolution of this struggle, the legitimacy it bestowed in the short-term centred not on the queen, but the Scottish elites, particularly Cardinal Beaton, Governor Arran and the queen mother Marie de Guise. It was a reaction to recent developments in foreign as well as domestic affairs, both a potent assertion of Scottish independence vis-à-vis their English neighbours and a decisive sign of – temporary – reconciliation among the Scottish elites.

Regnant queenship in particular could push gender considerations to the forefront of a ritual's agenda. Due to the circumstances of Mary Stewart's coronation, however, gender did not play any role as far as we can tell. Her coronation does not appear to have been less or more splendid than that of her father. We know too little of the actual ritual to determine whether adjustments were made, but since she was only a baby, it is unlikely that they were gender- rather than age-specific. This stands in contrast to Mary Tudor's coronation, where gender was an important factor in the debate among both the public and the court. This ranged from the timing of the coronation, to certain rituals within it like the knighting ceremony. Furthermore, an uncertainty related to gender is clearly evident in the sources, but its extent might have been overstated by previous scholars. Some of the variations discussed must be attributed to personal impressions, shaped by expectations but also the deceptive nature of the human recollection. Thus, the differences recorded in the various sources are not necessarily based on an ideal. It would certainly be problematic to suppose a collective memory of what characterised a monarch's and a consort's coronation in detail.<sup>521</sup> Interestingly, some of the most obvious adaptations

---

<sup>521</sup> For a similar argument see: Laynesmith, *English Queenship*, 105–107.

attributed to gender, namely the use of both royal and consort regalia alongside one another, is only referred to in foreign accounts. In this case misidentification, based on the authors' experiences elsewhere is possible. In terms of the procession pageantry, while it was adjusted to include female role models, it was the acrobatics and mechanical ingenuity of the displays which was primarily committed to public memory in the chronicles, rather than any intricate allegorical details. This raises the question whether even in Mary Tudor's case the government's apprehension regarding gender was greater than it needed to be. Nonetheless, it was a significant issue. Hence, one must conclude that overall the relevance of gender in these ceremonies depended as much on the specific circumstances as the relevance of religion.

In a comparative context, these particular coronations reveal differences as well as similarities in the basic ritual itself. The coronation included elements such as the acclamation, anointing, investiture, coronation, the monarch's oath as well as the swearing of fealty by the subjects. The sequence differed in England and Scotland, as did the roles and their distribution among the elites. Yet, in both countries the bearers of the regalia were chosen from among the nobility, without any hereditary rights to carry a particular item. The most crucial differences highlighted by the above analysis concern the scale, the publicity and the enactment of the relationship between monarch and subjects. First, the 1553 four-day English ceremony was considerably longer than its one-day Scottish counterpart held ten years earlier. While the Scottish ceremony had been lengthier in previous centuries, with the coronation proper straddling two days under Robert II, it was shortened to a one-day ceremony long before 1543.<sup>522</sup> Furthermore, the English ceremony contained elaborate public elements, whereas the Scottish counterparts, both for Mary Stewart as well as Marie de Guise, appear to have been celebrated within the confines of the royal domain, be it Holyrood palace or Stirling castle. This more intimate setting precluded the larger population and hence emphasised the reciprocal relationship between the monarch and the Scottish elites. The reasons for this are manifold, but in part the absence of accompanying rituals such as royal entries may be accounted for by the succession of royal minorities as well as the frequent progresses Scottish monarchs embarked on during their personal reign.<sup>523</sup> For consorts the entries were held upon their arrival in Scotland, thereby preceding the coronation in most cases, whereas the first recorded entry of a regnant monarch is that of Mary Stewart in 1561. This was held at the beginning of her personal reign, upon her return from France, decades after her coronation. The differences in the relationship between monarch and elites in both countries is also represented in the association of coronation and Parliament. In Mary Tudor's case the debate which arose around a delay of the coronation until after the first opening of Parliament exemplifies the conception of the monarch above Parliament, not vice versa. In Scotland, the first convention of the Estates in March long preceded Mary's

---

<sup>522</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 100–101, 136, 152, 158, 184, 186.

<sup>523</sup> For a discussion on how James V was inspired both by the French and Habsburg-Burgundian court models, promulgating different interpretations of royalty, accessibility and privacy, see: Spangler, "Aulic Spaces Transplanted," 49–62.

coronation. The usual sequence in Scotland mirrored the English tradition, but exceptions to this had occurred previously.<sup>524</sup> Furthermore, the opening succeeded the appointment of a regent and Scottish rulers were known to emancipate themselves from the regency government(s) upon embarking on their personal rule with a revocation of preceding legislation. Another interesting detail illustrative of the conception of monarchy, at least if the seventeenth-century Scottish *ordo* is anything to go by, is the fact that during the coronation ceremony the Scots reciprocated the monarch's oath while touching the crown, an emblem of royalty.<sup>525</sup> In the English ceremony on the other hand, the oaths of fealty by the elites is followed by a kiss on the cheek of their monarch. While the English scenario encourages the primary identification with the person or body natural of the monarch, the Scottish variation emphasises the enduring body politic as represented by the regalia taking precedence over the body natural. Dean surmises that this latter scenario was introduced with the minorities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to allow for the presence of the full-scale *Honours of Scotland* regardless of the monarch's age.<sup>526</sup> Similarly, one might argue, the young age of the monarchs discouraged any close personal contact between them and their subjects. Consequently, the body natural and body politic necessarily became distinct entities, separated at least in spatial terms.

All in all, the ceremonies differed considerably and their elements, while championing tradition, were relatively adaptable to a variety of circumstances. Nonetheless, the ceremony was performed with due diligence in all cases. The coronation thus remained an important feature of monarchical rule, irrespective of the particular circumstances and its significance in the individual cases.

---

<sup>524</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 158.

<sup>525</sup> Lindsay, "Forme," 9.

<sup>526</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 164.

## Chapter 3: Marriage

### I) Introduction

A peculiarity of the English language, which also survives in its French origins, is the two-fold meaning of the word 'marriage' ('mariage'). According to David Cressy marriage is "both a ritual process of transformation and an enduring state of affairs."<sup>527</sup> He therefore distinguishes the event, the nuptials or wedding from the state, matrimony. The two are invariably linked, for the wedding is the prerequisite for the state of matrimony, while the state invests the wedding with its significance. In the sixteenth century, matrimony was not only the exclusive domain of socially and religiously approved sexual activity, but also the sole state in which to produce legitimate offspring. The question of succession was a crucial issue in all unions discussed here. Although the significance of the wedding consisted in its legitimising character, the transformative and creative character of the ceremony was its most important ritual element. According to David Loades "royal marriages were the very essence of high politics in medieval and early modern Europe."<sup>528</sup> As such, the marriage ceremonies of Mary Tudor, Marie de Guise and her daughter Mary Stewart presented and defined many of the different forms and interpretations of queenship existing in sixteenth-century Western Europe. Although the separate roles of sovereign and consort in royal marriages were firmly established, the marriage ceremonies of Mary Tudor and Mary Stewart comprised conflicting imagery, where symbols of sovereignty and deference were in turn attributed to the female sovereign or her partner as consort. In the Anglo-Spanish match, where the ambiguity was greatest, it was largely intentional. A symbolic compromise emerged, which everyone would accept as it allowed each partner and their retinues to emphasise those moments, which demonstrated both their superiority as well as their inclination to adapt to the foreign customs. In the Franco-Scottish match the imagery was less ambiguous, but in this case a separation of ritual spheres, with distinct celebrations in France and Scotland ensured the initial approval of both parties. As the marriages of these women fluctuated between international politics and the consolidation of power at home, the motivations of the partners and their respective families and subjects made their mark. The following chapter traces these motivations in the context of the marriage ceremony and relates them to their symbolic representations. In doing so, the flexibility of the rituals, but also the ingenuity of the organisers and participants are once again highlighted. Nonetheless, the examples prove how a marriage could shake the very foundations of regnant queenship, more so than any other ceremony.

---

<sup>527</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 285.

<sup>528</sup> David M. Loades, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (Stroud: Amberley, 2009), 7.



## II) Marie de Guise

Marie de Guise married James V on Monday, 17 June 1538 in St Andrew's Cathedral.<sup>529</sup> James V's first royal wedding to Madeleine de Valois had been celebrated in France, hence this was to be the first wedding on Scottish soil since that of James' parents in 1503. It presented the Scottish court with the opportunity to stage a large-scale celebration. Accordingly, the Scottish elites received their invitations to attend "the quenis landing" and the subsequent wedding from April onwards.<sup>530</sup> The treaty of Rouen, contracted by John Stewart, Duke of Albany and regent of Scotland in August 1517, decreed a marital union between James and a daughter of François I<sup>er</sup>.<sup>531</sup> The treaty thus revived not only the military aspects of the 220-years-old 'Auld Alliance'<sup>532</sup> between Scotland and France, but also sought to strengthen it through a dynastic union. Upon entering into his adult rule, James committed himself to the alliance unreservedly. First, he pursued Princess Madeleine despite François I<sup>er</sup>'s endeavours to marry him to Marie de Bourbon, daughter of Charles, duc de Vendôme instead. After Madeleine's early death, he again sought a French bride and upon this occasion accepted the choice François made on his behalf.<sup>533</sup> Although this alliance was not as prestigious as James's first and Marie's father had only recently been elevated to ducal status (1527), Marie was a granddaughter of the sovereign prince, René II, duc de Lorraine. She was also descended from François de Bourbon-Vendôme, comte de Vendôme – the father of the abovementioned Charles – on her mother's side. Last but not least, the widowed Marie de Guise had proven her childbearing abilities in her previous marriage with the birth of two sons, but at twenty-two was young enough to bear further children. The match was uncontroversial at the time, since Marie was well-suited as a queen consort of Scotland and religion was not yet an issue there. In time, however, the marriage's legacy would bear directly upon Scotland's religious and dynastic climate.

Scottish chronicles are only moderately forthcoming on this occasion and what they convey lies within the bounds of convention.<sup>534</sup> Further details can be gathered from

<sup>529</sup> The date is approximate, based on the date of her arrival as specified in: NRS, E 31/7; Also: Thomson, *Diurnal*, 22; Pitscottie's narrative implies that she was married on the following day: *Historie*, 1:379; Also see: Dean, "Representations of Authority," 284–285, fn. 373.

<sup>530</sup> The list in the accounts is not exhaustive, they specify only a few titles, i.e. Lord Erskine and Lord Panmure. See: *TA*, 6:408, 418.

<sup>531</sup> "Traité de Rouen entre la France et l'Écosse", 26 August 1517, Rouen, in Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:4, 8; Elizabeth Bonner, "Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295–1560," *History* 84, no. 273 (1999): 24; Elizabeth Bonner, "Stewart, John, Second Duke of Albany (c. 1482 – 1536)," *ODNB*. Albany, although the heir presumptive to the Scottish throne, had been raised in France at the French court and among the family of his mother, Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne.

<sup>532</sup> The term 'Auld Alliance' has become a definitive term in contemporary historiography of the Franco-Scottish alliances between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its history has been traced by a number of historians, among them: Gordon Donaldson, *The Auld Alliance: The Franco-Scottish Connection*, Saltire Pamphlets, New Series 6 (Edinburgh: Saltire Society & L'Institut Français d'Ecosse, 1985); Bonner, "Scotland's 'Auld Alliance'"; Macdougall, *Antidote to the English*; The following French publications refer to the same Scots term: Durot, "La crépuscule de l'Auld Alliance."; Marie-Noëlle Baudouin-Matuszek, "Henri II et les expéditions françaises en Ecosse," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 145, no. 2 (1987): 341.

<sup>533</sup> For further discussion on James V's first French marriage see: Edmond Bapst, *Les mariages de Jacques V* (Paris, 1889); Dean, "Representations of Authority," chap. 3.4.

<sup>534</sup> Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 155–156; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:377–381; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 22.

the financial accounts in both France and Scotland as well as the marriage articles.<sup>535</sup> The latter do not survive in the original form, only as a French copy of the minutes summarizing the articles. Whether the terms of the minutes reflect the extent of the original agreement cannot be established with any certainty, but they largely reflect the treaties drawn up previously for Marie de Bourbon's intended and Madeleine's actual marriage to James V.<sup>536</sup>

The dynastic consequence of the match framed the ceremonies as well as their legal foundations in the marriage articles. The fact that François I<sup>er</sup> furnished almost half of the dowry attests to endorsement of the match, although the greater part was to be redirected from his previous endowment in Marie's first marriage.<sup>537</sup> The entire sum was more modest than the 250,000 *lt* dowry of her predecessor Madeleine de Valois, however the first share of this had already been paid to James upon the 1536 marriage and by 1539 he had therefore benefitted from a total of 250,000 *lt* paid into his treasury.<sup>538</sup> The treaty also ensured that Marie's situation in case of James' premature death was secured, chiefly because parts of the dowry would revert to her, the sum dependent on whether they had children or not.<sup>539</sup> She was also to receive the customary dower lands in the earldoms of Fife, Strathearn<sup>540</sup>, Ross and Orkney and the lordships of Galloway, Ardmeanach and the Isles or of similar territories in association with specific palaces or castles, namely Falkland and Fife, Stirling and Strathearn, Dingwall and Ross and finally Threave and Galloway. Furthermore, the Guise family, including Marie, was not accountable for any debt incurred by the Stewarts.<sup>541</sup> Essentially, the treaty created the powerbase which Marie relied upon in her eighteen years as queen dowager of Scotland.

"As use is" in a foreign match, a proxy wedding proceeded in the bride's home country on 8 May 1538 at Châteaudun, the domain of Marie's two-year-old son François, the young duc de Longueville.<sup>542</sup> The ceremony was Marie's farewell from her family, including her son, as well as her native country and it allowed her French relatives to mark the occasion according to their own customs. Still, James V sent a sizeable delegation, which included officials, minstrels and retainers of several Scottish lords.<sup>543</sup> At its head stood Robert, fifth Lord Maxwell<sup>544</sup>, a trusted aid of James V, who deputized in the proxy

<sup>535</sup> Proxy wedding: Paul Marichal, *Catalogue des actes de François Ier* (Paris: Académie des sciences morales et politiques, 1889), 3:549; Dowry: Paul Marichal, *Catalogue des actes de François Ier* (Paris: Académie des sciences morales et politiques, 1905), 8:224; Scottish wedding: *TA*, 6:397, 408–410, 418.

<sup>536</sup> NLS, Adv. MS 29.2.1, fos. 1–2; Apparently printed from a different source with minor deviations in: Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:115–118; Bapst records the Guise acceptance of the terms stated in these minutes, but does not offer any proof of this beyond rumours from the English court: *Mariages de Jacques V*, 325; Ritchie cites the terms of these minutes, but presents them as the official marriage contract signed by all commissioners in *Mary of Guise*, 14.

<sup>537</sup> Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:116.

<sup>538</sup> BNF, Clair. 335, f. 340v.

<sup>539</sup> Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:116.

<sup>540</sup> I believe the manuscript refers to Strathearn, but the passage is difficult to decipher and Teulet transcribes it as "Strahwic". This, however, does not make sense. See: NLS, Adv. MS 29.2.1, f. 2r; Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:117.

<sup>541</sup> Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:98, 117; BNF, Clair. 335, f. 341r.

<sup>542</sup> Marichal, *Actes de François I*, 3:549; *TA*, 7:56; Citation from Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 155. He situates the celebrations in Paris.

<sup>543</sup> *TA*, 6:391–392.

<sup>544</sup> Maxwell had been one of six vice-regents in Scotland during James V's sojourn in France from 1536–1537.

ceremony on the king's behalf and proffered Marie "ane ring witht ane diamand to be the quenis grace spousing ring."<sup>545</sup> According to Lesley, Maxwell and Marie exchanged their vows "in presens of the [French] King and mony nobill men."<sup>546</sup> Despite Lesley's imprecise details, François I<sup>er</sup>'s attendance is likely given his role in the preceding negotiations. Unfortunately, further descriptions of the ceremony do not survive and as we also lack the dated marriage articles, we cannot confirm whether they were ritually acknowledged during the ceremony.

Upon her arrival in Scotland, Marie was expected to acquaint herself with her new home and her new role as queen consort. For this purpose, the king prepared a lavish welcome, which culminated in the wedding ceremony. Upon news of her landing on 16 June 1538 – Trinity Sunday – just off the coast of St Andrews near Balcomie Fife, James and his entourage set out to meet her. In this he followed his father's example who had set out to meet his own bride Margaret Tudor on her arrival in Scotland.<sup>547</sup> They then conducted her to St Andrews, where her arrival was marked by a brief royal entry. The only extant information is Pitscottie's reference to a pageant at the city's New Abbey gate. The pageant itself, devised by David Lindsay, future Lyon king of arms, consisted of a mechanical cloud, descending and parting to reveal the habitual welcoming angel with a set of keys to "haill Scotland." Lindsay meanwhile, apprised Marie of her subjects' expectations: she was "to serve her god, obey hir husband, and keep hir body clene according to godis will and commandement."<sup>548</sup> The descending cloud symbolized divine favour of the union through which Marie became queen consort of Scotland. The symbolic act of handing over the keys was a typical and universal sign of welcome, which a town advanced to royal guests both in Scotland and on the continent. Its association with the cautionary speeches, however, created a welcome dependent on Marie's fulfilment of her expected role. This involved religious piety and the future bearing of heirs to the throne. Unfortunately, Pitscottie is not more forthcoming on other features of that entry. However, according to him, she was immediately taken to her lodgings in the *Hospitium Novum* or New Inns, supposedly erected for her predecessor Madeleine in close proximity to the entry gates.<sup>549</sup> St Andrews had no bespoke royal residence and James usually resided as a guest in the archbishop's palace near the cathedral. As such, the town was an interesting choice in order to welcome his French bride. Marie's introduction to Scotland and its culture continued the day after the wedding – 18 June – as she set out in the company of the provost and others to inspect St Andrew's churches, friaries, colleges and university. The geographic location of the different stations indicates that she progressed along the length

<sup>545</sup> TA, 7:56; Also see: Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (1977), 53–54; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 284.

<sup>546</sup> Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 155. Lesley situates the celebrations in Paris; Châteaudun is recorded in: Marichal, *Actes de François I*, 3:549; TA, 7:56.

<sup>547</sup> Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 155; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 22; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:378; "Fyancells of Margaret," in Leland and Hearne, *Collectanea*, 4:283.

<sup>548</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:379; The angel also appeared in Margaret's welcome in 1503. Then however, it was seated in a window. See: "Fyancells of Margaret," in Leland and Hearne, *Collectanea*, 4:289.

<sup>549</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:379; David H. Fleming, *Hand-Book to St. Andrews*, new ed. (St. Andrews: Innes, 1910), 64–69.

of South Street as well as parts of the other two principal east-west trajectories, namely Market and North Street.<sup>550</sup> Within two days of her arrival, she had toured the greater part of the city and its principal religious and academic monuments.

The actual marriage took place the next morning, on Monday, 17 June, at the cathedral. The sources do not mention the officiator directly, but the *Diurnal* singles out the archbishop of Glasgow – Gavin Dunbar – from among those present. This, however, appears extremely improbable. James Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews, is a more likely candidate as spiritual overlord.<sup>551</sup> Dean has identified an ensemble of white satin, velvet and taffeta with cloth of gold, listed in the *Treasurer Accounts* for that month, as James's likely attire on his wedding day. She further suggests that the bejewelled bonnet he wore on his head symbolised his "increasing self-confidence," particularly since a bonnet replaced the crown in his representation on the coinage in the following year.<sup>552</sup> Presumably, Marie provided her own dress and there is hence no extant record of her wedding attire. A banquet after Mass permitted the queen to acquaint herself further with "mony of the nobill men of Scotland," who attended the celebrations. Unfortunately, Pitscottie fails to expand on the "playing and phrassis," which followed the meal, however the evening supposedly comprised a fair amount of dancing.<sup>553</sup> The couple's prolonged residence at St Andrews – another forty days – provided Marie with further opportunities to discover her new home. The merriments throughout the summer included hunting, jousting, feasting, dancing and masks.<sup>554</sup>

James V was particularly keen to enhance Scotland's European reputation and had previously invested heavily in architectural and cultural projects inspired among others by French examples.<sup>555</sup> With the marriage to Madeleine James V had advanced his aim considerably. His second marriage to Marie de Guise ensured that the link to France endured. It was essentially a safe choice, since she had previously borne sons and was reportedly of a strong constitution. Marie in turn, benefitted from her elevation from duchess to queen consort and her family gained further influence on the European map. The rituals, or what we know of them, clearly spelled out her role in Scotland. She was a cultural focal point at the Scottish court, but her primary duty was to assist her husband in securing the dynasty, both through the birth of an heir as well as in the daily exercise of court life.

---

<sup>550</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:380.

<sup>551</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 22.

<sup>552</sup> *TA*, 6:397, 408; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 285.

<sup>553</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 22; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 156.

<sup>554</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 1:381; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 156.

<sup>555</sup> For more detail see Edington, *Court and Culture*; Thomas, *Princelie Majestie*; Spangler, "Aulic Spaces Transplanted," 49–62.

### III) Mary Tudor

In the morning of Wednesday, 25 July 1554 Mary Tudor married Philip, Prince of Spain at Winchester Cathedral. As the son of Charles V, Philip was Mary's first cousin, once removed. Their brief union of four years was based on family relations rather than a long tradition of alliances, marital or otherwise. Mary's mother Catalina de Aragon had been the first royal bride of Aragonese descent in England and Anglo-Castilian matches were almost as rare.<sup>556</sup> The familial attraction was undoubtedly enhanced by dynastic and religious considerations on both sides. Philip and his father were powerful allies in re-establishing Catholicism in England. Furthermore, a match of a regnant queen with the heir to an empire bore the opportunity not only of a shared foreign policy, but potentially of territorial unification under the next generation. Akin to the role of female consorts, Philip travelled to England for the wedding and the initial period of married life. In many other regards, however, the ceremonies and treaties that they entailed differed considerably from the unions of previous female consorts and male monarchs.

Due to the dynastic and religious implications of the union, it generated widespread interest in both countries concerned, as well as in a wider European context. Corinna Streckfuss identifies ten narrative accounts of the journey and marriage, which were published – largely anonymously – in five different languages soon after.<sup>557</sup> The Spanish and Italian accounts, whose authors have been identified, originated among Philip's entourage, such as the *Viaje de Felipe Segundo* by Andrés Muñoz, Pedro Enriquez's *Carta primera* and Giovanni Paulo Car's *Partita*.<sup>558</sup> Others circulated in Italy and the Empire.<sup>559</sup> Only one English publication is extant today, written by the Scot John Elder,

<sup>556</sup> Corinna Streckfuss, "'Spes Maxima Nostra': European Propaganda and the Spanish Match," in Hunt and Whitelock, *Tudor Queenship*, 150. Streckfuss claims the opposite, but the two Castilian matches of English kings in the medieval period hardly qualify as "a long tradition of unions between England and Spain" when contrasted to the number of both English and other foreign unions.

<sup>557</sup> For a detailed analysis of all publications and the authors of these tracts, see: *ibid.*, 145–146, 154, fn. 146–147, 149–110.

<sup>558</sup> Andrés Muñoz, *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra por Andrés Muñoz (impreso en Zaragoza en 1554) y relaciones varias relativas al mismo suceso*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos, La sociedad de bibliófilos españoles 15 (Madrid: Aribau, 1877), 65–79. He was a servant of Philip's son Don Carlos and possibly used reports sent to him by others with regard to English events; Pedro Enriquez, "Carta primera de lo sucedido en el viaje de S. A. á Inglaterra año de 1554," in *ibid.*, 85–101. He was one of Philip's stewards; Giovanni P. Car., *La Partita del serenissimo príncipe con l'armata di Spagna, et l'arrivata sua in Inghilterra, et l'ordine tenuto dalla regina in ricevere sua altezza* (Rome: Dorico, 1554?). He was a servant of a member of Philip's entourage; An adapted account in the form of a letter was published later: *Copia d'vna lettera scritta all'illustratissimo S. Francesco Tauerna Crancanz. etc. da vno gentil'huomo della corte del Serenissimo Re di Spagna, da Vincetre alli xxv di Guilio el felicissimo viaggio in Inghilterra, [et] delli sponsalitti fatti con quella Serenissima Regina* ([1555]); Further information on the sources and their probable authors can be found in Martin A. Hume, "The Visit of Philip II, 1554," *English Historical Review* 7, no. 26 (1892): 256–259. I have not verified his claims.

<sup>559</sup> Italian: *Narratione assai piu particolare della prima, del viaggio, et dell'entrata del Serenissimo Principe di Spagna, al presente Re d'Inghilterra [...]* ([Rome?], [1554]); *Il trionfo delle superbe nozze fatte nel sposalitio del principe di il Spagna [et] la regina d'Inghilterra, con numero delli principi, signori, [et] ambasciatori che si trouorno alle presente nozze, con il numero delle velle dell'armata che venne con il principe* ([Rome?], [1554]); *La solenne et felice intrata delli serenissimi re Philippo, et regina Maria d'Inghilterra* ([Milan?], 1554); German: *Neuwe Zeytung was sich jetzt verschinen tagen mit des Printzen ankunfft inn Engellandt [...]* *zugetragen hat* (Augsburg: Zimmermann, 1554); Dutch: *Een nieuu tiidinghe hoe dat die Prince van Spaengien triumphelick aengecome is in Enghelandt mist gaders die bruyloft te Winchestre ghehouden* ([1554]); *Seker nieuwe tijdinge hoe dat de Prince van Spaengien triumphelick aengecome is in Enghelandt midtsgaders de bruyloft te Winchestre ghehouden* (Antwerp: van Ghelen, [1554]).

tutor of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley and based on a letter sent to an associate in Scotland.<sup>560</sup> Instead, the official heraldic report was deposited in manuscript form.<sup>561</sup> The same applies to letters written by Juan de Barahona and Jean de Vandenesse, members of the Spanish and Imperial delegations and various diplomatic missives.<sup>562</sup> The marriage articles survive in several manuscript forms and include a version ratified by the English Parliament.<sup>563</sup>

Duncan recently emphasised Mary's agency in the marriage negotiations as she asserted her will both in the choice of her husband as well as in the terms of their union.<sup>564</sup> In view of the succession and her gender, Mary's council or countrymen never questioned the need for her to find a husband swiftly. The question of her choice of husband, however, was widely debated and many of her councillors, including Gardiner, favoured the only English candidate Edward Courtenay, first Earl of Devon. Mary was determined to marry Philip of Spain and boldly defended her authority on the matter in front of the members of Parliament.<sup>565</sup> Her active promotion of the union stands in stark contrast to Philip's involvement in the negotiations. It was his father Charles V and his commissioners who drafted the marriage articles.<sup>566</sup> The pronounced role of a parent was not unusual, but Charles's role demonstrates that he, not Philip, believed the match's dynastic potential to outweigh any disadvantages the union to a queen regnant and a thirty-eight-year-old spinster might entail. A marriage with the English queen was of strategic importance to the Habsburgs, both because of the prestige inherent in Mary's sovereignty in her own right and because of England's geographical position on the northern side of the Channel opposite France. It therefore carried the potential promise of active English support in the Habsburg-Valois wars and the extension of Habsburg influence into England in the form of an heir. A marriage alliance between Mary and Philip would also ensure a united front of both the queen and her consort in questions of religion. All of these reasons, except the last, antagonised the greater part of Mary's councillors. Once they accepted the match,

<sup>560</sup> John Elder, *The Copie of a Letter Sent in to Scotlande of the Ariuall and Landynge and [...] Marryage of [...] Philippe, Prynce of Spaine to the Princess Marye Quene of England, Solemnised in the Citie of Winchester [...]* (London: Waylande, 1555); As previously, I will refer to the edited version in Elder, "Letter."

<sup>561</sup> "Heralds' account," in BL, Add. 4712, fos. 79–80; Printed in: "Heralds' Account," in *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, ed. Nichols, 167–172.

<sup>562</sup> Jean de Vandenesse, "Journal des voyages de Philippe II, de 1554 à 1569," in Gachard and Piot, *Collection des voyages*, 4:15–18; Juan de Barahona, "Viaje del principe D. Felipe a Inglaterra y casamiento con la reina Maria," in Malfatti, *Accession, Coronation and Marriage*, 139–145; Diplomatic reports: Figueroa to Emperor, 26 July 1554, in *CODOIN*, 3:523; Ambassadors to Emperor, [26/27 July 1554], in Weiss, *Papiers d'état*, 4:277–279; Marco Antonio Da Mula, Venetian ambassador to England, to Doge and Senate, Brussels, 28 July 1554, in "July 1554," *CSPV*, 5:923; The French ambassador sent a report and a letter to Henri II on 27 July 1554, but he did not participate in the wedding festivities. See: Vertot and Villaret, *Ambassades*, 3:284–289, 290–291.

<sup>563</sup> English: TNA, SP 11/1; Printed in: Hughes and Larkin, *TRP*, 2:21–25, which includes a useful survey of the various manuscripts and printed versions; Act of Parliament: 1 Mary St. 3, c. 2, printed in: Luders et al., *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:222–226.

<sup>564</sup> Duncan, *Mary I*, 45–53.

<sup>565</sup> Ambassadors in England to the Emperor Charles V, London, 4 September 1553, in "September 1553, 1–5," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Simon Renard to Emperor, London, 17 November 1553, in Gachard and Piot, *Collection des voyages*, 4:72, p. 207; See the more detailed discussions in Duncan, *Mary I*, 39–43; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 142–144.

<sup>566</sup> E.g.: Renard to Emperor, London, 23 October 1553, in "October 1553, 21–25," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11.

they made an effort to defend the English interests in all of these scenarios by means of the marriage contract.<sup>567</sup>

Their efforts resulted in the formulation of two separate marriage treaties. The first addressed Philip's future role in England but briefly and instead concentrated on conventional terms such as the dower and succession. The chief deviation from previous treaties consists in the absence of a dowry on behalf of the queen, while an annual dower of £60,000, mostly from Philip's Spanish territories, is stipulated.<sup>568</sup> The additional articles carefully regulated Philip's power with all its limitations. Thus, although the principal treaty accorded Philip the "Stile Honoure and Kinglye Name of the Realmes and Domynyons unto the said most noble Quene apperteyning" and further permitted and encouraged Philip to "ayde her, Highnes being his Wyef, in the happye administracon of her Graces Realmes and Dominions," the restrictions to his authority were numerous.<sup>569</sup> Not only did the treaty curtail Philip's authorisation to dispense offices, posts and benefices or to remove goods or people such as the queen and their prospective children from English territory, he was also expressly prohibited from changing either law or customs. The articles further prevented any English involvement in the war between the Empire and France and Philip was required to receive English nationals into his household "in a convenient nombre". Finally, in the case of Mary's premature death without any heir, he was to relinquish his role as king according to the terms of succession set out in English law.<sup>570</sup> Medieval precedents elsewhere in Europe emphasised the necessity to carefully regulate the exercise of king- or queenship in view of marriages of queens regnant.<sup>571</sup> Duncan boldly claims the English success in defending their independence for Mary herself. She identifies several occasions upon which Mary exploited Renard's female preconceptions and proffered her council's antagonism to the match as an excuse to elicit a preview of the treaties and the inclusion of favourable terms from Charles and his commissioners. The extent of Mary's involvement and scheming is difficult to assess, since the relevant testimony on the subject stems mainly from Renard, the Imperial ambassador. At the very least, her involvement shows her dedication to the marriage and the extent of her willingness to procure it.<sup>572</sup>

Yet despite, Charles V's obvious inclination to see the marriage through, it would be a mistake to interpret the treaties entirely as an English triumph. The emperor initiated the symbolic separation into two treaties, arguing that the additional clauses deviated from the usual content of marriage treaties and that a single document would be too unwieldy.<sup>573</sup> This detachment is particular important in the context of Philip's secret refusal

<sup>567</sup> E.g. Renard to Emperor, London, 8 November 1553, in Gachard and Piot, *Collection des voyages*, 4:63, p. 194–195; For a short discussion of Charles V's plans for an Anglo-Habsburg marital union from 1550 onwards see Samson, "A Fine Romance," 82.

<sup>568</sup> 1 Mary St. 3, c. 2, in Luders et al., *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:223.

<sup>569</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>570</sup> *Ibid.*, 222, 224.

<sup>571</sup> Elena Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics, and Partnership, 1274–1512*, Queenship and Power (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 10–12, 15–16.

<sup>572</sup> Renard to Emperor, London, 23 October 1553, in "Oct 1553, 21–25," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; The same to the same, 4 November 1553, in "November 1553, 1–5," *ibid.*; Duncan, *Mary I*, 50–51.

<sup>573</sup> Emperor to Renard, Brussels, 28 November 1553, in Weiss, *Papiers d'état*, 4:54, p. 157.

“to bind himself or his heirs to observe the articles” regardless of his ratification thereof in front of several of his advisors.<sup>574</sup> Furthermore, Samson has drawn attention to the similarity of certain clauses to those contained in the marriage contract of the bride and groom’s grand- or great-grandparents Isabella I and Ferdinand II. The outcome of that union after Isabella’s death was a testimony to the opportunities a father could exploit if an heir existed.<sup>575</sup> Thirdly, the treaties’ silence on certain issues is at least suggestive. Originally, Charles V equated the entire kingdom of England with Mary’s dowry. Yet Renard responded that according to English custom “a kingdom might not be spoken of as a dowry” and that therefore the original wording of the Imperial draft for the marriage articles had to be changed accordingly and the term removed from it.<sup>576</sup> A simple removal of the term, however, did not strengthen the English interpretation. Furthermore, Charles V specifically instructed Renard not to address the question of regency on behalf of a minor, in order to prevent an additional clause to the articles on the matter. In its absence, he was certain of his son’s legal preference and hence his continued influence in England, especially since Mary’s earlier demise both in regard to her age and the perils of childbirth was all the more likely.<sup>577</sup> Charles appears to have largely speculated on long-term developments, hoping for Philip’s ability to assert himself once in England and also for potential offspring, despite Mary’s advanced age. Thus, the primary treaty envisages a succession, which corresponds with Charles’s visions of a wide-reaching Habsburg Empire, albeit governed by different members of the family. Since Philip had a son, Carlos, from his previous marriage with Maria Manuela de Portugal, any children from his second marriage could only inherit lands on the Spanish and Italian peninsulas if the line of the existing heir, Carlos, failed. Otherwise, the eldest male child or in the absence of such, the eldest female child would inherit only the Burgundian and Lower German territories together with the crown of England. Further brothers or sisters were to be awarded with smaller portions of land in England and the Lower German territories. The marriage of a female heir to the English and Lower German territories was subject to the approval of her half-brother Carlos, if the groom was a foreigner. Given Charles’s vision, the passage that “whatsoever he or she bee that shall succede to them, they shall leave to every of the sayd Realms Landes and Dominions whole and entyer their Privileges Rightes and Customes, and the same Realms and Dominions shall administer and cause to bee administred by the naturall borne of the same Realme Domnions and Landes, and in all thinges faithfully procure their utilitee and quiett, and shalle rule and nourrishe them in good Justice and Peace, according to their Statutes & Costomes” is hardly surprising.<sup>578</sup> Finally, although Philip’s role of consort was carefully trimmed, Mary’s function in Spain was virtually non-

<sup>574</sup> “A writing ad cautelam, drawn up on account of this capitulation,” Valladolid, 4 January 1554, in “January 1554, 1–10,” *CSP Spain*, vol. 12; Prince Philip’s procuration, Valladolid, 5 January 1554, in Gachard and Piot, *Collection des voyages*, 4:129, pp. 283–284.

<sup>575</sup> Samson, “Changing Places,” 775.

<sup>576</sup> Renard to Emperor, London, 8 December 1553, in Gachard and Piot, *Collection des voyages*, 4:91, p. 238; English quotation in “December 1553, 1–10,” *CSP Spain*, vol. 11.

<sup>577</sup> Emperor to Renard, Brussels, 28 November 1553, in Weiss, *Papiers d’état*, 4:54, p. 158–159.

<sup>578</sup> 1 Mary St. 3, c. 2, in Luders et al., *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:223–224.



existent, beyond the financial benefits of a dower – again unlikely given the age of both partners – and the clause promising to introduce her into the local society.<sup>579</sup> Although a bias to alleviate English anxieties is clearly visible in the texts, the fine print – or the absence thereof – potentially shifts the balance to a certain extent in the Habsburg or Spanish favour.

Traditionally, English historiography of the marriage has focused on the climate of fear and suspicion, in which the marriage was negotiated.<sup>580</sup> The need to bolster Mary's authority through legislation is particularly evident in the preparations for her marriage. As Duncan argues, contemporaries perceived the upcoming marriage and the presence of another king as a threat to Mary's enactment of the deliberate dual role as both king and queen.<sup>581</sup> The unique legislative measures of the April Parliament encompassed the publication and parliamentary ratification of the marriage articles as well as the "Act on the Queen's Regal Power." This second act attested that "all Regall Power Dignitie Honour Authoritie Prerogative Preheminence and Jurisdictions" would apply to Mary as queen "in as full large and ample maner as it hath done heretofore to any other her most noble Progenitours Kinges of this Realme."<sup>582</sup> The "Acte touching the Articles of the [...] Marriage," comprised an English translation of the two Latin treaties, but it also included extensive commentary, additionally reassuring the English public that despite her marriage, Mary as "a sole Quene, [will] use have and enjoye the Crowne and Soverayntie of and over yo' Realmes Dominions and Subjectes."<sup>583</sup> During the wedding ceremony, the ratification of the articles was publically proclaimed to the assembled guests.<sup>584</sup> This legislation protected Mary's queenship and ensured the sanctioning of the match by the English elites. It tied her queenship quite visibly to Parliament.

As with the treaties themselves, the organisers of the wedding ceremony on 25 July 1554 sought to allay fears the participants and onlookers might have regarding Philip's role in England. However, not only do the different agendas of the multitude of chroniclers blur the picture, but the entire proceedings imply that this was only one part of the story. Evidently, the English emphasise the queen's superior status, while the Spanish and Imperial authors sought to elevate Philip's role and appearance. At times, it is merely a question of interpretation and exactitude. This applies to the couple's staggered departure for Winchester Cathedral, with Philip arriving almost half-an-hour before the queen. It was not unusual for the groom to precede the bride, but the extent of the delay recorded was. Similarly, although the queen's familiar and impressive entourage distinguished her for all to see, Figueroa does not fail to comment derogatively on the women's age. For him, Philip's own entourage, with the foreign ambassadors and English knights compares more

<sup>579</sup> 1 Mary St. 3, c. 2, in Luders et al., *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:223.

<sup>580</sup> Hume, "Visit of Philip II," 259–260; Glyn Redworth, "Matters Impertinent to Women: Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary," *English Historical Review* 112, no. 447 (1997): 598; Samson, "Changing Places," 763; Samson, "A Fine Romance," 89; Most recently in Duncan, *Mary I*, 43–44.

<sup>581</sup> Duncan, *Mary I*, 58–59.

<sup>582</sup> 1 Mary St. 3, c. 1, in Luders et al., *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:222.

<sup>583</sup> 1 Mary St. 3, c. 2, in *ibid.*, 225.

<sup>584</sup> "Heralds' Account," in BL, Add. MS 4712, f.79v; Enriquez, "Carta primera," 94.

favourably. With regard to the most potent symbol of sovereignty in the procession, the sword of state, the heralds' account emphasises that Mary alone had it carried before her by Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby as she entered the cathedral. According to their reasoning Philip only warranted such a distinction after his elevation to king. Yet the Spanish reports fail to distinguish between this differentiation in the couple's treatment. They either assert that both had a sword carried before them from the beginning, or like Elder, claim that the swords appeared only after the marriage ceremony was concluded.<sup>585</sup> Concerning Mary's and Philip's position during the ceremony the reports clearly contradict one another. Elder and the heralds place Mary on the superior right side of the stage, however Barahona ascribes her a place on the left. On the other hand, Mary's preferential treatment during the wedding feast, where she was seated in the most prestigious seat and served on gold rather than silver plate like her husband, is recorded by Muñoz. He also offers an explanation, arguing that it was Philip's yet uncrowned status, which warranted the distinction.<sup>586</sup>

The abovementioned symbols emphasized Mary's superiority and largely concurred with Philip's role as consort, however other elements of the wedding and the surrounding ceremonies detract from this clear-cut division of roles. Charles V and Philip were keenly aware of the latter's inferior titles as prince rather than king of Spain. Accordingly, Charles sought to rectify this by transferring the crowns of Naples and Jerusalem to his son, thereby elevating him to kingship before his wedding. Figueroa's principal mission was the official proclamation of this decision to the English. The sources are at odds concerning the exact timeline of events, but Figueroa's own version on the subject must surely be the most authoritative. According to him, he informed Philip of his father's intentions shortly after his landing in England. Mary, in turn, received the news during her second meeting with Philip. Together they decided to publicly declare the new titles during the wedding ceremony. Thus, shortly after Mary and Philip's arrival in Winchester Cathedral Figueroa officially read out the letters patent, which pronounced Philip's new titles as king of Naples and Jerusalem. Gardiner then repeated this proclamation in English. Philip's elevation of status was symbolic, but since the titles would also be transferred to Mary with the marriage, their prestige enhanced her status alongside Philip's.<sup>587</sup>

<sup>585</sup> "Heralds' Account," in BL, Add. MS 4712, fos. 79r, 80r; Enriquez, "Carta primera," 94; Car., *Partita del Serenissimo Principe*, sig. A4a; Andrés Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion del buen viaje que el invictissimo Principe de las Españas don Felipe hizo á Inglaterra, y recebimiento en Vincestre donde caso y salio para Londres, en el cual se contiene grandes y marauillosas cosas que en este tiempo passaron," in *Viaje de Felipe Segundo*, ed. Gayangos, 74; Elder mentions both swords together after the marriage, but not before. See: "Letter," 141; Ambassadors to Emperor, [26/27 July 1554], in *Papiers d'état*, 4:91, p. 278.

<sup>586</sup> "Heralds' Account," in BL, Add. MS 4712, f. 80r; Elder, "Letter," 141; Barahona, "Viaje del principe," 142; Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 75.

<sup>587</sup> The importance of this proclamation Europe-wide is clearly indicated by the number of diplomatic and narrative sources, which recorded it. See: Figueroa to Emperor, 26 July 1554 in Navarrete, Salvá, and de Baranda, *CODOIN*, 3:521–524; Enriquez, "Carta primera," 93–94; Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 72; Barahona, "Viaje del principe," 143; "Heralds' Account," in BL, Add. MS 4712, f. 79v; Vandenesse records the proclamation on the previous day, in "Journal," 17; Elder, "Letter," 141; Car., *Partita del Serenissimo Principe*, sig. A4a; Commendone, "Events," 52; Da Mula to Doge and Senate, 28 July 1554, in "Jul 1554," *CSPV*, 5:923.

Upon two other occasions, however, Mary subjected herself to Philip's authority. Both pronounced identical marriage vows, with two notable exceptions: while Mary endowed Philip with all her "worldly goods," Philip merely pledged his "moveable goods." Her promise transgressed the terms of the marriage articles, for it implied that Philip would share with her the government of England, whereas Mary might only partake in his wealth and possessions. As in the marriage treaty, Mary was excluded from a share in Philip's authority by the omission of certain terms: a passage regulating this authority in the first instance and the removal of the words 'worldly' in the second. Furthermore, Mary's vow included an additional line in which she promised "to be compliant and obedient to you as much in mind as in body." This promise of obedience conformed to traditional patriarchal conceptions of marriage, but again threatened to disturb Mary's sovereignty. In recognition of this contract, Philip presented his bride with a ring, a simple golden band.<sup>588</sup> Later, in what was the climax of the wedding, Garter king of arms and the other heralds proclaimed the new titles of the couple in English, Latin and French: "Philip and Marie, by the grace of God king and quene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Hierusalem, and Irelande, defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Secyll, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Millan, Burgundy, and Brabant, counties of Haspurge, Flaunders, and Tirol."<sup>589</sup> These titles circulated more widely than any account of the wedding ever could and by mentioning Philip first, they clearly accorded him precedence over his wife. Furthermore, their shared authority also included Mary's supremacy of the English church. These promises and titles were not nominal. Both before and after the wedding Philip appeared in public repeatedly, much more so than the queen. His appearances emphasized his accessibility and eagerness to become acquainted with his new home. Most suggestive, however, is his reception of foreign ambassadors before the wedding as well as a meeting with the English Privy Council afterwards. In this latter meeting, according to the Imperial ambassadors, the council welcomed him as king and enquired into his plans for the government of England. He in turn assured them of his good intentions, to assist in any way possible without changing the well-established system of that country.<sup>590</sup> Both before and after the wedding, Philip was already involved in affairs of state and outsiders could not distinguish whether his business concerned the government of Spain or England.

Despite the symbolic battle for authority, this wedding like no other ceremony demonstrates the unifying aspects of early modern ritual. The key emphasis of the sources is on three principal incidents: the ceremony during which Arundel bestowed Philip with the order of the garter upon his arrival, the first encounters between Philip and Mary several days later and finally the marriage ceremony.<sup>591</sup> Common to all these events is the

<sup>588</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Wood F 33, f. 49r; Trans. and cit. in Samson, "Changing Places," 763; "Heralds' Account," in BL, Add. MS 4712, fos. 79v–80r; Elder, "Letter," 141.

<sup>589</sup> Elder, "Letter," 142; "Heralds' Account," in BL, Add. MS 4712, f. 80r; Figueroa to Emperor, 26 July 1554, in *CODOIN*, 3:524; Da Mula to Doge and Senate, 28 July 1554, in "Jul 1554," *CSPV*, 5:923.

<sup>590</sup> Ambassadors to Emperor, [26/27 July 1554], in Weiss, *Papiers d'état*, 4:91, p. 278; Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 73; Barahona, "Viaje del principe," 142, 144; Enriquez, "Carta primera," 93, 96–97.

<sup>591</sup> For the garter ceremony and the couple's first encounters see: Elder, "Letter," 138–140; Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 65–66, 70–72; Enriquez, "Carta primera," 89, 92–93; "Viaje del principe," 140–142; A king of arms presented the order according to Figueroa in his letter to the Emperor, 26 July

interaction of two parties, the interplay between the 'English' and the 'Spanish' or their individuals, most significantly Philip and Mary. All sources, regardless of their origin comment on aspects, which although highlighting differences equally seek to demonstrate a mutual understanding and commonality. Due to the negligible role of the Spanish representatives during the marriage negotiations, Philip's landing in England was the first occasion on which the English elite faced the otherness of the groom's party in full. Yet with only two English accounts of Philip's arrival and subsequent marriage and in consideration of the authors' intention of reconciling their countrymen to the match, the concept of otherness figures far more prominently in the visitors' accounts. Both groups suggest that the Anglo-Spanish encounters were carefully managed and that each side demonstratively engaged with the other's customs. This was facilitated by common traditions and the universality of the Catholic liturgy. Yet, the emphasis in the sources differs depending on the author's origins. While Spanish eyewitnesses draw attention to the oddity of certain English customs, they applaud their prince's willingness to accept the same. The first and most contentious gesture seemingly made by Philip immediately upon his arrival was to accept the English members previously appointed to form his new household. Secondly, in subsequent greetings, both with the queen as well as her entourage, he adapted his style to theirs. He also acknowledged the English custom of exchanging gifts before the wedding. Yet mutual understanding was an important theme for both the English and Spanish sources. Elder confirms a story reported by Muñoz, in which Philip bade the queen teach him the English phrase for "God nith" before his farewell to her retinue. Evidently, Philip's behaviour during his first weeks in England was exemplary.<sup>592</sup>

However, it was not only Philip who was officially on his best behaviour. For Enriquez and Barahona, Mary's efforts to welcome the Spanish and their customs is exemplified in her reception of the leading lady of Philip's retinue, María Enríquez de Toledo y Guzmán, duquesa de Alba. Mary reportedly advanced far into the room to receive her and curtsied almost as low as the duchess herself. The two women also exchanged a kiss on the lips – which was again the English style – and then settled down to converse on two stools of equal height, despite the duchess's initial hesitation at this arrangement.<sup>593</sup> This was an opportunity for Mary to extend a welcome to someone of her own sex. The Spanish accounts emphasised the occasion among others as examples in which the English accepted Philip and his followers as their own. The garter ceremony is one excellent example where Philip's role as future king consort sufficed to integrate him in the English hierarchy regardless of his descent. Two others are Philip's entries into

---

1554, in *CODOIN*, 3:520, 522–523. Vandenesse, "Journal," 16–17; *Car.*, *Partita del Serenissimo Principe*, sig. A2.

<sup>592</sup> Figueroa to Emperor, 26 July 1554 and Ruy Gomez de Silva to Francisco de Eraso, 27 July 1554, in *CODOIN*, 3:520–522, 526–527; Enriquez, "Carta primera," 89–92; Barahona, "Viaje del principe," 141–142; Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 66, 68, 70–72, 77; A list of persons in "July 1554, 16–31," *CSP Spain*, vol. 12; On the issue of Philip's two households, see: Samson, "A Fine Romance," 87; Elder, "Letter," 140.

<sup>593</sup> Enriquez, "Carta primera," 98–99; Barahona, "Viaje del principe," 144.

Southampton and Winchester, as upon both occasions he advanced amid an impressive procession. Civic deputies welcomed him at the city gates on one or both occasions, proffering him the keys to the realm.<sup>594</sup>

Last but not least, the ultimate success of the union is confirmed by various displays of unity. The similarity of the couple's dress on the day of their wedding, consisting of cloth of gold richly embellished with pearls and diamonds, was an especially powerful symbol. Even Spanish sources duly acknowledge the queen as its source, since she had gifted his attire to Philip before the wedding. The queen in turn wore the diamond given to her by Philip.<sup>595</sup> A second public symbol was their holding of hands, during their first official meeting, during their wedding ceremony and on their way from church to the feast. During the latter they advanced under one pall, clearly demonstrating their new union.<sup>596</sup> Less public, but all the more potent was the consummation of the wedding night. Finally, the effort to overcome cultural barriers was especially poignant every time the couple communicated. The first evidence for this is the conversation between Mary and Philip in two different languages but without the need of an interpreter. Another instance was the dancing during the wedding ball, where they chose to dance in the German fashion, based on their respective inexperience in the other's style of dancing.<sup>597</sup>

Religion was the final unifying principle for the two parties, despite the fact that Mary was still in process of reinstating the Catholic Church in England. The Catholic ceremony performed by the Gardiner is not contentious among the wedding guests, but religion is nonetheless an important theme. The sources repeatedly emphasise Philip's devotion, enacted in his daily attendance of the mass as well his reception in Southampton's and Winchester's principal church upon his first arrival.<sup>598</sup> Religion united the couple, but also provided a link between their respective entourages. Latin Catholic ritual was universal and thus familiar to all attendants. Furthermore, as joint supreme head of the English church alongside his wife, Philip had one important royal duty to which he could apply himself: healing the breach with Rome.

The wedding and the interest it generated abroad is certainly unusual. Mary as an adult queen regnant never considered to leave her country for marriage. Philip, as heir to the Empire was a worthy husband, but he arrived in England as befitting a queen consort. Yet throughout the week, which Mary and Philip spent in Winchester, they repeatedly

<sup>594</sup> Figueroa to Emperor, 26 July 1554 in *CODOIN*, 3:520, 522; "Viaje del principe," 141; Vandenesse, "Journal," 16–17; Car., *Partita del Serenissimo Principe*; Elder, "Letter," 138–139; The key ceremony in Southampton is mentioned by: Enriquez, "Carta primera," 89; For Winchester see: Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 68; "Heralds' Account," in BL, Add. MS 4712, f. 79r.

<sup>595</sup> Barahona, "Viaje del principe," 143; Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 73–74; Vandenesse, "Journal," 17; Elder, "Letter," 142–143; "Heralds' Account," in BL, Add. MS 4712, f. 79r; Ambassadors to Emperor, [26/27 July 1554], in Weiss, *Papiers d'état*, 4:91, p. 278.

<sup>596</sup> Barahona, "Viaje del principe," 141, 143; Elder, "Letter," 141–142; Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 73; The canopy alone is mentioned in: "Heralds' Account," in BL, Add. MS 4712, f. 80r.

<sup>597</sup> Enriquez, "Carta primera," 95; "Viaje del principe," 141, 144; Vandenesse, "Journal," 18; Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 71, 76–77; Figueroa to Emperor, 26 July 1554, in Navarrete, Salvá, and de Baranda, *CODOIN*, 3:524.

<sup>598</sup> Figueroa to Emperor, 26 July 1554, in *CODOIN*, 3:520–522; Enriquez, "Carta primera," 89–90, 92, 96, 98, 100–101; Muñoz, "Sumario y verdadera relacion," 66, 68–69; Barahona, "Viaje del principe," 141–142; Elder, "Letter," 139–141.

reversed traditional conceptions of the roles of monarch and consort as well as bride and groom or husband and wife. On the one hand, Mary's superior status was emphasised throughout and the marriage articles and parliamentary legislation supposedly protected her status. On the other hand, during every proclamation of the couple's titles Philip would thereafter take precedence. The marriage vows further implied that legislation might not suffice to curtail his active involvement in English affairs. Mary clearly wished to be queen first and foremost, but she also chose to enact the part of a wife. That the two roles did not easily combine is clearly visible in the ambiguity of the ceremonies. At the same time, the same ambiguity ensured the success of the ritual. Because of it, both parties could emphasise their own superiority or preferential treatment. Through the sources, both the English and Spanish elites and to some extent the public were encouraged to accept the match and recognise its benefits and potential.

## IV) Mary Stewart

Mary Stewart's three marriages are integral to understanding the evolution of Mary's concept of queenship. Her French wedding to the dauphin François on 24 April 1558 in Paris clearly marked her future as queen consort by his side. Her later two Scottish weddings, however, to Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley and James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, both celebrated at Holyrood on 29 July 1565 and 15 May 1567 respectively, accentuated the difficulties of reconciling Mary's later understanding of her regnant queenship with her wish for a male consort. Yet to reduce Mary's decision to remarry after her return to Scotland in 1561 to a craving for male company completely disregards the dynastic necessity of her second match in order to continue the Stewart dynasty. It also disregards the customary conception of king- and queenship as a partnership, which could enhance royal authority as well as its power. With each marriage religion became more central. Her gender remained a constant factor, yet it was the complex combination of these first two with Scottish factionalism, centred around notions of power, which eventually led to the civil war incited by her third marriage to Bothwell. Her wedding rituals failed to unite, as they did in Mary Tudor's case.

In comparison to the ceremonies on Scottish soil, the sources for the 1558 wedding in Paris abound, with three complete narrative accounts extant. The first is the semi-official *Discours du Grand et Magnifique Triumphe (Discours)*, first printed in Paris and later reprinted *sans privilège* in Rouen and Lyon. All copies circulated in France within weeks of the event and addressed a very broad, albeit French audience.<sup>599</sup> The second narrative is a one-page eyewitness account preserved in manuscript form in the registers of the Parlement de Paris, intended as a reference tool.<sup>600</sup> The third narrative was deposited – again in manuscript form – in the city of Paris registers as a future reference for the city's magistrates.<sup>601</sup> Additionally, two official and two administrative documents comprise the summons presented to parliament and the city's magistrates two days before the marriage as well as details of the supper arrangements on the day of the betrothal and the wedding.<sup>602</sup> Reports of the wedding also circulated in Scotland. Several Scottish chronicles

<sup>599</sup> *Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe fait au mariage de tresnoble & magnifique Prince François de Valois Roy Dauphin, [...] & de treshaulte & vertueuse Princesse madame Marie d'Estreuart Roine d'Ecosse* (Paris: Briere, 1558); *Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe fait au mariage de tresnoble & magnifique Prince François de Valois Roy Dauphin, [...] & de treshaulte & vertueuse Princesse madame Marie d'Estreuart Roine d'Ecosse* (Lyon: Brotot, 1558); "Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe fait au mariage de tresnoble & magnifique Prince François de Valois Roy Dauphin, [...] & de treshaulte & vertueuse Princesse madame Marie d'Estreuart Roine d'Ecosse," in *Ceremonial at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots with the Dauphin of France*, ed. William Bentham, Publications of the Roxburgh Club (London: Woodfall, 1818; reprint, Rouen: Remortier & Boulec, 1558).

<sup>600</sup> "Parliamentary Account" printed in Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 2:1–3.

<sup>601</sup> "Mariage de Monsieur le Dauphin à la Roine d'Ecosse [City of Paris Account]" in ANF, H2 1783, fos. 283v–287r. I was not able to consult the manuscript; Printed in: François Bonnardot, ed., *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*, Histoire Générale de Paris (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1888), 4:534–539.

<sup>602</sup> "Semonce faite à Messrs de la Ville des Noces et Espousailles de Monsieur le Daulphin" in Bonnardot, *Registres des délibérations*, 4:533; "[Semonce au Parlement]" in Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 2:1; "L'ordre destiné pour la Seance au Festin qui fait au Louvre le iour des Fiançailles" [Seance au Fiançailles] and "La Seance tenuë au Festin Royal fait en la grande Salle du Palais de Paris le iour desdites Noces" [Seance au Festin Royal] in *ibid.*, 10–12.

refer to the events and a Scottish publication, compiled by an eyewitness and augmented with translated passages of the *Discours*, survives in fragments.<sup>603</sup> The same chronicles, however, completely omit any references to the Scottish wedding celebrations on 3 July 1558 in the form of an entry-like outdoor feast in Edinburgh. The *Treasurer Accounts* and burgh records alone now reveal details of this commemoration.<sup>604</sup> The Franco-Scottish union based on the marriage was carefully regulated by the marriage articles, surviving in several manuscript copies.<sup>605</sup> The opposite is true of Mary's Scottish weddings to Darnley and Bothwell. An unprecedented number of narrative sources refer to both events, however with the customary Scottish brevity. Furthermore, in Bothwell's case, the principal sources recount the events specifically to restore or undo the queen.<sup>606</sup> Buchanan's *Pompa Deorum in nuptiis Mariae* is a testimony to one of the entertainments in honour of her wedding to Darnley.<sup>607</sup> The proclamation of the titles on this occasion as well as the marriage articles from her third marriage in combination with the contemporary diplomatic correspondence provide the relevant context to both.<sup>608</sup>

Mary's three weddings differed considerably in context and style. Her first wedding to François, the dauphin of France was celebrated on Sunday, 24 April 1558 at Notre Dame de Paris. The brokering of the marriage however, preceded the event by ten years. When it was first contracted in 1548 in the Treaty of Haddington, the promise of marriage sealed

<sup>603</sup> Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:123–125; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 264–265; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 52; Only two fragments encompassing eight incomplete pages are extant. See: [A Description of Mary's Wedding to the Dauphin] [*Scottish Fragmented Account*] (Edinburgh: Scot?, 1558); For a detailed discussion see Douglas Hamer, "The Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin: A Scottish Printed Fragment," *The Library*, 4<sup>th</sup> Series, 12, no. 4 (1932): 420–428.

<sup>604</sup> *TA*, 10:360, 360–365; "1558, Jul–Dec," *Burgh Records: Edinburgh*, vol. 3; Adam, *Edinburgh Burgh Accounts*, 1:241, 269–274, 2:89.

<sup>605</sup> For her 1558 marriage see: "Contrat de mariage," in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/IX, fos. 15–17v; Printed in: Dumont, *Corps diplomatique*, 5.1:22–23; Also see: "Lettres patentes de Marie Stuart pour son mariage avec le Dauphin," Fontainebleau, 16 March 1558, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/IX, fos. 17v–19r; Printed in: Labanoff, *Lettres*, 1:46–50; For her marriage to Bothwell, see: Labanoff, *Lettres*, 2:23–30.

<sup>606</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 79–80, 110–111; Nau, *History of Mary Stewart*, 39–41; George Buchanan, *Ane Detectioun of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, Thouchand the Murder of Hir Husband, and Hir Conspiracie, Adulterie, and Pretensed Mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane Defence of the Trew Lordis, Maintaineris of the Kingis Graces Actioun and Authoritie* (London: Day, 1571), sig. F3b–F4a; Buchanan, *Remum Scoticarum Historia* (1583), 183b, 191a; Lesley, *Historie*, 9–10; John Lesley, "Bishop Leslie's Narrative of the Progress of Events in Scotland, 1562–1571," in *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI: Now First Printed from the Original Manuscripts in the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Collections*, ed. William Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh: Paterson, 1885), 104, 122–123; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 70–71, 89; Dickinson, *History*, 2:157–158, 206–207; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:183, 194; Birrel, "Diarey," 5, 9; Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), 5:614, 620; Melville, *Memoirs*, 136, 178–179.

<sup>607</sup> "Pompa Deorum in nuptiis Mariae," in George Buchanan, *Georgii Buchanani [...] Opera Omnia, Ad optimorum Codicum fidem summo studio recognita & castigata*, another ed. (Lugduni Batavorum, 1725), 2:400–402.

<sup>608</sup> *RPC Scot*, 1:345–346; Also printed in Labanoff, *Lettres*, 1:277–278; Numerous copies survive of the marriage agreement, i.e. in BL, Add. MS 35838, f. 17; NRS, MS GD 18; Printed in: Labanoff, *Lettres*, 2:23–30; For diplomatic records on the Darnley marriage see: Bedford to Cecil, Berwick, 30 July 1565, in "July 1565," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 7:1337; Randolph to Bedford and Elizabeth and "Instruction for Jhon Thomworth," in "July 1565," *CSP Scot*, 2:208, 216, 220; Queen of Scots' Answer to Tamworth, [12 August 1565], in "August 1565," *CSP Scot*, 2:229; Guzman da Silva to Philip II, London, 6 August 1565, in "August 1565," *CSP Simancas*, 1:313; Bothwell: Robert Melville to Cecil, Cairney, 7 May 1567, Sir William Drury to Cecil, Berwick, 14 May 1567, "Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots with Bothwell," 12 May 1567 and "Creation of Bothwell Duke of Orkney," 15 May 1567, in "May 1567, 1–15," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:1179, 1203–1205; Drury to Cecil, Berwick, 16 and 20 May 1567, in "May 1567, 16–31," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:1209, 1226; Robert Melville to Cecil and Throckmorton, Keryne, [7 and 10 May 1567] and Kirkcaldy to Bedford, [8 May 1567], in "May 1567," *CSP Scot*, 2:501–503; "Act of the Secret Council of Scotland," Edinburgh, [12 June 1567], in *ibid.*, 516; Guzman da Silva to Philip II, London, 3 and 24 May 1567, in "May 1567," *CSP Simancas*, 1:419, 422.



the revival of the 'Auld Alliance' between Scotland and France. The treaty was the result of the 'Rough Wooing', the military campaign of the 1540s with which Scotland's 'auld ennemie' England sought to coerce Mary into the spurned marriage to their future king Edward VI.<sup>609</sup> In place of the envisaged Anglo-Scottish dynastic union the treaty determined the match between Mary and François, the dauphin of France.<sup>610</sup> It went beyond the traditional defensive pact repeatedly concluded between Scotland and France in the long history of the 'auld alliance'. The immediate threat of the English invasion, marked by the construction of the English strongholds on Scottish territory, required an extensive and indefinite establishment of French troops, weapons and know-how in Scotland. In exchange, the Scottish offered up their most prized possession, their sovereign, in marriage. More importantly, they surrendered her person almost immediately, to be raised in France by the Valois and her maternal relatives, the Guise. Consequently, by 1558 Mary was a true daughter of France. As both the bride and groom had reached their respective marriage age by April 1558, the wedding could finally proceed.<sup>611</sup> On Tuesday, 19 April 1558 the couple celebrated their betrothal, during which the marriage articles were publically proclaimed and subscribed to by those present. The wedding followed on the next Sunday and the celebrations spanned the entire day. In the morning, the bride and groom and the wedding party advanced along a raised dais from the Palais épiscopal to Notre Dame de Paris, the couple then exchanged their marriage vows at the cathedral door, celebrated mass inside the cathedral and afterwards returned to the same Palais for dinner and an ensuing ball. Later, between four and five in the afternoon, the wedding party proceeded across the Pont Notre-Dame only to return via the Pont au Change to the Palais de justice on the north-western end of the isle. There, a feast followed, which encompassed all temporal, ecclesiastic and civic elites. "Lesdictz triumphes" continued for several days thereafter in the Louvre.<sup>612</sup>

Mary's second wedding to Darnley on Sunday, 29 July 1565, followed her lengthy quest for a suitable husband, complicated by Elizabeth I's determination to have her say in the matter. Since Mary's childhood, Darnley's father Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox had lived in English exile after his condemnation for treason and the forfeiture of his Estates, following his involvement in the Rough Wooings. With Lennox's Scottish restoration in 1564, the union between the two Stewart branches became possible. The couple first met upon Darnley's arrival in Scotland in February 1565. His presence, in combination with Elizabeth's temporary change in tone regarding her acknowledgement

<sup>609</sup> For a detailed discussion of this period see: Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*.

<sup>610</sup> "Treaty of Haddington," *RPS* (1548/7/1).

<sup>611</sup> Other factors undoubtedly contributed to Henri's decision to celebrate the wedding then, including the need to bolster public morale and to secure his dynastic plans during the latest instalment of the Habsburg-Valois war. The Guise were on the ascendancy after François, duc de Guise's January victory against the English at Calais. See: Maria J. Rodriguez-Salgado, "The Habsburg-Valois Wars," in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ed. Geoffrey R. Elton (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 2:397–398; Robert J. Knecht, *French Renaissance Monarchy: Francis I and Henry II*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Seminar Studies in History (London: Longman, 1996), 45; Susan Doran, *England and Europe, 1485–1603*, Seminar Studies in History (London: Longman, 1986).

<sup>612</sup> *Discours (Paris)*, sig. A3–C3; "City of Paris Account," 4:536–539; "Parliamentary Account," 2:2–3; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 264–265; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:123–125.

of Mary's claims to the English throne – rather than making her consent to Mary's marriage the condition as before, Elizabeth now indicated that she would base her decision upon her own marital future – strengthened Mary's resolve to pursue the dynastically advisable union. Religious anxieties in the face of increasing aggression towards Catholics in Scotland only made her more determined, since Darnley was nominally a Catholic.<sup>613</sup> Unsurprisingly, the union was divisive from the outset, both domestically as well as abroad.

With her final wedding to Bothwell on 15 May 1567 Mary jeopardised her queenship. After Darnley's murder on 10 February earlier that year, factionalism dominated Scottish politics. Mary's strategy to break through it by aligning herself with one of her nobles failed completely. Darnley's murderers remained unidentified and Bothwell, initially suspected, was cleared of all charges. Still, his behaviour animated a fresh round of rumours, both in Scotland and abroad. His abduction of the queen, an alleged rape and the hasty wedding thereafter all contributed to the withdrawal of support for him and the queen.

Marriage was clearly the greatest antagonist to Mary's queenship. The fears Knox articulated in his *First Blast* were well founded. In the negotiations of her first marriage to François, any safeguards for her role were subordinated to the more general protection of Scotland's ancient laws and liberties. The Scottish delegation, chosen to represent the Estates, included two earls, two lords, one archbishop and two bishops, one commendator and two burghers.<sup>614</sup> In addition to generous gifts from Henri II in the form of benefices and titles, only the involvement of all estates and religious factions in the marriage negotiations could ensure the later ratification of the marriage articles in Parliament.<sup>615</sup> The marriage articles acknowledged Mary's queenship in the present, but they failed to distinguish between the authority of both marriage partners and their potential heirs in the future. Thus, not only was François to be granted the name and title of king of Scotland, but in November 1558 the Scottish Estates also agreed to bestow the crown matrimonial upon him.<sup>616</sup> In the future, the couple's eldest male child was to inherit the throne of both France and Scotland taking "les Armes des deux Roiaumes, liées ensemble, & sous meme Couronne."<sup>617</sup> If any children were solely female, then the countries would remain separate, since unlike in Scotland the Salic Law inhibited regnant queenship in France. However, the treaty stipulated that in this case the king of France and the Estates of Scotland would decide on a husband for the eldest daughter.<sup>618</sup> This ensured a lasting French influence on the future of Scotland and included the possibility of repeating the

<sup>613</sup> Randolph to Cecil, Berwick, [12 February 1565], in "February 1565," *CSP Scot*, 2:146; Jane E. Dawson, "Mary Queen of Scots, Lord Darnley and Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565," *International History Review* 8, no. 1 (1986): 6–13; Guy, *Queen of Scots*, chap. 13.

<sup>614</sup> Lettres patentes de Marie Stuart pour son mariage avec le Dauphin, 16 March 1558, Fontainebleau in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/IX, fos. 18–19r; Printed in: Labanoff, *Lettres*, 1:48.

<sup>615</sup> "Procedure: Discharge of Commissions Concerning the Treaty of Marriage between Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin Francis Valois," *RPS* (1558/11/7); For details on these gifts see the table in Bonner, "French Naturalization," 1103.

<sup>616</sup> "Particulars," *RPS* (1558/11/8); "Contrat de Mariage," in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/IX, f. 17r.

<sup>617</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 16v. App. T16.

<sup>618</sup> *Ibid.*, fos. 16v–17r; Pitcottie, *Historie*, 2.

union between a queen of Scots and the heir of France. Both scenarios distinctly supported the idea of a Franco-Scottish personal union. Furthermore, with a detachment of the succession clauses guaranteeing Châtelherault's rights should Mary die prematurely without an heir from the principal treaty, they were invested with a subsidiary character, an afterthought.<sup>619</sup> In three secret treaties signed by Mary on 4 April 1558, Mary gave "par ces presentes, par pure et libre donation faite pour cause de mort, au Roy de France qui est ou sera le royaume d'Escosse"<sup>620</sup> Yet, although Mary promised that they would supersede any other agreement made with regard to the marriage, they remained invalid without Scottish parliamentary sanction. Several clauses cast Mary in the role of dauphine and queen consort of France. This included the dower, the sum of which depended on her status at the time of François' potential premature decease. Furthermore, Mary would have the choice of either remaining in France or returning to Scotland.<sup>621</sup> The absence of a clause on her dowry is equally revealing. As in the English case, the treaties cannot refer to her queenship or country as a dowry, but that was exactly what the French believed. Nonetheless, François's residence and future in France prevented him from taking an active part in the government of Scotland, a fact of which the Scottish were well aware. This might explain the lack of additional safeguards to curb his role in the administration of the country.

The lessons Mary learnt from these treaties can be seen in the surviving marriage articles between Mary and Bothwell. As queen ruling her own country, she was eager to protect her sovereignty. Although she did not need to fear the appropriation of her country by a foreign power, she had to regulate the joint exercise of power as king and queen. Thus, it was "concluded and accordit be hir Majestie, that all signatours, lettres and writtingis [...] sal be alsua subscrivit be the said noble Prince and Duke for his interesse, in signe and takin of his consent and assent thairto, as hir Majestie's husband."<sup>622</sup> However, it was clearly stated that any matters of state, which carried only his signature were to be considered null and void.<sup>623</sup> The wording of these terms mirror the proclamation of Mary's and Darnley's joint titles on 28 July 1565, the day before their wedding. Herein Mary declared "that [Darnley] be namit and stylit King of this Our Kingdome, and that all Oure Letteris, to be direct eftir Oure said Mariage, sua to be completit, be in the Names of the said illustre Prince, Oure future Husband and Us, as King and Quene of Scotland, conjunctlie."<sup>624</sup> Mary was willing to share her power, but it was her gift to make and she would not relinquish her own sovereignty to her husband or share her crown.

There is little symbolic ambiguity in the actual ceremonies, with which Mary's marriages were solemnised. From the French perspective, Mary's sovereignty was not her most potent attribute in her wedding to François. It was certainly not ignored either, for

<sup>619</sup> "Discharge of Commissions," *RPS* (1558/11/7).

<sup>620</sup> BNF, Clair. 295, f. 485r. App. T17.

<sup>621</sup> "Contrat de Mariage," in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/IX, f. 16.

<sup>622</sup> Labanoff, *Lettres*, 2: 28.

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid.*, 28–29.

<sup>624</sup> *RPC Scot*, 1:346; Knox mentions this proclamation in Dickinson, *History*, 2:157.

the prestige her title bestowed on François as her husband was significant. But the imagery is hardly conclusive. Upon several occasions Mary did take centre stage. Mary's attire, for instance, is the only one from among the principal wedding party, which is described in the sources. The dress was magnificent and perhaps even unusual. According to the magistrates her dress was blue-green, embroidered in white. In the *Discours du Grand et Magnifique Triumphe* the dress is simply "blanc com(m)e Lis".<sup>625</sup> The colour choice was unconventional, since white was a traditional colour of mourning in France. Both sources mention its long train and the crown, which Mary wore and the latter has been presented as an unmistakable mark of her sovereignty. However, Princess Élisabeth wore a crown at her own wedding by proxy to Felipe II of Spain.<sup>626</sup> The absence of a similar description on behalf of the dauphin carries weight, for at Élisabeth's proxy wedding the Duke of Alba, standing in on behalf of Philip II, reportedly wore the crown imperial.<sup>627</sup> This oversight has been largely attributed to the exceptional interest in the bride, whose looks and pose easily outshone that of her husband.<sup>628</sup> It certainly enhanced Mary's position to the readership of the published *Discours* but it did not directly apply to her status as queen regnant. Hence, the only clear indication of Mary's position on the day of her wedding was her coat of arms in the *ciel royal* and the heralds' proclamation of the new titles. In this context however, the wedding elevated François' rank, while it largely affirmed Mary's previous position at court. Nonetheless, on two occasions Mary took precedence over her future mother-in-law, Catherine de' Medici. First, both at the betrothal as well as on her wedding day Henri II opened the ball with Mary.<sup>629</sup> Secondly, during the procession to Notre Dame on her wedding day Mary proceeded at the close of the procession with Henri II and Charles III, Duke of Lorraine on either side. Catherine took the less prestigious position before them, behind the groom, who was escorted by Antoine, King of Navarre and his two brothers, Charles, Duke of Orléans and Henri, Duke of Angoulême.<sup>630</sup> Still, throughout the proceedings the king and queen of France naturally took precedence over the bride and groom. They were seated on the right side of the stage during mass and took their seats at the centre of the table during the feasts, underneath the pall.<sup>631</sup> The complexity of the sovereignty issue is additionally highlighted by the use of titles in the *Discours*. Almost throughout, François is referred to as the 'Roy Dauphin' and only occasionally as 'Dauphin'. The use of the first term does not seem to follow any rule, for it is attributed to

<sup>625</sup> *Discours (Paris)*, sig. B1a. App. T18; "City of Paris Account," 4:547.

<sup>626</sup> *Discours (Paris)*, sig. B1a; "City of Paris Account," 4:537; Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, 3:81; Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, 2:20.

<sup>627</sup> Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, 2:16–17.

<sup>628</sup> Guy, *Queen of Scots*, 83; Strickland, *Queens of Scotland*, 3:79–80.

<sup>629</sup> *Discours (Paris)*, sig. A2b, B3a; *Scottish Fragmented Account*, 2a–2b; Betrothal on 20 April according to Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 264.

<sup>630</sup> *Discours (Paris)*, sig. A4b; "City of Paris Account," 4:536–537; "Parliamentary Account," 2:2. At the time of the marriage François brother, the duke of Angoulême was still known as Alexandre-Édouard, but for clarity I will use the name he was known by as king.

<sup>631</sup> "City of Paris Account," 4:537; "Seance au Festin Royal," Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, 2:10; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:124.

François both before and after the marriage ceremony. Mary, in turn, is frequently called 'Royne Dauphine', but occasionally figures as 'Royne d'Escosse'.<sup>632</sup>

The public element of the wedding was immensely important and highlighted in the choices made on the procession route. Although individual elements such as the marriage ceremony on the church porch followed general tradition, it was only the second sixteenth-century royal marriage to be celebrated at Notre Dame. As during the first marriage between Mary's father and his first bride Madeleine in 1537, the stage from the Palais épiscopal to Notre Dame improved the visibility of the couple and the entire wedding party on their procession to church. Furthermore, the *ciel royal* on the cathedral porch was devised in such a way that the onlookers had a view of those lingering there during the marriage ceremony, which preceded mass.<sup>633</sup> The main ceremonial rite was therefore a truly public spectacle, performed in view of the onlookers in the vicinity. Thus far, however, these elements conformed to the tradition set out in 1537, which was also to be observed in future marriage ceremonies.<sup>634</sup> Yet, the *Discours* also mentions at least two occasions on which either the Duke of Guise or Henri II ensured the unobstructed view of the onlookers onto the happy couple. Moreover, the procession route from the dinner location at the Palais épiscopal to the Palais de justice for supper was truly remarkable, for it maximised on the visibility of the couple, their families and their attendants. Although the entire celebrations of the wedding day were situated on the Île de la Cité in accordance with the singularity of the event, the company left the island to cross into the northern part of city during this second procession. They thereby forged a symbolic and actual link to the city of Paris proper. Furthermore, due to the diversion they also crossed two bridges, which in turn enhanced the possibilities for onlookers to catch a glimpse of them. Lastly, the men's position on horseback and the two queens' place in an open litter showed them off to their best advantage. Both the attempts to improve visibility on the stage and during the procession to supper deviate from what is recorded on the 1537 ceremony and subsequent ceremonies like that of Princess Claude. This might be explained by the fact that Mary, although a foreign bride, had not been welcomed with a ceremonial entry into Paris prior to her wedding.<sup>635</sup> As a permanent member of the French court for many years, such an entry would have been peculiar. And yet, Mary was to receive her due and Henri the publicity he desired, simply by incorporating a procession into the wedding festivities. Given the evident attempts to engage the wider public, it is not surprising that the crowd of spectators is frequently mentioned in all sources. The multitude of people on the streets on the morning of the wedding is mentioned by the *Parliamentary Account*.<sup>636</sup> During the distribution of money outside Notre Dame during the ceremony, the Scottish fragments mention "sik yalping and yeoling, sik calling and crying, as the lyke (I think) was neuer

<sup>632</sup> *Discours (Paris)*, sig. A2–A3, B3a.

<sup>633</sup> Georges Guiffrey, ed., *Cronique du roy François premier de ce nom* (Paris: Renouard, 1860), 202–203.

<sup>634</sup> The wedding of Claude de France to Charles III, Duke of Lorraine followed a similar pattern in 1559. See Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, 2:13.

<sup>635</sup> James V had received such a ceremonial welcome on the day before the wedding. See Guiffrey, *Cronique*, 201–202; Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 1:21, pp. 106–108.

<sup>636</sup> "Parliamentary Account," 2:2.

hard," while the *Discours* refers to the commotion caused by the spectators as they scabbled for the money.<sup>637</sup> During the procession from the Palais épiscopal to the Palais de justice, the *Discours* speaks of the spectators along the route, both on the streets and in the windows of the surrounding houses.<sup>638</sup> Then, during the feast at the Palais de justice, the fragments record the endeavours of the crowds of people who sought entry into the palace grounds.<sup>639</sup> Mary's and François wedding therefore, was primarily directed at a domestic audience. Henri understood the significance of the splendid display in emphasising his authority and providing a future for his countrymen to rally around.

This stands in evident contrast to Mary's two Scottish weddings. They too involved an element of publicity, but primarily in the period leading up to the wedding day. Both in 1565 and 1567 Mary bestowed dukedoms on her grooms, in anticipation of their alliance with the house of Stewart. Thus, Darnley received the title of Duke of Albany whereas Bothwell became Duke of Orkney and Shetland. On both occasions Mary also created several knights, but the sources are too vague to determine whether she executed the ceremony herself.<sup>640</sup> Furthermore, according to Scottish tradition, the bans of both marriages were declared publicly at St Giles.<sup>641</sup> In 1565 Mary even went a step further by authorising the proclamation of the couple's titles at the Mercat Cross in Edinburgh on the evening before the marriage.<sup>642</sup> Both marriages apparently comprised little ceremony during the nuptials themselves. The *Diurnal* speaks of "greit magnificence" in the context of the Darnley wedding, but both the timing of the ceremony – early in the morning – as well as the officiator – John Sinclair, dean of Restalrig, shortly after promoted to the bishopric of Brechin – do not support its conclusion. Sinclair was not a prominent ecclesiastic, but he was a Catholic sympathiser who had recently returned from France. He was also the younger brother of the recently deceased Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross.<sup>643</sup> The lack of splendour is also implied by Knox's biting comment that Mary was dressed in mourning. Although Knox's testimony is not always trustworthy, it is nonetheless possible that Mary acknowledged her status as a royal widow during the religious ceremony. The magnificence the *Diurnal* speaks of might be better attributed to the festivities which followed afterwards, for even Knox alludes to "nothing but balling, and dancing, and banqueting" for several days.<sup>644</sup> Also, the *Treasurer Accounts* indicate that these festivities included an artillery salute on the day of the wedding.<sup>645</sup> The Bothwell nuptials were

<sup>637</sup> *Scottish Fragmented Account*, sig. A1a; *Discours (Paris)*, sig. B3a.

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B3b–B4a.

<sup>639</sup> *Scottish Fragmented Account*, sig. A3b.

<sup>640</sup> BL, Sloane MS 3199, f. 351; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 79, 111; The following claim Darnley was created Duke of Rothesay: Dickinson, *History*, 2:146, 158; Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia (1583)*, 183a; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:183, 194; "Creation of Bothwell Duke of Orkney," 12 May 1567 in TNA, SP 59/12; Printed in: "May 1567, 16–31," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:1205; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 89; Lesley, *Historie*, 10; Birrel, "Diarey," 9.

<sup>641</sup> In 1565 they were also declared in the chapel royal at Holyrood. See: Thomson, *Diurnal*, 79, 111; Dickinson, *History*, 2:157.

<sup>642</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 2:157.

<sup>643</sup> Athol L. Murray, "Sinclair, John (c.1510–1566)," *ODNB*.

<sup>644</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 80; Dickinson, *History*, 2:158.

<sup>645</sup> *TA*, 11: 374.

equally low key, officiated by Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney after others had declined to perform the rite. The *Diurnal* further indicates that "at this marriage thair wes nathir plesour nor pastyme vsit as vse wes wont to be vsit quhen princes wes marijt."<sup>646</sup> The question remains how many attended the wedding festivities. There is no record of any foreign guests on either occasion. Yet, whereas in 1565 the sources indicate that the nobility was largely present, except for James Stewart, Earl of Moray and other anglophile lords, in 1567 few of the nobility attended the nuptials.<sup>647</sup>

Unsurprisingly, Mary's later marriages to two of her subjects were celebrated in an entirely Scottish context. Given the interdynastic union of Mary and François, the French dominance of the proceedings in 1558 was unusual. Mary's upbringing and residence in France forestalled a proxy celebration in Scotland, which would have permitted the Scots to mark the occasion according to their own customs.<sup>648</sup> The Scottish elements in Mary's wedding festivities according to the French sources are few and far between. They included the unnamed Scottish delegation at the betrothal feast, seated in the company of French noble ladies at a separate branch of the table. Significantly, only one Scottish name features in the list of subscribers to the marriage articles on that day, namely that of James Hamilton, third Earl of Arran and son of the Duke of Châtellherault, who resided at the French court until 1559.<sup>649</sup> During the church ceremony, the only recorded indication of Mary's Scottish heritage includes musicians dressed in red and yellow, the Stewart colours, as well as her coat of arms.<sup>650</sup> During the supper, French dukes and counts served Henri II as well as Catherine and François, while the Scottish commissioners and the Earl of Arran assisted the bride.<sup>651</sup> Last but not least, two heralds, from France and Scotland, introduced each course and proclaimed the titles of the newly-weds.<sup>652</sup> These individual glimpses imply that a Scottish delegation was present and honoured, but that they played a relatively minor part in the French remembrance of the event, particular in the semi-official *Discours*. In turn, the principal actors, i.e. Mary and the dauphin, missed the wedding festivities at Edinburgh in July of that year.<sup>653</sup> There appears to be a clear division between these celebrations and the Scottish involvement during the wedding festivities in Paris.

The Guise, on the other hand, readily filled the void left by the Scots. First, Mary appointed her grandmother, Antoinette de Bourbon, although duchess of Guise, as a

<sup>646</sup> Drury to Cecil, 16 May 1567 in "May 1567, 16–31," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:1209; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:194; Maxwell, *Historical Memoirs*, 89; Nau, *History of Mary Stewart*, 40; Birrel, "Diarey," 9; Melville, *Memoirs*, 178–179; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 111–112.

<sup>647</sup> For Darnley see: *Ibid.*, 80; Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia (1583)*, 183b; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:183; Dickinson, *History*, 2:159; For Bothwell see: Drury to Cecil, 16 May 1567 in., "May 1567, 16–31," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 8:1209; Du Croc's refusal is also mentioned by Maxwell: *Historical Memoirs*, 89; Three earls, six lords and three bishops are listed in Thomson, *Diurnal*, 111; According to Nau the chief of the nobility attended and all people were permitted: *History of Mary Stewart*, 40.

<sup>648</sup> See e.g. Élisabeth de Valois's proxy marriage in France, in Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, 2:15–18. Also see Marie de Guise.

<sup>649</sup> "Seance au Fiançailles," in Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, 2:11; "Contrat de Mariage" in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/IX, f. 15v.

<sup>650</sup> *Discours (Paris)*, sig. A4a; "City of Paris Account," 4:536.

<sup>651</sup> "Seance au Festin Royal," 2:10.

<sup>652</sup> Bonnardot, *Registres des délibérations*, 4:537; The Scottish heralds are only mentioned in *Scottish Fragmented Account*, sig. 3a.

<sup>653</sup> Carpenter and Runnals, "Entertainments," 151.

member of the Scottish delegation, acting as procurator of Marie de Guise who was unable to attend the marriage negotiations in France.<sup>654</sup> During the ceremonies, her uncles played prominent roles. Charles, cardinal de Lorraine officiated the betrothal in the Palais du Louvre, blessing the young couple as they joined hands in his presence.<sup>655</sup> On the wedding day, François, duc de Guise acted as *grand maître de l'Hôtel*. It was a highly public role, as he welcomed the wedding procession outside Notre Dame and ensured, according to the *Discours*, that the public retained unobstructed views of the young couple during their marriage vows.<sup>656</sup> With the Guise involvement, Mary's maternal family was represented throughout, but they had few reasons to emphasise her Scottish heritage as long as Marie de Guise was in Scotland, administrating the realm on her daughter's behalf.

In both the French and Scottish wedding feasts, classical pageantry played a more dominant role than political commentary. In 1558, the first mask was a personification of the seven planets of the Ptolemaic model. The singers were dressed in the form of Roman Gods, the planets' namesakes. Thus, winged Mercury, "hérault et truchement des Dieux", led the procession in a white satin gown with a golden belt, the staff Caduceus in his hand. The sources equally refer to Mars in his armour and Venus, but omit descriptions of the four others.<sup>657</sup> Unfortunately, the verses of the songs performed by them are not recorded. The third and fifth display of the evening featured classical triumphant chariots. The first bore a host of musicians, while the second harboured the nine muses.<sup>658</sup> The theme of the planets was apparently appropriated for the July festivities in Edinburgh, which quite possibly sought to re-enact the Paris wedding, albeit in the context of a civic entry.<sup>659</sup> Finally, in 1565, one of Buchanan's wedding masks featured eleven Roman gods, including the three mentioned in the first Paris mask: Mercury, Mars and Venus. Their speeches, however, might be interpreted in a political context. They revolved around the themes of love and marriage, particularly the expediency of the latter in the perpetuation of mankind. While Diana deplores the loss of one of her Maries to marriage, the ten other deities make a strong argument in its favour. Due to the political opposition of the match, both domestically and by the unmarried Elizabeth I, the arguments might be understood as a powerful defence of marriage in general and that particular union.<sup>660</sup>

Not for the first time a direct comparison of the French and Scottish entertainments at the wedding feast reveals a marked difference in their participatory nature. In three of the six masks enacted at the Palais de justice, members of the wedding party played a central role. Initially, in the second mask of the evening boys alone traversed the room on several artificial wooden horses "plus beaulx que le naturel", drawn by a lackey. Both rider

<sup>654</sup> Lettres Patentes, 16 March 1558, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/IX, f. 18r; "Contrat de Mariage," in *ibid.*, f. 15r.

<sup>655</sup> Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 264; *Discours (Paris)*, sig. A2.

<sup>656</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. A4a, B1b–B2a, B3a.

<sup>657</sup> Bonnardot, *Registres des délibérations*, 4:538. App. T19.

<sup>658</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>659</sup> Adam, *Edinburgh Burgh Accounts*, 1:241; See: Carpenter and Runnals, "Entertainments"; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 296.

<sup>660</sup> "Pompa Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae," in Buchanan, *Opera Omnia*, 2:400–401; See: Carpenter, "Performing Diplomacies," 216; Dean, "Representations of Authority," 296, 300–301.



and horse were decked in resplendent cloth-of-gold and silver.<sup>661</sup> In the fourth mask, these riders partly reappear, although the horses are now described as unicorns.<sup>662</sup> In the sixth and final one, women joined the display. As six princes steered their mechanical ships of cloth-of-gold, crimson velvet and silver sails across the room, they each seized a female partner. The six couples included Henri II's daughter Claude, his sister and his wife alongside Charles III, duc de Lorraine, Jacques de Savoie, duc de Nemours and the dauphin François respectively. Mary Stewart joined the king himself, the queen of Navarre her husband and Mary's aunt Anne d'Este joined Louis I<sup>er</sup>, prince de Condé. The *Discours* concludes that the six princes "conduire(n)t les nauires avec lesdictes Dames par eux conquises à bon port." The presumed dependency of the women wooed, riding behind the conquering princes is manifested in the mask, but even more so in phrase, which represents an official interpretation circulated widely in France. Mary is just one other among many.<sup>663</sup> Buchanan's masks in Scotland provided no such opportunities for the spectators to participate, as far as we can tell, with one possible exception: the four-line poem *Ad Salutem in nuptiis Reginæ* was supposedly delivered by the four Maries, the queen's ladies-in-waiting upon this occasion.<sup>664</sup>

Religion played a role in all three unions, albeit to differing degrees. In 1558, there was no question that Mary and François would be married according to the Catholic rite. However, the delicate religious balance in pre-Reformation Scotland bore directly on the choice of commissioners who brokered the match. The group included both Catholics and supporters of religious reform, with numbers slightly favouring the latter group to insure their support of the marriage.<sup>665</sup> In 1565, Mary's choice of husband antagonised her advisors like James Stewart, first Earl of Moray. According to Knox, the lords agreed to the marriage but only in exchange for parliamentary safeguards on the reformed religion and Mary's promise to abolish Mass completely.<sup>666</sup> When these were not forthcoming, Moray and a select group reportedly abstained from the wedding. Yet despite Darnley's official Catholic credentials, his personal convictions were another matter entirely. Even on his wedding day, he absented himself from the mass celebrated after he and Mary had exchanged their wedding vows.<sup>667</sup> By contrast, in 1567 Mary agreed to celebrate her marriage according to the reformed rite. In the heated climate in the aftermath of the

<sup>661</sup> *Discours (Paris)*, sig. C1a–b; Bonnardot, *Registres des délibérations*, 4:538.

<sup>662</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:538; The civic account mentions twenty-five horses in the second and twelve unicorns in the fourth mask. The following merge the second and fourth mask into one, referring only to twelve horses: *Discours (Paris)*, sig. C1a–b; *Scottish Fragmented Account*, sig. 4b; "Parliamentary Account," 2:3.

<sup>663</sup> *Discours (Paris)*, sig. C1b–2b; Bonnardot, *Registres des délibérations*, 4:538–539. According to this account Élisabeth de Valois replaced Anne d'Este.

<sup>664</sup> "Ad Salutem in nuptiis Reginæ," in Buchanan, *Opera omnia*, 2:426; Carpenter, "Performing Diplomacies," 216.

<sup>665</sup> Reform-inclined: e.g. James Stewart, commendator of the priory of St Andrews and three others, Catholics: e.g. James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow and two others. See: "Lettres patentes," 16 March 1558, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/IX, f. 18.

<sup>666</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 2:146; The convention, but not the condition is mentioned in Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2:182.

<sup>667</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:183; Dickinson, *History*, 2:158; Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia (1583)*, 183b; Lesley, "Leslie's Narrative," 104; The Diurnal claims that the entire nobility was present. See: Thomson, *Diurnal*, 80.

Darnley murder, however, her religious volte-face could not appease the critics of the match.<sup>668</sup>

Mary's three marriages span her initial upbringing in France and her personal rule upon her return to Scotland in 1561. While Mary and the Scots were willing to compromise her queenship to some extent for the sake of French protection after the Rough Wooings, Mary was unwilling to relinquish her power once she had entered into her personal rule. In ceremonial terms, the three marriages could not be more different. They reflect the context in which and by whom they were enacted. Furthermore, due to the divergence in source material for these events, one should not generalise too much on the correlation of French and Scottish ceremony. There is every indication that the religious ceremonies of Mary's weddings to Darnley and Bothwell were less elaborate than the Parisian celebrations. They were certainly less public, proceeding entirely within the confines of the royal palace of Holyrood. With the elaborate procession through the Île-de-la-Cité and beyond, the publication of the *Discours*, its translation and enhancement into Scots and the entry festivities in Edinburgh several months later, the Franco-Scottish nuptials resonated across both countries. It is their public nature which ensures that historians today have a clear understanding of the Parisian ceremony. In the tense political climate of both 1565 and 1567 there was little gain in similarly publicising an entirely Scottish ceremony. However, the importance of ceremony and its corresponding triumph is acknowledged throughout, by French and Scottish writers alike. The principal difference lies in the exploitation of the occasion in the foreign and domestic sphere. Neither the Darnley nor the Bothwell marriage could or needed to be capitalised on beyond the confines of the Scottish elites. However, even in the domestic sphere, the potential unifying factor of rituals appears to have been disregarded.

---

<sup>668</sup> *Ibid.*, 111; Melville, *Memoirs*, 179; Lesley, "Leslie's Narrative," 122.

## V) Conclusion

Marriage was a powerful dynastic tool in early modern Europe and each of the queens discussed entered into an interdynastic union. In various combinations, these unions involved the houses of Habsburg, Valois, Tudor, Stewart and Guise. Both in the two Franco-Scottish and in the Anglo-Spanish matches, senior family members led the negotiations on one side, on behalf of either the bride or groom. Dynastic interests prevailed in these circles, but they were enhanced by additional motives. Mary Stewart was too young to choose a husband for herself, so the choice was made on her behalf by her Guise relations and by the Scottish elites who sought France's protection against the English. The dynastic element, although certainly present, was enhanced by national considerations. In the case of Mary Tudor, governmental and personal dynastic interests were originally in opposition. However, while Mary chose her husband against the wishes of the English elites, their interests coincided in safeguarding her authority and English independence after the wedding.

The concept of a royal marriage revolved primarily around the principle of ensuring a legitimate succession. Hence, the stipulations in the marriage articles are very detailed, in order to prepare for any eventuality. While the arrangements for Marie de Guise and James V echo those drawn up for previous Franco-Scottish unions, the arrangements made on behalf of the two queens regnant differ considerably. A union of the crowns was quite likely in the case of France and Scotland and could only be prevented either by the lack of children entirely – a scenario that subsequently unfolded – or by the lack of heirs male. In England on the other hand, a union was less likely from the outset, since Philip II already had an heir to the throne. Furthermore, as in the Franco-Scottish case, the arrangements made proved to be futile, since this marriage also remained childless. With his own claims to both the Scottish and English throne, Mary Stewart's second marriage to Darnley can equally be considered a dynastic union, despite its domestic context. While the terms of the marriage itself were less complicated than those for Mary's first union, the ascent of their eldest child – regardless of gender – to the English and Scottish throne was a distinct possibility. This possibility was obviously fulfilled in 1603 with James VI's accession in England. Similarly, important was the potential inherent in dynastic unions of long- or short-term benefits for the partners and their respective families or countries. Thus, the Franco-Scottish matches reinforced the "Auld Alliance" and Marie de Guise secured experts, such as miners from Lorraine, to pass on their knowledge in Scotland. Mary Tudor eventually committed England to enter the Franco-Spanish war in aid of her husband, despite a clause enclosed in the marriage articles to prevent this. Yet, the presence of a royal consort at court could also enhance the authority and renown of the ruling monarch directly. A queen ensured the presence of a large number of women at court, who in turn established their own patronage networks. Philip, as a male consort, was to aid his wife in government and provided a focal point for male patronage networks. Furthermore, in terms of ritual, the number of ceremonies through which royal authority could be

developed and enhanced increased. Still, the coronation of a male monarch was considered to be a threat rather than an asset and both the Scots as well as the English elites impeded the celebration of such a ritual to distinguish their male consorts.

The traditional setup of an interdynastic royal wedding as exemplified by the 1538 wedding of James V and Marie de Guise stands in contrast to the unions of Mary Tudor and Mary Stewart with their foreign husbands. Before the bride, i.e. Marie de Guise, set out from her native country to her new home, a proxy ceremony was celebrated in the presence of her family, friends and local elites. As she arrived in her new country, she was welcomed by the king, her groom, i.e. James V, who was accompanied by the principal Scottish elites. The welcome entailed a ceremonial entry and various festivities during which the bride was presented to her new subjects. An interesting addition to this scenario in 1538 is the entry pageant outside the gates of St Andrews, in which the fulfilment of the expectations associated with Marie's new role – obedience, piety and purity – was vaguely tied to a continued enthusiastic welcome from the Scots. More generally, the wedding ensued, possibly followed by a progress through the country to the capital and eventually by a coronation, although in Marie de Guise's case this was delayed for some time. Although this is certainly a traditional scenario, a variation of it in which the husband travelled abroad to collect his wife was equally possible. This latter approach, including the celebration of the nuptials abroad, had been taken by James V previously. It was something of a Scottish favourite in the sixteenth century, since his grandson James VI also followed this later model. Still, in both cases the eventual outcome was that the reigning monarch settled in his kingdom with his new consort. These traditional scenarios could not simply be reversed for the two foreign unions of queens regnant, since their husbands were set to inherit their own realms. The two scenarios devised to tackle the challenges differ considerably. Mary Stewart's wedding to François follows the traditional scenario, in which the bride joined her husband in his country; the wedding festivities were arranged in France by the French. Henri II and the Guise dominated the ceremonies, with their involvement in the rituals. Particularly poignant was the scene in which Henri II symbolically bestowed his personal blessing on the bride as he removed a ring from his own hand to furnish Mary's wedding band. Mary Tudor, on the other hand, remained in England as she awaited the arrival of her groom in her own territory. Philip travelled to England, was ceremoniously welcomed, presented to his new subjects and received the royal title – king, not queen – through marriage. The wedding festivities principally followed English customs and Philip wore the garments provided by his wife on their wedding day. Furthermore, it was Mary who took the more prestigious position on the right during the ceremonies. The traditional roles are thus reversed, with Philip enacting the role of consort. Yet, this apparently straight-forward reversal of roles is illusory. Even for Mary Stewart, the situation necessitated adaptations to the traditional set-up. For instance, due to Mary's residence in France long before the wedding, there was no proxy ceremony held in Scotland. Furthermore, the ceremonial welcome of the bride to her new home was equally unfitting. Instead, the Scots devised their own celebrations without the presence of the wedding

party and Henri II integrated an entry element into the wedding festivities in Paris. Still, the couple's roles in the proceedings were never as ambiguous as those of Mary Tudor and Philip. To a certain extent the latter revert to the traditional role division as it is Mary, not Philip, who pledges all her worldly goods in her marriage vows as she also promises to obey him. Equally, it is his name and titles which precede and thus supersede those of his new wife in joint proclamations. The same style applies in all of Mary Stewart's marriages. Finally, Philip engages in government work both before and after the wedding, while their marriage articles omit any reference to Mary's role in Philip's domains. However, most intriguing are those elements which were either novel or ambiguous. For example, Philip's authority in England was carefully curtailed, a move unnecessary in the traditional union of a male monarch with a female consort. Similarly, he did not receive a classic dowry – though the kingdom of England might be considered as such despite English denials – while Mary was assigned dower lands in the Empire. Finally, his coronation never occurred. Thus, the Winchester wedding purposely evoked ambiguity, allowing each party, both Mary and Philip and their respective entourages, to highlight different elements in their reports, which strengthened their own position in the reception of the wedding. This approach was a carefully arranged compromise, which ensured the smooth and relatively amicable execution of the rituals. The Franco-Scottish union was equally harmonious, but primarily because there was a relatively clear demarcation between the two countries. As far as we can tell the Scottish delegation present for the Parisian festivities was small and hence easily assimilated into the ceremonies. Certain gestures were made such as the joint appearance of the Scottish and French heralds, but it was Mary's maternal family, the Guise, who played the prominent role in the proceedings.

The examples of Mary Stewart and Mary Tudor prove that marriages of queens regnant were particularly critical and their queenship never more fragile than in the context of their weddings. The successful staging of the ritual and all it entailed was crucial to safeguarding their authority. This is exemplified in Mary Stewart's third wedding to Bothwell, which alienated the greater part of the Scottish elites and is considered as the definitive step towards her forced abdication soon after. For both women Parliament becomes the guarantor of their regnant queenship, the succession as well as the liberties and customs of their respective kingdoms. Thus, although Mary Tudor expertly enforced her choice of husband and the protection of her interests, she had to share her triumph with Parliament. The ratification of the marriage articles in Parliament was one attempt to soothe the anxieties of her subjects in relation to the Anglo-Spanish union. While this alone created a dependency between the monarch and Parliament, the English *Act of the Queen's Regal Power* is even more suggestive. With it Mary effectively derives her authority, or at least the safeguarding of it from Parliament. While there is no equivalent of this Act in Scotland, the Scottish Estates needed to ratify the marriage articles and approve the bestowal of the crown matrimonial on François. Furthermore, without parliamentary approval the secret treaties Mary signed in France would remain obsolete.

The tense religious climate under which all of the weddings transpired only added to the complications caused by gender-related concerns. This is part of the reason why the Anglo-Spanish match was celebrated in Winchester instead of London. Similarly, religious tensions were partially to blame for the boycott of certain lords at the wedding between Mary Stewart and Darnley and the attendance of others was only assured in exchange for further safeguards of the Scottish reformed church. Furthermore, the Catholic ceremony greatly limited the choice of officiators, with the Dean of Restalrig rather than a bishop presiding over the ceremony. Before the Reformation in Scotland, Marie de Guise was still able to secure the consent of different religious factions to Mary Stewart's Catholic wedding to François by involving representatives of each in the negotiations. Yet few of them participated in the actual ceremony itself and the required splendour was achieved while avoiding the religious dilemma due to the prominence of the French elites. However, both Mary's second and third wedding were held on Scottish soil after the Reformation and this necessarily had an impact on splendour of the rite itself. As during the baptism of James VI the secular festivities after the church ceremony could compensate somewhat, if handled correctly. While the Darnley wedding could still be seen as partially successful due to the secular festivities, the Bothwell match failed to unite the Scottish elites at any point. Yet, the fact that the elites shunned the wedding despite the fact that the ceremony was performed according to the Reformed rite, indicates that concerns regarding power and legitimacy trumped religion. For the Scottish elites, the queen's and Bothwell's behaviour was a greater threat than the draw of their queen abandoning her Catholic prerogative.

While the wedding is but one moment in the marriage, the case studies show how important the ritual could be. It carried the potential to alleviate fears among either party, to unite strangers and to set the provisional tone for the future marriage. A shared Catholic ceremony for instance accentuated the common ground between the English and Spanish courtiers. Beyond the religious ritual, customs differed considerably and these encounters could enforce the perception of otherness among the two groups if unmanaged. However, in the Anglo-Spanish match, an attention to detail alongside the wish to stage a successful wedding ritually emphasised union and common understanding. This extends from Philip's welcome with ceremonial entries including key ceremonies and the bestowal of the order of the garter on him to his acceptance of Englishmen into his household and his visible efforts to adapt to English customs. It then culminates in the public holding of hands of the newlyweds, as well as the compromises made regarding the communication between Mary and Philip as well as the style of dancing at the feast. Mary Stewart's weddings on the other hand were missed chances, where only few elements fostered concord and harmony. One positive example is the joint appearance of the Scottish and French heralds at the 1558 wedding. However, the detachment of the two kingdoms is particularly evident in the separate festivities held in Paris and Edinburgh. After all, apparently very few Scots attended the first and the newlyweds were entirely absent during the latter. Even in adulthood, in contrast to James VI's baptism, Mary failed to capitalise on the potential of the ritual in the Darnley and above all the Bothwell wedding.

Once more the rituals differ significantly in their engagement with the public. The French wedding is easily the most public, with the ceremony celebrated in front of the onlookers on the cathedral porch and the ensuing procession across the bridges of the Île de la Cité. Similarly, the English wedding involved processions through the streets of Winchester, although these were less elaborate than in Paris. In the absence of definitive records of the weddings in Scotland, one can only infer that they were considerably more private, with two exceptions. One is the public celebration of the 1558 wedding in Edinburgh, the other the 1538 wedding in St Andrews. In the absence of a royal domain in the latter and with the additional incentive to present Marie de Guise to her new subjects and vice versa, a public entry and processions were incorporated into the festivities. Due to the lack of detailed sources it is difficult to fully assess further ritual singularities in the different ceremonies and countries discussed. The French ceremony featured a geographical separation of the wedding ceremony proper on the church porch from the celebratory Mass within the church. This custom was distinct from the English ceremony, where the entire ritual was performed within the church, albeit in two separate locations, namely just before the choir and in front of the high altar. Whether the Scottish weddings discussed followed the English or the French model is impossible to determine, although the 1503 wedding of James V and Margaret Tudor resembled the English example. Whereas all of Mary Stewart's weddings, both in France and Scotland, appear to have championed classical pageantry and demonstrated a shared penchant for mechanical devices, the most striking feature of the French celebrations is the participatory nature of the masks. Mary Stewart is known to have continued this practice during her personal reign in Scotland, but of Buchanan's masks for the 1565 wedding only one poem was delivered by members of the court, namely Mary's ladies-in-waiting. There is no extant recorded involvement of any other members of the wedding party, least of all the newlyweds.

The diverse wedding celebrations again emphasise the impact of the Reformation and regnant queenship on the evolution of ritual. Above all, however, it demonstrates plurality, both with regard to the motivations behind the fashioning of the ritual as well as the specific enactments. In the Anglo-Spanish match ambiguity proved to be a powerful tool in staging a successful wedding, which embraced both delegations and publicly emphasised union and concord above all else, regardless of any quarrels behind the scene. To a lesser extent ambiguity also played a role in the Franco-Scottish match, yet due to the specific circumstances of that union the symbolic accentuation of concord between both parties was less important. Instead, each party celebrated separately. For the Scots, this may have emphasised the distance between both countries, assuring them that the direct influence of Mary and François as monarchs of Scotland would be curtailed.

## Chapter 4: Funerals

### I) Introduction

There were more than enough funerals between 1558 and 1560, as monarchs, alliances and allegiances met their end.<sup>669</sup>

Funerals and the death that precedes them are the last logical step in this study of monarchical ceremonial.<sup>670</sup> Unlike the exclusive royal coronation, a funeral was a common ceremony, enacted for – almost – every person in the realm, as well as across geographical borders and time. As Stollberg-Rilinger points out: "die rituelle Gestaltung des Übergangs vom Leben zum Tod ist zweifellos eine anthropologische Universalie."<sup>671</sup> The profusion of literature in the field is thus hardly surprising. Ethnological and anthropological approaches, which contextualise the historical analysis, evolved throughout the twentieth century and are too complex to fully discuss.<sup>672</sup> Two approaches, however, have been particularly influential and pertinent. The first is van Gennep's concept of *rites de passage*, according to which death and the ensuing funerals constitute a journey as well as a change in and a transfer of status and authority. The second is Geertz's conception of rituals as indicators of social and cultural forces, particularly in his 1957 study *Ritual and Social Change* of a funeral-gone-wrong.<sup>673</sup>

A royal decease will constitute a notable break, which could decisively alter the cultural, political and religious conditions, as the introductory quote by Jane Dawson

<sup>669</sup> Jane E. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587*, The New Edinburgh History of Scotland 6 (Edinburgh: EUP, 2007), 200.

<sup>670</sup> On funeral ritual in the early modern period see e.g.: Juliusz A. Chrościcki, Mark Hengerer, and Gérard Sabatier, eds., *Les funérailles princières en Europe, XVIe–XVIIIe siècle*, 3 vols., Collection Aulica; Collection "Histoire" ([Versailles]: Centre de Recherche du Château de Versailles, 2012–2015); Jean-Marie Le Gall, "Les pompes funèbres des souverains étrangers à Notre-Dame de Paris, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 59, no. 3 (2012); Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris* and London, 1500–1670 (Cambridge: CUP, 2002, chap. 7–9; Jean Balsamo, ed., *Les funérailles à la Renaissance: Xlle colloque international de la Société française d'étude du seizième siècle, Bar-le-Duc, 2–5 décembre 1999*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 356 (Geneva: Droz, 2002); Woodward, *Theatre of Death*; Elizabeth A. Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), chap. 7–9; Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c. 1500–c. 1800* (London: Reaktion, 1991); Paul S. Fritz, "From 'Public' to 'Private': the Royal Funerals in England, 1500–1830," in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley, The Europa Social History of Human Experience 3 (Europa, 1981); Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*.

<sup>671</sup> Stollberg-Rilinger, *Rituale*, 66. App. T20; The profusion of literature in the field is thus hardly surprising. See e.g.: Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: OUP, 2004); Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998); Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*; Llewellyn, *Art of Death*; Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (Routledge, 1984); Michel Vovelle, *La mort et l'Occident, de 1300 à nos jours*, Bibliothèque illustrée des histoires ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1983; Philippe Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, 2 vols., Points: Histoire 82 (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977).

<sup>672</sup> For a discussion of earlier literature see: Peter Metcalf and Richard Huntington, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 2–23; Craig Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700*, Early Modern History Society and Culture (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 6–9; For a more recent cross-cultural anthology, see e.g. Jan Assmann, Franz Maciejewski, and Axel Michaels, eds., *Der Abschied von den Toten: Trauerrituale im Kulturvergleich* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005).

<sup>673</sup> Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage: étude systématique des rites* (Paris: Picard, 1909); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, c. 2000); With regard to death and funerals see: Geertz, "Ritual and Social Change," 142–169.



implies. Death and funeral ritual could resolve or contain the uncertainty, but they could also visualise or enhance it. Monarchical funerals needed to manage the uncertainty of the transition and thus exhibited ritual elements specifically devised to facilitate the transfer from one monarch to the next. These elements naturally varied from one country to another and evolved with time. Legally, in France, England and Scotland, a monarch succeeded immediately upon the death of his or her predecessor. Funeral ritual, however, could express a different concept of kingship. Giesey's seminal study on early modern France advances the theory of a "ceremonial interregnum," i.e. a liminal period during which the deceased monarch, or rather his effigy, continues to function as the ceremonial head-of-state and the representation of the body politic, while his successor remains secluded. Only with the conclusion of the funeral ceremonies could the new monarch assume his role publicly. This "ceremonial interregnum" ended after 1610, when funeral effigies became obsolete.<sup>674</sup> Woodward has subsequently applied this theory to England with regard to Elizabeth I's death and James I's accession and even implies that the idea existed previously.<sup>675</sup> However, in his review of Woodward's work Ralph Houlbrooke has emphatically rejected the relevance of her reasoning to other Tudor deaths, including that of Elizabeth's sister Mary I.<sup>676</sup> As the subsequent analysis will show, Houlbrooke is correct to question the applicability of the concept, due to Elizabeth's public ritual appearance before her sister's funeral as well as her presence in London throughout. Furthermore, Mary Stewart's case shows that a royal funeral involving the regalia and full heraldic ensigns might be staged outside a succession narrative, for the transfer of sovereignty from Mary to her son had taken place two decades before. While these two individual case studies cannot provide an exhaustive analysis of the concept, they can begin to revise the theory advanced by Woodward.<sup>677</sup>

The concept of a "ceremonial interregnum" specifically relates to ruling monarchs. Only one death of the three discussed in this chapter is that of a queen regnant in office. Mary Tudor died as Mary I of England on 17 November 1558 and her sister Elizabeth acceded to the throne. The symbolism of the funeral ceremony within the context of Elizabeth's accession can reveal much about the contemporary understanding of the concepts described above. The theory, however, cannot be applied to the Scottish context. Mary Stewart had abdicated her throne – albeit unwillingly. Although she claimed the title queen of Scotland until her death, alongside the prestigious title of queen dowager of France, her son as king of Scotland and Elizabeth I only recognised the latter at the time of her death. More importantly, Mary died in English captivity and Elizabeth ordered her

<sup>674</sup> Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, 19–28, 47–48, 118–119, 177–190; Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 314–450, esp. 328–330, 336, 408, 420–423, 438.

<sup>675</sup> Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 96–99.

<sup>676</sup> Ralph A. Houlbrooke, review of "The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England 1570–1625," by Jennifer Woodward, *Renaissance Studies* 12, no. 4 (1998): 606.

<sup>677</sup> For recent French-centric literature on sixteenth-century European funerals, see: Chrościcki, Hengerer, and Sabatier, *Funérailles princières*; Balsamo, *Funérailles à la Renaissance*; Elizabeth A. Brown, "Royal Bodies, Effegies, Funeral Meals and Office in Sixteenth Century France," in *Micrologus: natura, scienze e società medievali*, ed. Jacques Chiffolleau and Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 7:437–508.

funeral on English soil, which therefore followed English rather than Scottish ritual. This anomaly, however, allows us to study Mary Stewart's funeral in the English context to further elucidate the representation of queenship within it. Finally, Mary's mother Marie de Guise was queen dowager, formerly queen consort of Scotland at her death on 11 June 1560 and her funeral eventually transpired in France. Consorts and dowagers unlike regnant monarchs could die, in actuality as well as in theory; there was no concept of a consort's immortal body politic. Two dowagers – although not consorts – could even exist simultaneously.<sup>678</sup> Still, Marie's exceptional role as regent on behalf of the absentee queen Mary Stewart in combination with the tumultuous events of the summer of 1560 created a temporary power vacuum. To some extent this instigated the failure to fulfil the traditional funeral rituals on her behalf in Scotland. It is here that I return to Geertz: any mistakes or challenges to the established ritual might – but do not necessarily have to – question the cultural or social structures behind it or reflect greater changes in the cultural fabric. The latter applies to Geertz's abovementioned Javanese case study.<sup>679</sup> All three Marian funerals discussed below equally unfold under exceptional circumstances and the latter two particularly evoke Geertz's example. First, Mary Tudor's funeral, relatively straightforward though it was, transpired in the context of religious change as Elizabeth soon sought to undo her deceased sister's Catholic restoration. Secondly, Marie de Guise died during the civil war which resulted in the Scottish Reformation within months after her death. It was a time of extensive change and upheavals, in which a royal funeral ceremony could not proceed according to tradition. Finally, the circumstances – such as religious conflicts and the succession crisis – which led to Mary Stewart's execution on English soil equally influenced the manner of her commemoration.

This chapter is, therefore, about the question of ritual failure and its consequences. It is secondly about agency, namely the continued agency of deceased queens in the politico-religious contexts of sixteenth-century Europe. While one may observe some agency in the manner of their deaths, this only rarely extends to the funeral arrangements and the fulfilment of other requests made in their wills. Finally, this chapter provides a study of the retrospective representation of queenship as constructed by others. The eulogists frequently blended traditional female and male imagery, while continuing to relate female rule emphatically to male descendants.

---

<sup>678</sup> At the time of Mary Stewart's death, her mother-in-law Catherine de' Medici still lived and also claimed the title queen dowager of France.

<sup>679</sup> Geertz, "Ritual and Social Change," 142–169.

## II) Mary Tudor

Mary Tudor died on Thursday, 17 November 1558 at St James's Palace after several weeks of illness.<sup>680</sup> Approximately a month later, on 14 December 1558, her body was interred at Westminster Abbey according to Catholic rites. Her will consisted of a document drawn up in earlier in the year, on 30 March as well as an amendment made on 28 October. In this she acknowledged her childless marriage and in all but name entrusted the succession to Elizabeth.<sup>681</sup> Elizabeth's official recognition followed, tied to two conditions: the preservation of the Catholic Church and the payment of Mary's outstanding debts. These requests in combination with her own piety before death, culminating in her receipt of "extreme unction", were to ensure Mary a "good" death according to Catholic principles.<sup>682</sup>

Particulars of Mary's death and funeral are documented in a number of ambassadorial dispatches as well as a contemporary diary and one detailed manuscript account, which survives in several copies with minor variations.<sup>683</sup> These are complemented by two funeral sermons – held by John White, bishop of Winchester at Westminster Abbey and François Richardot, titular bishop of Nicopolis at Brussels – as well as Mary's last will.<sup>684</sup> Based on these sources, recent biographies of Mary include discussions and chronologies of the mourning period and subsequent funeral, some more detailed than others. Biographies aside, scholarship so far has primarily focused on Mary's resting place at Westminster Abbey and the absence of an individual tomb.<sup>685</sup> Due to the varied studies of the ceremonies and memorial, I will not reiterate a detailed chronology of events and only touch upon her monument in passing. Instead, I will focus on selective aspects of the ritual to gain an understanding of the manner of Mary's representation and her continued agency therein. These aspects include the impact of religion and gender onto the proceedings as well as the significance of the ritual in the succession narrative. Finally, the

<sup>680</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, f. 69v; [Alvise] Priuli to his brother Antontio [Giberti], London, 27 November 1558, in "November 1558, 16–30," CSPV, 6:1286; Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, "The Count of Feria's Dispatch to Philip II of 14 November 1558," in *Camden Miscellany* 28, ed. and transl. Rodríguez-Salgado and Adams, 327, 337.

<sup>681</sup> See copy BL, Harl. MS 6949, 29–41, 42–45.

<sup>682</sup> Christophe d'Assonville to Philip II, Westminster, 7 November 1558, in Lettenhove, *Relations politiques*, 1:219, p. 277; "Feria's Dispatch 1558," 326–327; [Alvise] Priuli to his brother Antontio [Giberti], London, 27 November 1558, in "November 1558, 16–30," CSPV, 6:1286.

<sup>683</sup> *CSP Simancas*, vol. 1; *CSP Spain*, vol. 13; CSPV, vol. 6; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 178–184; TNA, SP 12/1, f. 69v; Almost identical accounts in e.g.: CoA, MS I 14, fos. 19–30r, 202–214r; Printed in the following: "Appendix to Preface," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 2: App. 2; Leland and Hearne, *Collectanea*, 5:307–323; Richards calls this document "a general [retrospective] reassurance," criticising inaccuracies and lack of detail. See: *Mary Tudor*, 228.

<sup>684</sup> BL, Cott. MS Vesp. D XVIII/X, fos. 92–105; Printed in: White, "Sermon," 536–550; Richardot, "Sermon fvnebre," sig. E2v–G2r; The original will was partly recorded in her own hand, but only an 18th-century transcript survives, in BL, Harl. MS 6949, 29–45; Printed in: David M. Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), App. 3, pp. 370–383.

<sup>685</sup> Carolly Erickson, *Bloody Mary: The Life of Mary Tudor* (London: Dent, 1978), 471–472, 483–485; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 310–313; Porter, *Mary Tudor*; Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 227–231; Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 303–306; John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven: YUP, 2011), 333–335; David M. Loades, *Mary Tudor* (Stroud: Amberley, 2011); Duncan, *Mary I*, 171–177; Memorial: Peter Sherlock, "The Monuments of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart: King James and the Manipulation of Memory," *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 2 (2007); Anne McLaren, "Memorializing Mary and Elizabeth," in Hunt and Whitelock, *Tudor Queenship*, chap. 1; Effigy: Anthony P. Harvey and Richard Mortimer, *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 55–57.

discussion of how an English queen regnant was commemorated serves to illustrate the later chapter on Mary Stewart, whom Elizabeth granted a royal funeral on 1 August 1587.<sup>686</sup>

Mary's will, first drafted in March 1558 when Mary still believed herself "to be with child," is a detailed testament to the Catholic faith she embraced and the hopes she had of its continuance under her heir.<sup>687</sup> Her principal trust was placed in Philip, who she believed might act as regent if necessary<sup>688</sup>, and her close advisor Cardinal Reginald Pole, archbishop of Canterbury. In addition she designated a host of other executors and assistants, together a relatively large group of twenty-one, composed of a cross-section of her court, and originally intended to form "the Council to my said issewe."<sup>689</sup> The welfare of her own soul, as well as that of those closest to her, emotionally and dynastically – including both her husband and her mother, but also her "progenitors" –, is the dominating theme.<sup>690</sup> The lack of issue and Elizabeth's prospective succession accordingly threatened Mary's hopes for a regency of her husband and the realisation of the principal content of Mary's will: her religious legacy. The October codicil, attached to the will before her death and acknowledging the lack of issue, although it does not mention Elizabeth by name, contains a thinly veiled threat to those "violaters and brokers of wills," who induce God's "severe justice."<sup>691</sup> Nonetheless, Elizabeth quickly overturned Mary's legacy and ignored most of Mary's last wishes, except in relation to the funeral. Its proceedings were decidedly Catholic, from the manner of embalming and the use of candles within and around the hearse at Westminster Abbey, to the established sequence of dirge in the evening and the progression through three masses, that of the Holy Ghost, of the Lady and finally the Requiem the following morning.<sup>692</sup> An array of seven bishops together with the archbishop – York alone then living – demonstrated their support of the Catholic ideology.<sup>693</sup> With the Reformation the use of Catholic symbolism, formerly universal, became a subjective choice in royal rituals. This affected the herald's and the church's authority in such matters, since the decision of which religious ritual tradition to follow passed to others. If, as on other matters, the authority passed to the reigning monarch, i.e. Elizabeth, and her council, why did they chose to honour Mary's wishes on this matter? Five years previously, Mary had extended the same courtesy to her brother by accepting

---

<sup>686</sup> A debate revolves around the extent of Elizabeth's commitment to grandeur of the funeral. Refer to Chapter 4: IV)

<sup>687</sup> BL, Harl. MS 6949, 29. A codicil was added in October 1558 before Mary's death, acknowledging her lack of issue.

<sup>688</sup> The marriage treaty does not strictly forbid this. However, the persistence on safeguarding English laws and customs and the clause that Mary's successor should "cause [England] to bee administred by the naturall borne of the same Realmes Donminions and Landes," suggests that the English elite would hardly have consented to him as regent. See: Luders et al., *Statutes of the Realm*, 4:222–226.

<sup>689</sup> BL, Harl. MS 6949, 35–36, 39–40.

<sup>690</sup> *Ibid.*, 29, 30–34.

<sup>691</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>692</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, f. 69v–77r.

<sup>693</sup> *Ibid.*, fos. 70v–72v, 73v, 76r–77r, 78.

his Protestant funeral arrangements, thereby following his rather than her own wishes.<sup>694</sup> It was a wise move, since in the early days of her reign alterations in religious policy needed to proceed cautiously and the same applies to Elizabeth. Furthermore, since the successor was not present at the service, both queens could separate themselves from this religious statement and consider it as a closing statement of their predecessor's reign. Only if the ceremony was too closely associated with the new monarch, was their position jeopardised and action required. In 1558 this occurred in response to John White, the Bishop of Winchester's sermon, which was far from subtle. For the greater part of it White chose not to eulogise Mary, but instead to expand on the dangers to Christ's (Catholic) Church after Mary's death. As the argument goes it was better not to live at all than to live in opposition to that church. This applies above all to magistrates and princes who have the duty to lead their charges and fend off the dangers "coming out of Geneva, and other places of Germany."<sup>695</sup> Although these passages do not mention Elizabeth directly, given her religious record, it is not surprising that Elizabeth applied White's general censorship of any princes who impeded the "true" Catholic faith to herself. He was therefore put under house arrest shortly after "for such offenses as he committed in his sermon at the funeralles of the late Quene."<sup>696</sup> Evidently, White had crossed the line in digressing from the past into the future and by semi-covertly criticising Elizabeth in public.

Mary's gender had almost no impact on the funeral rituals, except in relation to the funeral effigy and her representation in the funeral sermons. Like her predecessors, she was embalmed after her death and her coffin conveyed along a carefully devised route from the private to the public sphere.<sup>697</sup> The first transfer occurred from the bed to the privy chamber at St. James's, which initiated the official lying-in-state period. This lasted for a little over three weeks until 10 December.<sup>698</sup> On the same day the coffin was taken to the palace chapel in a procession carefully arranged according to the principal herald's instructions. The hierarchical setup of temporal and spiritual lords as well as guards was enhanced with ladies, both mourners and otherwise, which concluded the procession behind the coffin and constituted the chief variation from her predecessor's funerals. It was, however, a well-established alteration, inspired by the processions of queens consort and implemented repeatedly over the course of Mary's reign. Only the number of mourners, fifteen, was slightly higher than the thirteen at both Henry VIII's and Edward VI's funerals.<sup>699</sup> In the absence of records on the motivations behind it, one can only speculate that the organisers wished to increase the stateliness of the occasion to bolster Mary's authority. The body remained in the chapel for another three days until Tuesday,

<sup>694</sup> On Mary and Edward VI's funeral see Renard to the Emperor, London, 2 August 1553, in "Aug 1553, 1–5," *CSP Spain*, vol. 11; Mass was celebrated that day at the Tower, but the burial proceeded without it. See: Renard to Prince Philip, London, 5 September 1553, in "Sep 1553, 1–5," *ibid.*

<sup>695</sup> BL, Cott. MS Vesp. D XVIII/X, fos. 94v, 97–98r.

<sup>696</sup> "Pages 26–51," *APC*, 7:45.

<sup>697</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, f. 69v; For Henry VIII see: Jennifer Loach, "The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII," *Past & Present* 142 (1994): 56–60.

<sup>698</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, f. 69v.

<sup>699</sup> *Ibid.*, fos. 70–71r, 74r; John Strype, ed., *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion [...]* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1822), 2.2:123, 291.

13 December. On the same day the principal funeral procession was enacted and the entire company attended the body on its penultimate journey from the chapel to a hearse in Westminster Abbey.<sup>700</sup> This Westminster hearse, covering an area of “vij square wth nyne princypalles double storied” was considered “very sumptouse” and followed the established pattern, even if it did not quite rival that of her father at Windsor.<sup>701</sup> The final move of the coffin occurred after the solemnities were concluded on the following day, 14 December, as its bearers advanced with it to Henry VII’s chapel, where it was lowered into the ground and the grave closed.<sup>702</sup> During the procession to Westminster Abbey, the exhibited ensigns of Mary’s position and office matched those of her father and for but one exception that of her brother: whereas the 1547 and 1558 funerals displayed the standards, banner, helm and crest, target, sword and coat of arms borne before the coffin, as well as the royal vestments, the crown, sceptre and the orb on the effigy with a horse of estate behind it, in 1553 the list further included the king’s spurs.<sup>703</sup> It is important to note, that by this time the combination of these symbols was generally reserved for male funerals and hence the queen regnant alone could exert her claim on them.<sup>704</sup> These traditional aspects of Mary’s funeral were never controversial.

With regard to the funeral sermons, however, Richards claims that “Bishop White was still struggling to define the estate” of Mary, as well as Elizabeth in December 1558, five years after Mary’s accession.<sup>705</sup> It is a cumbersome concept, which White advances in his sermon by referring to her as “a queen, and by the same title a king also.” Overwhelmingly though, his language emphasises her femininity in relation to a male partner. Her pedigree is strong, as “a kinges daughter, [...] a kinges sister, [...] a kinges wyfe.”<sup>706</sup> She herself, White assures, always considered herself “married [...] vnto this realme and in token of faithe & fidelitie did put a ringe w(i)th a diamonde vpon her finger; w(hi)ch I vnderstand she never put of after during her life.”<sup>707</sup> Richardot, who preached the sermon at her remembrance service in Brussels – the current residence of her husband Philip II, although he did not attend the service personally –<sup>708</sup> equally relates her reign to a strong male figure. In this case, it is Philip, who embodies the sun, which dawned on England during her reign.<sup>709</sup> Yet this is as much a testimony of his primary allegiance to Philip as a gender issue and he attests Mary, the English rose, “le cœur d’vn Hercules” “en

<sup>700</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, fos. 71r–75r.

<sup>701</sup> Ibid., f. 75; Henry VIII’s had thirteen principals. See: Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 2.2: 295; The hearse was reused for Emperor Charles V’s obsequies. See: Nichols, *Machyn’s Diary*, 184; Marquis of Winchester to Cecil, Westminster, 19 December 1558, in “December 1559, 11–20,” *CSPF Elizabeth*, 1:100.

<sup>702</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, f. 78v.

<sup>703</sup> Ibid., fos. 73–74r; Nichols, *Machyn’s Diary*, 39–40, 182–183; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 2.2: 298, 300–302.

<sup>704</sup> Duncan, *Mary I*, 174.

<sup>705</sup> Richards, “Gendering Tudor Monarchy,” 895.

<sup>706</sup> BL, Cott. MS Vesp. D XVIII/X, f. 101r.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid.

<sup>708</sup> Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate, Brussels, 10 December 1558, in “December 1558,” *CSPV*, 6:1293; The obsequies for Mary of Hungary, Mary Tudor and Charles V were held shortly after one another in Brussels and Richardot preached all three sermons. These were published together in 1559: Richardot, *Sermon fvnebre*.

<sup>709</sup> Richardot, “Sermon fvnebre,” sig. G1a.

ce corps féminin".<sup>710</sup> In turn, it is not Henry VIII, the ancestor Mary based her claims to the English throne on, but Catalina de Aragon who truly attracts his admiration. His sermon is a careful analysis of the three perfections – civil, Christian and divine, two in life, one in death – and a careful justification of why Mary would have attained all three upon her death. Catalina, above all, is identified as the source of Mary's beneficial education, which allowed her to duly attain the first two perfections.<sup>711</sup> Unsurprisingly, in Richardot's scenario, Mary enacted the role of a consort more than that of a regnant queen. This was in direct opposition to the iconography at her English funeral, although White's sermon reveals a similar tendency to relate regnant queenship to male figures and concepts.

Mary's effigy, by tradition a careful representation of the living monarch, was the most noticeable and intriguing testimony to her regnant queenship. "Apparelled in robes of Estate w(i)th a crowne on her hed the ball and scepter in her hand & her fingers being richly sett w(i)th ringes," it brought once more to near-life the image of Mary as queen.<sup>712</sup> While Duncan classifies this as the first pictorial display of the English body politic as female, the question remains whether it was conceived and recognised as such by its makers, the participating elites or the audience.<sup>713</sup> The effigy was displayed in the English accustomed manner, on a pall spread over the coffin on its chariot. There is thus no spatial separation of corpse and effigy, except in a vertical sense, with one above the other. All its surrounding symbolism, including the many heraldic embellishments, the achievements, the attendants on horseback, the canopy and the mourners, can be equally associated with one as with the other.<sup>714</sup> The effigy subsequently took pride of place, still close to the body it represented, within the hearse in Westminster Abbey.<sup>715</sup> It is certainly possible, that contemporaries recognised an abstraction of body and office. Nonetheless, effigies cannot be solely associated with ruling monarchs, for the nobility frequently displayed them at their funerals. Neither can they be easily related to a concept of hereditary office, since consorts were equally commemorated in effigy form, although less regularly during Henry VIII's reign.<sup>716</sup> In their case there was no immediate and automatic transfer of the office or position to a successor. Thus, although the effigy evoked the past position of the deceased, we should not integrate this concept into a succession narrative.<sup>717</sup> The combination of the following elements of the burial ritual, however, might potentially evoke the concept: the offering of Mary's accomplishments, the breaking of her household officers' staves or rods at the burial site, symbolising the dissolution of the household and the public declaration

---

<sup>710</sup> Ibid., sig. F2b. App. T21.

<sup>711</sup> Ibid., sig. F2a–b.

<sup>712</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, f. 74r; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 182.

<sup>713</sup> Duncan, *Mary I*, 174.

<sup>714</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, fos. 73v–74r.

<sup>715</sup> Ibid., f. 76r; Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 182–183.

<sup>716</sup> See e.g.: Harvey and Mortimer, *Funeral Effigies*, 7, 37–50; Even for France newer research reveals that effigies occasionally appeared in noble funerals in the sixteenth-century. See: Monique Chatenet, "Quelques aspects des funérailles nobiliaires au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," in Balsamo, *Funérailles à la Renaissance*, 37–54.

<sup>717</sup> Giesey claims that "the English [...] never seem to have regarded the effigy as more than a replacement for the body, convenient only in that it allowed a protraction of the ceremony." See: *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, 85.

of Elizabeth's titles.<sup>718</sup> Especially in the context of the latter they evoke the French "Le roi est mort! Vive le roi!"<sup>719</sup> There is, however, a temporal and spatial separation between all three events, as one is performed at the altar, the next within the burial chapel and the final declaration apparently made as the procession left the church.<sup>720</sup> Furthermore, within his funeral sermon and before the burial White openly acknowledges that Mary "was a sister to her that by the like title and right is both king and queen at this p(re)sent of this realme."<sup>721</sup> Elizabeth was undoubtedly queen from the moment of Mary's demise and the proclamation upon her accession clearly accentuated the legal concept of succession: "We do publish and give knowledge by this our proclamation to all manner people being natural subjects of every the said kingdoms, that from the beginning of the 17th day of this month of November, at which time our dearest sister departed from this mortal life, they be discharged of all bonds and duties of subjection towards our said sister, and be from the same time in nature and law bound only to us as to their only sovereign lady and Queen."<sup>722</sup> Not only the legal concept promulgated immediate succession, the ritual reflected this as well, thereby clearly negating a "ceremonial interregnum" in sixteenth-century England. Contrary to Woodward's assertion that "obsequies of dead monarchs were traditionally staged before the royal entry of their successors," Elizabeth officially entered London on 28 November 1558, less than a fortnight after Mary's death and well before her funeral.<sup>723</sup> She remained in London throughout and posited an alternative ritual focus. While Woodward rightly points to the new monarch's absence during the funeral ritual of the predecessor, this alone cannot sustain the concept of a "ceremonial interregnum."<sup>724</sup>

Although Mary's effigy survives today, her legacy is exemplified in the lack of a bespoke monument at her final resting place at Westminster Abbey. Mary herself and Elizabeth never commissioned one. Furthermore, in 1606 James I had Elizabeth I's remains moved to Mary's resting place and a monument built for the former. Subsequently Elizabeth captured every visitor's attention almost exclusively with a tomb in which but one inscription alluded to that other sister Mary, supposedly "regno consortes" with Elizabeth.<sup>725</sup> Although funeral monuments for monarchs were frequently dispensed with, once a dynasty was established, James I's architectural strategy reflected and enhanced the undermining of Mary's queenship begun during Elizabeth's reign.<sup>726</sup> Furthermore, this development directly contravened what Mary had requested. In keeping with the rest of

<sup>718</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, fos. 78v–79r.

<sup>719</sup> Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, chap. 8.

<sup>720</sup> This differs from the scene described by Kantorowicz at Henry VII's funeral. See: *King's Two Bodies*, 412.

<sup>721</sup> BL, Cott. MS Vesp. D XVIII/X, f. 101r.

<sup>722</sup> Hughes and Larkin, *TRP*, 2: 99. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>723</sup> The same applies to Mary's accession. See: Nichols, *Machyn's Diary*, 38–39, 180; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 98; The same point was made by: Houlbrooke, review "Theatre of Death," 606.

<sup>724</sup> See also: Loach, "Function of Ceremonial," 61.

<sup>725</sup> The full inscription on the tomb reads "regno consortes & urna, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores in spe resurrectionis," App. T22. Quoted and discussed in McLaren, "Memorializing Mary and Elizabeth," 11–27; Sherlock, "Monuments," 265, 270, 274, 276, 284.

<sup>726</sup> Nigel Llewellyn, "The Royal Body: Monuments to the Dead, for the Living," ed. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn, *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540–1660* (1990): 224–225, 228.



her will, Mary desired the relocation of Catalina de Aragon's coffin from Peterborough to her own grave in order to unite mother and daughter in death.<sup>727</sup> This part of her will was rejected outright, both by Elizabeth and by James.<sup>728</sup>

Mary and her councillors clearly perceived her sister Elizabeth as an obstacle to her influence beyond the grave and rightly so. Although her religious beliefs were respected throughout the mourning period and funeral, her legacy, both in representational as well as actual terms was quickly undermined. During Elizabeth's reign, Mary's greatest testament consisted in the precedents she established for her sister. Except for White's conceptual difficulties, the impression conveyed by the funeral account is that the iconography of the queen regnant was largely established and no longer raised as many discussions as it had at the beginning of her reign.

---

<sup>727</sup> BL, Harl. MS 6949, 30.

<sup>728</sup> Between 1587 and 1612 Catalina was instead graced with the company of Mary Stewart at Peterborough Cathedral, albeit in separate tombs on either side of the choir. Refer to Chapter 4: IV)

### III) Marie de Guise

Marie de Guise died on 11 June 1560<sup>729</sup> in Edinburgh Castle, supposedly of dropsy.<sup>730</sup> At the time, she was forty-five years old, queen regent, queen dowager and mother of the ruling queen. Although she died of natural causes, the manner of her death and most importantly her commemoration afterwards were determined by the civil war, which had broken out the year before. Up until 1558 Marie's conciliatory policy, protecting the dominance of the Catholic faith while allowing a high level of toleration for Reformers and their ideas, had been largely effective. However, Elizabeth I's accession in England and the subsequent restoration of a reformed religion there<sup>731</sup>, precipitated the formation of the Lords of the Congregation, who sought to establish the Reformation in Scotland.<sup>732</sup> Armed confrontations between Reformers and Loyalists ensued and the Lords went as far as to proclaim Marie's deposition in October 1559. The agenda in and responses to the confrontation of the government and the Congregation were dominated by Franco-Scottish and Anglo-Scottish politics respectively.<sup>733</sup> Both, religion and the adjustments in international relations directly affected Marie's obsequies and burial. Gender too, had a bearing on the situation, but only indirectly through the absentee queenship of Mary Stewart.

Marie's death, commemoration and obscure burial can be partially reconstructed from the customary array of sources, which include several narrative references<sup>734</sup>, the *Treasurer Accounts*<sup>735</sup>, as well as French and English diplomatic reports.<sup>736</sup> Institutional accounts as well as the funeral sermon printed in 1561 by its orator, Claude d'Espence shed light on the funeral service at Notre Dame de Paris on Monday, 12 August 1560.<sup>737</sup>

<sup>729</sup> Sources refer to different dates, but this seems to be due to the time of her death around midnight. 10 June: Thomson, *Diurnal*, 59, 276; Richard Payne to Thomas Gresham, Middleburgh, 14 June 1560, in "June 1560, 11–15," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 3:191; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 289; 11 June: Anonymous to d'Oysel, Edinburgh Castle, 18 June 1560, in "June 1560, 16–20," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 3:206; Gladys Dickinson, ed., *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse: An Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Year 1543 and the Journal of the Siege of Leith 1560*, Publications of the Scottish History Society 36 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1942), 176; Earlier or missing dates: Dickinson, *History*, 1:322; Pitscottie, *Historie*, 2: 171, n. 171; D'Espence, *Oraison funebre*, 67.

<sup>730</sup> The diagnosis is based on a report of her autopsy, referred to in Dickinson, *Two Missions*, 176–179.

<sup>731</sup> Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 200–201. This is but one, albeit significant, reason for the developments at the time, but this is not the place for a detailed analysis.

<sup>732</sup> The official title of those united to advance the Reformation in Scotland, including the Earls of Moray and Argyle. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 205.

<sup>733</sup> Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 203–205, 207–211; Dickinson, *History*, 1:254; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 53–57, 269–276.

<sup>734</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 59, 64, 276–277, 282; Dickinson, *History*, 1:322, 359; John Leslie, *De origine, moribus & rebus gestis Scotorum libri decem: e quibus septem veterum Scotorum res in primis memorabiles contractius [...]: accessit nova & accurata regionum & insularum Scotiæ, cum vera ejusdem topographia tabula descriptio* (Rome, 1675), 526; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 289.

<sup>735</sup> Paul, *TA*, 11:24.

<sup>736</sup> "Instructions données à Monsieur de Saint-Jehan par les Trois Estats du royaume d'Escoce," in Teulet, *Papiers d'état*, 1:615; Dickinson, *Two Missions*, 172–179; The manuscript copy can be found in AdAÉ, MD Angleterre 15, fos.154–182; Richard Payne to Thomas Gresham, Middleburgh, 14 June 1560, in "June 1560, 11–15," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 3:191; Randolph to Killigrew, Holyrood, [21 June 1560], in "June 1560," *CSP Scot*, 1:826; Giovanni Michiele, Venetian ambassador in France to the Doge and Senate, Chartres, 22 June 1560, in "June 1560, 16–30," *CSPV*, 7:175; Throckmorton to the Queen, Paris, 13 July 1561 in "July 1561, 11–20," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 4:304.

<sup>737</sup> Cour de Parlement: ANF, X 1a/1595, f. 90r; printed in Michel Félibien and Guy-Alexis Lobineau, eds., *Histoire de la Ville de Paris* (Paris: Desprez & Desessartz, 1725), 4:796; "Semonce des obseques et pompe funebre de la Roynie d'Escoce," in Alexandre Tuetey, ed., *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville*

A manuscript copy of Marie's alleged will, dictated from her sickbed on 8 June 1560, also survives.<sup>738</sup> Unlike other major ceremonies, Marie's death and funeral have not been discussed in detail since Marshall's biography of Marie from 1977.<sup>739</sup> This is primarily due to the disarray of customary ritual. Yet this confusion provides important insights into the functioning of rituals and their relationship to the immediate political and religious context.

Marie's death occurred in the midst of the civil, religious and European conflicts, that embroiled Scotland. Due to these conflicts, a Scottish funeral became impossible. Nonetheless, until her end, Marie sought an amicable conclusion to her fight with the Lords of the Congregation. During the last stages of Marie's illness in early June, both camps revived the formerly conciliatory bonds between them, albeit only partially and briefly. The principal magnates agreed to meet with Marie, but they denied her request to relate the state of her affairs to a French envoy.<sup>740</sup> Reportedly, Marie apologised for any faults on her part and forgave them for theirs but pleaded with the Lords "to be faithfull and obedient subjectis to the quenis grace hir dauchter."<sup>741</sup> They in turn attempted to convert her to their cause until the end and – if Knox is to be believed – "willit her to send for sum godlie learnit man."<sup>742</sup> Seeking to compromise, Marie listened at length to the Reformed minister John Willock, acknowledging the importance of Jesus Christ and his role in procuring everyone's salvation, but she would not discredit the mass.<sup>743</sup> Her efforts to seek conciliation was another feature of the contemporary understanding of a "good death," beyond the religious dimension and the patient expectation of death.

Whereas Marie had some limited influence on the fashioning of her death, her memorials were completely beyond her control. Although the conciliatory efforts of the Lords did not cease immediately, the steps taken after her death accentuate the lacklustre attempt made to commemorate the queen regent. Several days after her death Randolph describes the scene thus: "she lies in a bed covered with a fair fine white sheet, the tester of black satin, and the bed stock hanged round about to the ground with the same."<sup>744</sup> Apparently, conventions were followed to some degree as Marie lay in state as befitted a queen. Sometime thereafter a certain John Weir, pewterer, produced "ane spulture to incluse the Quenis grace" and her enclosed body was reportedly taken to a chapel in Edinburgh Castle. The *Treasurer Accounts* further include payments for "blak gray to hing [in] the chapel" as well as "quhite taffatiis of the cord to mak ane cros abone the Quenis

---

*de Paris*, Histoire Générale de Paris (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892), 5:95, pp. 59–61; Chambre des comptes: BNF, Dup. 324, fos. 109–110r; D'Espence, *Oraison funebre*.

<sup>738</sup> AdAÉ, MD Angleterre 15, fos. 112r–113r. It has never been printed.

<sup>739</sup> Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (1977), 259–263; Her findings are reiterated briefly in Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, 122–123; Dean only refers to Marie's remembrance briefly in a footnote. See: "Representations of Authority," 23, fn. 22; Jean-Marie Le Gall briefly alludes to the service at Notre Dame in his discussion of the commemorations of early modern foreign monarchs. See: "Pompes funèbres," 110, 120.

<sup>740</sup> Dickinson, *Two Missions*, 174, 176; Randolph to Norfolk, Camp of the Congregation, 8 June 1560, in "June 1560, 6–10," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 3:172; Thomson, *Diurnal*, 276–277; Dickinson, *History*, 1:321.

<sup>741</sup> Thomson, *Diurnal*, 277; Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1577), 1:493.

<sup>742</sup> Dickinson, *History*, 1: 321.

<sup>743</sup> *Ibid.*; Randolph to Norfolk, Camp at Leith, 8 June 1560, in "Jun 1560, 6–10," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 3:172.

<sup>744</sup> Randolph to Henry Killigrew, Holyrood House, [21–22 June 1560], in "Jun 1560," *CSP Scot*, 1:826.

grace."<sup>745</sup> This appears to be the extent to which the customary rituals were followed. In the past, Scottish consorts were either buried in their own religious foundations like Mary of Guelders, or alternatively alongside their husbands like Joan Beaufort, Margaret of Denmark and Madeleine de Valois.<sup>746</sup> Yet, there is little indication that the Lords of the Congregation and the three Estates ever considered either of these possibilities. Her ladies, "at liberty," attended her body day and night, as it lay in the chapel, but they lacked suitable mourning clothes.<sup>747</sup> This stands in stark contrast to Madeleine's funeral, where black cloth and even fur-lined hoods were provided for her ladies.<sup>748</sup> Although Randolph reported on 21 June 1560 that Marie was to receive all the solemnities due to a personage of her rank according to the Reformed rite, this never transpired.<sup>749</sup> The funeral arrangements were deferred indefinitely, at least until the next convocation of the Estates. However, instead of determining the manner of her burial the Estates instructed Sir James Sandilands, first Lord Torphichen and Commandor of the Knights of St John in Scotland, to travel to France and to inquire into the "vouloir et intention de nosdits souverains et de Madame la Duchesse douarière de Guise, de nos seigneurs ses enfans et aultres parens, touchant l'enterrement du corps de la feue Roynne régente."<sup>750</sup> The reply, probably conveyed verbally, is no longer extant. Since the three estates promised to "ferons toutes les cérémonies requises, tout ce qui nous est permis par la loi de Dieu et suyvant la grandeur de son estat", it is highly likely that Mary and her relations desired Marie to be buried in France, where Catholic ritual would be followed without question.<sup>751</sup> Thus, her body was eventually taken there, although not before March 1561.<sup>752</sup> Upon arrival it was first placed in the abbey of Fécamp in Normandy. Her final resting place lies in the abbey of Saint-Pierre-les-Dames in Reims, approximately 300 km inland. The choice was prompted by the fact that Marie's sister, Renée de Guise-Lorraine, was the abbess of this convent. The funeral was finally celebrated in July 1561, thirteen months after her death, but a record of its ceremonial is not extant.<sup>753</sup> Later histories such as the *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* claim that Marie "fut enterrée au milieu du choeur de l'église de l'abbaye de S. Pierre de Reims, où se voit son

<sup>745</sup> Paul, *TA*, 11:24; A chapel without any further detail is mentioned in *ibid.*; Marshall identifies it as St Margaret's chapel, but the evidence is inconclusive. See: *Mary of Guise*, 261.

<sup>746</sup> Dean, "Representations of Authority," 64, 68, 71–72, 85–86.

<sup>747</sup> Sir Thomas Randolph to Henry Killigrew, Holyrood House, [21–22 June 1560], in "Jun 1560," *CSP Scot*, 1:826.

<sup>748</sup> *TA*, 6:330–344, 349–352, 354; Cited in: Dean, "Representations of Authority," 83.

<sup>749</sup> Randolph to Killigrew, Holyrood, [21 June 1560], in "Jun 1560," *CSP Scot*, 1:826.

<sup>750</sup> Teulet, *Papiers d'état*, 1:615. App. T23.

<sup>751</sup> *Ibid.* App. T24.

<sup>752</sup> The timing and circumstances are somewhat contested: 16 March 1561, at midnight and in secrecy according to: Thomson, *Diurnal*, 64, 282; Lesley remains vague: "thaireftir was careid to France in ane ship." See: *History of Scotland*, 289; Knox dates the transfer to France to 19 October 1560. See: Dickinson, *History*, 1:359; By the Cardinal of Lorraine according to: Paris, *Négociations*, 422; It was not unheard of to delay funeral arrangements even by close family members, for François I<sup>er</sup> was buried with his two sons in 1547, one of whom had died more than ten and the other two years previously. See: Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, 8.

<sup>753</sup> Leslie, *Moribus & rebus gestis Scotorum*, 526; Lesley, *History of Scotland*, 289; For the date see Throckmorton to the Queen, Paris, 13 July 1561, although he only mentions Fécamp, not Reims, in "Jul 1561, 11–20," *CSPF Elizabeth*, 4:304.

tombeau sur lequel elle est représentée en bronze en habit royaux, tenant le sceptre & la main de justice."<sup>754</sup> The iconography, although reflective of her rank as queen dowager, is hardly characteristic of the Scottish regalia, in which the sceptre and the *main de justice* were identical. Unfortunately, it is impossible to corroborate the claims of these histories as any architectural evidence was lost during the French Revolution.<sup>755</sup> All things considered, it is quite evident, that although the formerly well-respected regent could not be ignored, her death was something of a dilemma for the Congregation. For a year before her death they had stood on opposing sides and their self-proclaimed deposition of her had been followed by continued calls for her resignation, one of the principal demands of the English.<sup>756</sup> Thus, although the essential recognition of her death followed swiftly, the Congregation would not mourn her. The half-hearted attempt to follow customary ritual displays the indecision and hesitancy in the power vacuum that followed Marie's death. There was no swift transfer from one regent to another, in fact the Scots never appointed a new regent before Mary's return to begin her personal rule a year later; Marie's death thus ended her daughter's minority "in practical if not in strict constitutional terms,"<sup>757</sup> as the Lords of the Congregation assumed the daily government. Akin to Geertz's Javanese funeral gone wrong, in which the funeral ritual for a young boy "failed to work with its accustomed effectiveness" due to ongoing profound social and cultural changes in Java, the indecision and lack of action in Marie's funeral arrangements highlights the cultural, religious and political conflict which dominated the Scottish political elite.<sup>758</sup> Marie's funeral case study illustrates the limits of ritual, for it could not bridge the gap between the opposing groups embroiled in the Reformation conflict. On the other hand, the ritual was eventually concluded, thereby illustrating once more the ingenuity of the actors in finding a solution. The solution involved the transfer of essential parts of the ritual to France, where according to Mary's and François's wishes not only the burial but also the first acknowledgements of her death appropriate to her rank and position transpired.

The burial was not the first commemoration of Marie's death in France and the combination of both ceremonies illustrates the indispensability of ritual closure for Marie's close relations. Only two months after her death, Marie's French obsequies were held at Notre Dame de Paris from Sunday, 11 to Monday, 12 August 1560.<sup>759</sup> The service, the ceremonial acknowledgement of her life and death, reinstated the dignity denied to Marie in Scotland. As a former daughter of France – not by birth, but by association as dowager duchess of Longueville and sister of François, duc de Guise – and mother of Mary Stewart, queen consort of France, this honour was only to be expected. Marie certainly had closer

<sup>754</sup> Anselme de Sainte-Marie and Honoré Du Fourny, *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1728), 3:485. App. T25; Also see: Paris, *Négociations*, 422.

<sup>755</sup> Sainte-Marie and Du Fourny, *Histoire Genealogique*, 3:485.

<sup>756</sup> E.g.: Norfolk to Cecil and the same to Privy Council, Berwick, [10 April 1560], in "April 1560," *CSP Scot*, 1:723–724.

<sup>757</sup> Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed*, 212.

<sup>758</sup> Geertz, "Ritual and Social Change," 146.

<sup>759</sup> "Semonce des obseques et pompe funebre de la Roynie d'Escosse," in Tuetey, *Registres des délibérations*, 5: 95, pp. 59–61.

ties to the French court than many other European sovereigns or their wives commemorated in a similar manner. According to Jean-Marie Le Gall eight such commemorations took place in Notre Dame during the sixteenth-century. Supposedly, Marie's service in 1560 was only the second of such to occur in France, following the commemoration of the Holy Roman Empress Isabella of Portugal in 1539. Three foreign queens consort – Isabella, Marie and Isabelle or Élisabeth de Valois, daughter of Henri II and queen of Spain (1568) – and one queen regnant – her daughter Mary Stewart (1587) – accounted for half of them. Male sovereigns constituted the rest, namely the two Holy Roman Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II (1564 and 1577), the Spanish king Felipe II (1599) as well as a joint service for the two Portuguese kings Sebastião I and Henrique I (1580). Based on this selection, any codification of who was commemorated appears impossible, except for the fact that they were all Catholic. However, le Gall's conclusion that belonging to the Catholic faith was a condition based on the location in Notre Dame, cannot be upheld in view of Henry VIII's funeral service there on 20 and 21 March 1547, which he fails to mention.<sup>760</sup> In Marie's case, the service was as much a tribute to the "Auld Alliance", under which Guise and Valois interests had merged for a time.

That is not to say that the ritual was a Franco-Scottish cooperation. According to French royal traditions Mary, although queen of Scotland, did not attend with her husband.<sup>761</sup> Furthermore, the Scottish ambassador, Steven Wilson, if still in France, also did not attend the obsequies and we have no knowledge of any other Scottish attendants. If there were any, their countrymen showed little interest in partaking in their experience. It was a thoroughly French affair. However, the ritual showcased the Guise-Valois relationship, as well as dependence of the Guise on the Franco-Scottish alliance. François II ordered the funeral service with the full support of Mary Stewart and her Guise uncles, presumably even upon their initiation.<sup>762</sup> Based on the limited surviving records, parallels emerge to the commemoration of the French kings François I<sup>er</sup> and Henri II in 1547 and 1559 respectively. On all three occasions the groups witnessing the service – religious, noble, civic, administrative and judicial – corresponded perfectly.<sup>763</sup> Equally, two consecutive bishops of Paris officiated in 1547, 1559 and 1560, although those bishops assisting them varied throughout.<sup>764</sup> The international recognition bestowed on French monarchs during their funeral service was extended to Marie as the foreign ambassadors of Portugal, Venice, Rome as well as Ferrara and Mantua attended the service.<sup>765</sup> Thus far,

<sup>760</sup> See: Le Gall, "Pompes funèbres," 103–105, Annex 101, p. 120; Félibien and Lobineau, *Histoire de Paris*, 4:728.

<sup>761</sup> The only exception where the king was present is Élisabeth de Valois's funeral in 1568. See: Félibien and Lobineau, *Histoire de la Ville*, 3:827; Le Gall, "Pompes funèbres," 106.

<sup>762</sup> François II to civic representatives, Fontainebleau, 6 August 1560, in Tuetey, *Registres des délibérations*, 5:60; The same to the chambre des comptes, Fontainebleau, 7 August 1560 and Cardinal of Lorraine to the latter, Challeau, 10 August 1560, in BNF, Dup. 324, fos. 109–110r.

<sup>763</sup> "Semonce des obseques," in Tuetey, *Registres des délibérations*, 5:60; BNF, Dup. 324, f. 110r; ANF, X 1a/1595, f. 90r; For François I<sup>er</sup> and Henri II see: Félibien and Lobineau, *Histoire de Paris*, 4:737–738, 791; Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, 10.

<sup>764</sup> Jean du Bellay in 1547: Félibien and Lobineau, *Histoire de Paris*, 4:735, 738, 791; His nephew Eustache du Bellay in 1559 and 1560: "Semonce des obseques," in Tuetey, *Registres des délibérations*, 5:60.

<sup>765</sup> ANF, X 1a/1595, f. 90r. João Pereira Dantas, Michele Suriano, Sebastiano Gualterio and unknown; In 1559 the ambassadors of Rome, England, Venice and Florence participated. See: Félibien, *Histoire d Paris*,

what we know of Marie's funeral service within Notre Dame did not vary significantly from French royal funerals. One principal divergence lay in the lack of a body, although the sources indicate that a coffin, was nonetheless placed in a "chapelle ardente"<sup>766</sup> within Notre Dame.<sup>767</sup> Furthermore, the Guise naturally played a prominent role during the ceremony. The brothers, François I<sup>er</sup>, duc de Guise and René II, marquis d'Elbeuf, acted as two of the five chief mourners. Still, one Guise – the father of François – had been a chief mourner at the funeral of the French king François I<sup>er</sup> in 1547 and two other titleholders – the duc de Montpensier, a *prince du sang*, and the duc de Longueville – coincided both in 1547 and 1560.<sup>768</sup> Furthermore, the presence of one marital (duc de Longueville) and two immediate blood relations among the mourners in 1560 recalls the involvement of Henri II's sons and son-in-law at his funeral in 1559.<sup>769</sup> The final man behind the empty coffin was François I<sup>er</sup> de Clèves, duc de Nevers, brother-in-law of Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre and a renowned military commander. The composition of the mourners was traditional enough and demonstrated that unlike in England men enacted this role regardless of the deceased's gender. Given its traditional proceedings, other members of the Guise family, such as Claude de Lorraine, duc d'Aumale, attended in an unspecified capacity. Others of the Guise family might have been present but are not referred to in the sources.<sup>770</sup> Furthermore, the orator of the funeral sermon, d'Espences, an experienced rhetorician, was affiliated with them.<sup>771</sup> The commemoration was therefore clearly initiated and dominated by the Guise family. However, to a degree the ritual equally emulated the funeral services of French monarchs, therefore highlighting Marie's position in Scotland at the same time as celebrating her link to France.

In his eulogy of the dead queen, d'Espences uses her genealogy as a starting point, accenting her ties to "toutes les grandes maisons de la Chrestienté" as well as her descent from "sang Imperial, Royal & Ducal".<sup>772</sup> Equally, he relates her piety and steadfast adherence to the Catholic religion – so important to the "Auld Alliance" and the Guise in France – to her exemplary upbringing in the secluded convent of the Poor Clares at Pont-à-Mousson under the wings of her grandmother Philippe de Gueldre.<sup>773</sup> Her principal

4:791; In 1560 the ambassadors of Spain, England and Florence were absent "owing to questions of precedence" according to Michiele in his letter to the Doge and Senate from Melun on 16 August 1560, in *CSPV*, 7:190

<sup>766</sup> A temporary structure, akin to the English funeral hearse and reminiscent of a chapel, with a multitude of candles placed inside it.

<sup>767</sup> "Semonce des obseques," in Tuetey, *Registres des délibérations*, 5:60; Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, 10, 14; François I<sup>er</sup>'s chapelle ardente was probably far more elaborate. See: Félibien and Lobineau, *Histoire de Paris*, 4:737.

<sup>768</sup> In 1547: presumably Louis de Bourbon-Vendôme as duc de Monpensier, also François d'Orléans-Longueville, duc de Longueville, Marie's son, and Claude de Lorraine, duc de Guise, Marie's father. See: Félibien and Lobineau, *Histoire de Paris*, 4:729, 736, 791; In 1560: the same Louis de Bourbon-Vendôme, also Léonor d'Orléans, duc de Longueville, Marie's nephew-in-law, and François de Lorraine, duc de Guise. See: ANF, X 1a/1595, f. 90r.

<sup>769</sup> Charles de Valois, duc d'Orléans, Henri de Valois, duc d'Angoulême and Charles III, duc de Lorraine. See: Félibien and Lobineau, *Histoire de Paris*, 4:791. The fifth was Charles de Bourbon-Monpensier, prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, brother of the duc de Monpensier; Jennifer Woodward, "Funeral Rituals in the French Renaissance," *Renaissance Studies* 9, no. 4 (1995): 387; Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, 11.

<sup>770</sup> "Semonce des obseques," in Tuetey, *Registres des délibérations*, 5:61.

<sup>771</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-61.

<sup>772</sup> D'Espence, *Oraison funebre*, 25. App. T26.

<sup>773</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-29.

virtues of “generosité, chasteté & fecu[n]dité” are largely related back to her familial background and her charity is not only likened to the biblical queen Esther, who successfully thwarted a terrible plot against her people, but also to her fictional relation, Marie de Lorraine, referred to as the granddaughter and heir of Robert, king of Naples (1309 to 1343). In fact, said Robert laid claim to the title of king of Jerusalem, but his granddaughter was Maria di Calabria, not de Lorraine. It is not quite clear why this mislabelling occurs, for the reference in the text clearly refers to the fourteenth-century context.<sup>774</sup> D’Espence becomes more explicit on Marie’s dynastic consequence by referring to her as a quasi-daughter of François I<sup>er</sup> and by praising the “Auld Alliance” directly.<sup>775</sup> His praise came at a time when the French incapability of mustering the necessary military might to impress Anglo-Scottish troops led to the treaty of Edinburgh, which broke off the Franco-Scottish military alliance. Even though the marital alliance between François II and Mary Stewart persisted for the time being, their hold on Scotland was tenuous. In spite of or because of its failings, d’Espence reminds his audience not only of how the Scots cherished the alliance throughout the centuries, but of supposedly unbroken Scottish independence – even escaping the Roman expansion – and the fact that Christianity spread from Scottish shores in the time of Columbanus.<sup>776</sup> Due to Marie’s dynastic consequence, the Guise, Valois and the Stewarts had joined forces for a time under the umbrella of the “Auld Alliance”. The funeral encapsulated their cooperation, but at a time in which these ties were already beginning to dissolve, particularly since a decisive link between them was severed by Marie’s death.

As a final counterbalance to the Scottish post-Reformation narrative, d’Espence describes Marie as a warrior queen with a “cœur viril en corps féminin”.<sup>777</sup> He acknowledges the criticism advanced in response to female warriors, but refutes it with a total of ten positive and successful examples including the mythical Semiramis of Assyria, the ancient queens Tomyris of the Massagetai<sup>778</sup> and Cleopatra of Egypt, as well as the more recent Margaret I, queen of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. He further evokes the memory of Judith and Deborah, the predominant role models for queenship of any kind.<sup>779</sup> The combination of examples ranging from the “Regentes de France” to the queens regnant mentioned above, demonstrates that d’Espence did not discriminate between the different roles of a queen. Whether this was due to the extraordinary character of Marie’s regency, based on her daughter’s absentee queenship or whether he did not distinguish between the different roles in principle, is impossible to determine. Still, the number and range of examples he furnishes in the defence of Marie’s warrior queenship, confirms that

<sup>774</sup> Ibid., 22, 30, 33-37. App. T27. Est. 2:15-9:32 (Katholische Einheitsübersetzung). Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-century Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 5.

<sup>775</sup> Ibid., 30, 39.

<sup>776</sup> Ibid., 41-50.

<sup>777</sup> Ibid., 63. App. T28.

<sup>778</sup> Refer to Chapter 2: IV)

<sup>779</sup> D’Espence, *Oraison funebre*, 64-65; On Semiramis, see: Stephanie Dalley, “Semiramis in History and Legend,” in *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, ed. Erich S. Gruen, *Oriens et Occidens* 8 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 37-59. For Margaret I see: Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 10, 20, 189, 191, 237-238.



despite the uncertainty which prevailed regarding female rule, its principles were well established, both in intellectual debate as well as in actuality.

Marie de Guise's funeral is an example of how customary rituals could fail in the face of grave religious and political strain. The Scottish burial, promised initially, never transpired. Nonetheless, the necessity of such rituals was acknowledged throughout, even by the Scottish reformers. Instead of simply interring her according to the reformed rite under the cover of night, they chose to wait. It is impossible to tell whether the death of François II and the prospect of Mary Stewart's return to Scotland eventually interrupted the limbo, during which her body remained unburied in Scotland, or whether the Scots would have released it for its journey to France regardless. With its release, however, the ritual closure, first begun by the commemorative service at Notre Dame, was completed. The creative solution to the quandary faced by all involved relied on a number of specific factors. These included Marie's French origins, her daughter, the queen's continued presence in France as well as her looming return to Scotland and last but not least the framework of the "Auld Alliance".

## IV) Mary Stewart

Mary Stewart was executed on Wednesday, 8 February 1587 at Fotheringhay Castle. Her burial and funeral followed almost half a year later on 1 August 1587 at nearby Peterborough. To the very end, Mary defended her title as "Royne d'Escosse, douairière de France."<sup>780</sup> She was twice a queen: queen regnant of Scotland, despite her forced deposition and also dowager queen of France. It was as a queen that she wished to be buried, ideally in France. The entire dilemma revolved around the fact, that neither Elizabeth I nor James VI could allow this. The Catholic powers in Europe, on the other hand, acknowledged her titles, for various reasons of their own. Hence, both James and Elizabeth had to fashion their role in the aftermath of the execution. It is therefore not surprising, that of all three funerals discussed here, Mary Stewart's is the most political. Although the reading of ritual in terms of propaganda has attracted its share of criticism, in this specific case, particularly due to the close relation between the European diplomatic context and the events which occurred, it is impossible to deny the propagandistic elements and intentions.<sup>781</sup> Her funerals – for there were several – reflected the political needs of those in charge of them and no longer those of Mary as voiced throughout her imprisonment. While she had some influence on the manner of her death – not the hour or its form and execution, but her comportment throughout it – as well as on her memory afterwards, her funerals were entirely out of her control.

The wealth of sources on the execution and funerals is considerable. Three English eyewitness accounts of the execution survive in manuscript form.<sup>782</sup> Not one of these was published at the time, but while no longer extant an official printed version, combining the narratives, supposedly circulated soon after.<sup>783</sup> The war in print was clearly waged outside of England, across Europe, but especially in France. The French ambassador in London, Guillaume de l'Aubespine, baron de Châteauneuf, secretly dispatched an alleged eyewitness account shortly after the event.<sup>784</sup> New details were provided by her servants upon their arrival in France in October 1587.<sup>785</sup> Mary's funeral prompted a similar

<sup>780</sup> Labanoff, *Lettres Inédites*, 191; "Warrant for Execucon," in BL, Harl. MS 290, fos. 203–204r.

<sup>781</sup> See e.g.: John Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime, 1500–1750* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 32–33.

<sup>782</sup> Earl of Kent, Robert Beale, Sir Amyas Powlet and Sir Drew Drury [Commissioners] to [The Council], Fotheringhay Castle, [8 February 1587], in BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, fos. 214–216; Printed in: "Feb 1587," *CSP Scot*, 9:266; BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, fos. 637–647r; Printed in: Archibald F. Steuart, ed., *Trial of Mary, Queen of Scots*, Notable British Trials (Edinburgh: Hodge, 1923), 194–206; BL, Stowe MS 159, fos. 108–111; The original of the following copy was supposedly composed by Dean Fletcher, however the similarities to the Wingfield account are too striking to miss. See: BL, Add. MS 48027, fos. 654–658.

<sup>783</sup> "The Execution of the Most Vnfortunate Ladye Marye late Queene of Scotos on Wednesday (the) 8 of February 1586 [Execution of Ladye Marye]," in BL, Cott. MS Calig. B/V, fos. 180–181r; Translations of the official account have survived, e.g.: *Execution oder Todt Marien Suarts Königinnen aus Schotlandt gewesen Königinnen zu Franckreich welche Adi 18. Februarii Anno 1587. Stilo Nouo. in Engleandt enthauptet worden ist im Schloß Fodringham in Northamptonshir* (Erfurt, 1587); For a detailed discussion and list of publications see: Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 133–142; John C. Scott, *A Bibliography of Works Relating to Mary, Queen of Scots, 1544–1700* (Edinburgh, 1896), 47–55.

<sup>784</sup> Châteauneuf to Henri III, London, 27 February 1587, in Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 4:169–178, n. 161; On the extension of the account with supposedly made-up material by a Sieur de Gondy, see: Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 147–153; Wilkinson, *French Public Opinion*, 132–133.

<sup>785</sup> Accounts by Mary's servants: "Journal de Dominique Bourgoing, Médecin de Marie Stuart," in *Marie Stuart, son procès et son exécution d'après le journal inédit de Bourgoing, son médecin, la correspondance*

distribution of manuscript and printed accounts, although her burial aroused less interest in France, than her execution. The extant English manuscripts include two eyewitness accounts by the garter king of arms, Sir William Dethick as well as – allegedly – by the dean of Peterborough, both principal actors in the events.<sup>786</sup> The first published accounts appeared in France in 1588, as part of the comprehensive martyrology *La Mort de la Roynne d'Escosse*, composed by Blackwood. According to Strickland this was written by someone in Mary's household, yet while concrete evidence for this is lacking, their involvement in its conception at least is highly likely. While Woodward further lists two editions of a tract entitled *Les Magnifiques Obseques de la Roynne d'Escosse* published in 1587 and 1589 in Edinburgh, this seems to be a case of misidentification. In fact, she appears to be referring to the corresponding editions of the *Martyre*. However, not one of the editions published between 1587 and 1589 contains the passage in question, while it does appear in the 1644 *Opera Omnia* edition of Blackwood's work. Since Woodward's acknowledged source is a collection of tracts on Mary's funeral, which provides the 1644 edition as its source, it appears to be a mistaken assumption that the contemporary publications included the passage. Thus Blackwood's 1588 edition of *La Mort* remains the earliest known French publication referring to the funeral. A comparison of the *Opera Omnia* passage with the account of the funeral in *La Mort* shows that the former is an abbreviated version probably derived from the latter. A separate English description was published anonymously in 1589.<sup>787</sup> Reports of Mary's European commemorations remained almost entirely in the diplomatic domain. Alone the funeral sermons by John Leslie, Bishop of Ross and Renauld de Beaune, archevêque de Bourges were published in 1587 and 1588 respectively.<sup>788</sup>

---

*d'Amyas Paulet, son geaulier, et autres documents nouveaux*, ed. Régis Chantelauze (Paris: Plon, 1876), 465–578; "Relacion de lo que Gorion, boticario de la Reyna de Escocia orden de dexirme á boca por parte de la dicha Reyna, 24 October 1587," in Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 5: 501–504; Martyrologies: Adam Blackwood, *Martyre de la Roynne D'Escosse, Douairiere de France: Contenant le vray discours des traizons à elle faictes à la suscitation d'Elizabeth Angloise, par lequel les mensonges, calomnies & faulses accusations dressees contre ceste trsuertueuse, trescatholique & tresillustre princesse sont eclarcies & son innocence aueree* ([Edinburgh]: Nafeild, 1587); *La Mort de la Roynne d'Escosse, Douairiere de France. Où est contenu le vray Discours de la procedure des Angloys à l'Execution d'icelle, la Constante & Royalle resolutiõ de sa maiesté defunte [...]* ([Paris], 1588); Also see: Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 172–177.

<sup>786</sup> Dethick's reports, including BL, Harl. MS 1354, fos. 46–49; BL, Harl. MS 1440, f. 13; Printed in: John G. Nichols, ed., *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (London: Nichols, 1790), 4:72–73, 75–78; Dean's account: BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, fos. 210–211; Printed in: "The Manner of the Solemnity of the Scottish Queen's Funeral, Being the First of August 1587, When She Was Buried in the Cathedral Church of Peterborough," in *The History of the Church of Peterburgh: wherein the most remarkable things concerning that Place, from the First Foundation thereof; with other passages of History, not unworthy Publick View, are represented.*, ed. Simon Gunton (London: Chiswell, 1686), 77–79; The origin of these lists and accounts is not known: TNA, SP 53/21, fos. 80–82; Printed in: *Archaeologia; Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1770), 1:355–360; BL, Lansd. MS 260, f. 255; Printed in: "August 1587," *CSP Scot*, 9:373.

<sup>787</sup> Agnes Strickland, *Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Documents Connected with Her Personal History, Now First Published* (London: Colburn, 1842), 2:219; *Theatre of Death*, 83; Blackwood, *Martyre*, 431; Adam Blackwood, *Martyre de la Roynne D'Escosse, Douairiere de France: Contenant le vray discours des traizons à elle faictes à la suscitation d'Elizabeth Angloise, par lequel les mensonges, calomnies & faulses accusations dressees contre ceste trsuertueuse, trescatholique & tresillustre princesse sont eclarcies & son innocence aueree* ([Edinburgh]: Nafeild, 1589), 415; Adam Blackwood, "Martyre de Marie Stuart Reyne d'Escosse," in *Adami Blacvodæi Opera Omnia* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1644), 703–706; Robert Pitcairn, ed., *Collections Relative to the Funerals of Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: Laing, 1822), 26–30; *Mort de la Roynne*, 126–140; *The Scottish Queens Buriall at Peterborough, Upon Tuesday Beeing Lammas Day 1587* (London: Venge, 1589); Printed from the original in: "The Scottish Queens Buriall at Peterborough, Upon Tuesday Beeing Lammas Day. 1587," in *Tudor Tracts, 1532–1588*, ed. Albert F. Pollard (New York: Cooper Square, 1964), 477–484.

<sup>788</sup> Pierre de L'Estoile, *Registre-journal de Henri III*, ed. Jacques-Joseph Champollion-Figeac and Aimé Champollion, Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, depuis le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle

English financial accounts provide some insight into the expenses Elizabeth I incurred with the Peterborough funeral and help to illustrate her attitude towards it.<sup>789</sup> Last but not least, two versions of Mary's will survive as manuscript copies, one from 1577 and the other drafted ten years later, in the night before her execution. Woodward appears to confuse the two, describing them as one and the same document, when in fact they differ considerably and are a testament of Mary's aspirations, also regarding her funeral, at two very different moments in her life.<sup>790</sup>

Foreign relations stand at the centre of many recent studies touching on the execution and funeral.<sup>791</sup> Others, such as Rayne Allinson's study of her execution and Woodward's classic study of her funeral, focus on the ritual aspects of Mary's death.<sup>792</sup> The latter has been cited repeatedly and is impressive in the range it covers, both with regard to English funerals in general and Mary's funeral in particular.<sup>793</sup> However, although it advances important questions and theses, Woodward's chapter on Mary is riddled with generalisations and mistakes, which have not yet been collectively identified and corrected. The following analysis will be a first attempt to set the record straight. In turn, Mary's monument in Westminster Abbey has figured prominently in recent literature and as her re-interment falls outside the time range of this thesis, it will only be mentioned in passing.<sup>794</sup>

Mary's execution was a battleground for two opposing representations of the forty-four-year-old queen, with her portrayal as a traitor and criminal on the one hand and her self-fashioning as an innocent Catholic martyr on the other. Convicted for high treason by the English Parliament in October 1586, Elizabeth I finally signed Mary's death warrant

---

jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series 1.1 (Paris: Proux, 1837), 217; Service funéraire, Paris, 28 February/10 March 1587, in Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 4:178–179; Hieronimo Lippomano to Doge and Senate, Madrid, 11/21 April 1587, in "April 1587," *CSPV*, 8:504; Memorial from Killigrew to Walsingham, [April? 1588], in "April 1588, 26–30," *CSPF Elizabeth*, vol. 21.4; Advertisements from Paris, 1/11 March, in "March 1588, 1–10," *CSPF Elizabeth*, vol. 21.1; Beaune, *Oraison Fvnebre*; Leslie, *Oraison funèbre*.

<sup>789</sup> TNA, SP 53/21, fos. 83r–95r; TNA, E 351/3145; Printed in: Allan J. Crosby and John Bruce, eds., *Accounts and Papers Relating to Mary Queen of Scots*, Old Series 93 (Camden Society, 1867), 28–42, 49–63.

<sup>790</sup> 1577: BL, Cott. MS Vesp. C/XVI, fos. 145–151; Printed in: Labanoff, *Lettres*, 4:151–162; 1587: Le Testament et derniers propos de la Roynne d'Escoce, avant son supplice: Ensemble les legs qu'elle a laissé aux officiers de sa maison (Paris: Marin, 1589); Reprinted in: Labanoff, *Lettres Inédites*, 191–198, 200. Labanoff claims the manuscript copy is in the Collection de Béthune, n° 8698, f. 33, but I was unable to consult this. He presumes the original to be found in the Vatican archives, this too remains to be verified; At one point, the will was supposedly deposited in the Scots College in Paris: "At the end of the book [a folio volume of letters in said college] is Queen Mary's Will, of her own writing, the day before she was beheaded, all in French" See: Sylvanus Urban, ed., *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 51 (London: Nichols, 1781), 76. The college and its archives was almost completely destroyed during the French Revolution; Cited in: Nichols, *Bibliotheca*, 4:vii; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 67–68.

<sup>791</sup> Lynch, *Mary Stewart*; Especially: Mark Greengrass, "Mary, Dowager Queen of France," in Lynch, *Mary Stewart*, 171–194; P. Holmes, "Mary Stewart in England," in *ibid.*, 195–218; Susan Doran, "Revenge her Foul and Most Unnatural Murder? The Impact of Mary Stewart's Execution on Anglo-Scottish Relations," *History* 85, no. 280 (2000): 589–612; Anne McLaren, "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 739–767.

<sup>792</sup> Rayne Allinson, "The Queen's Three Bodies: Gender, Criminality and Sovereignty in the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots," in *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Megan Cassidy-Welch and Peter Sherlock, *Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 99–116; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, chap. 4.

<sup>793</sup> Cited in: McLaren, "Memorializing Mary and Elizabeth," 13, 25; Duncan, *Mary I*, 175.

<sup>794</sup> McLaren, "Memorializing Mary and Elizabeth," 11–27; Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 45–46, 143; Sherlock, "Monuments," 263–289.

on 1 February 1587.<sup>795</sup> Although the commissioners of the warrant, including Henry Grey, sixth Earl of Kent, Robert Beale, Sir Amyas Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, and local officials orchestrated the entire event, the proceedings nonetheless provided Mary with sufficient opportunities to promote her own interpretation of the events. These opportunities arose in the framework of the established, albeit sporadic ritual of an elite execution. Although the principal decisions regarding the timing, the location and the manner of execution – beheading by axe – were beyond her influence, she exploited all the usual liberties granted to elite prisoners: she chose her clothing, her accessories and her last words.<sup>796</sup> However, this was not simply another elite execution; Mary was an anointed sovereign detained by another monarch, Elizabeth I. Furthermore, her prison was remote and the executors acted in haste to accomplish the execution before Elizabeth might change her mind. Due to the combination of these factors, although the customary ritual was applied, it had to be adapted to the situation in question. The ensuing uncertainty on this matter was an additional asset, which Mary exploited to attain supplementary liberties. The agency she developed in her death has long been believed to have exceeded any agency she might have exercised throughout her imprisonment.<sup>797</sup> However, it was predominantly restricted to the moments preceding her death and largely ended with it.

With the intimation of the looming execution, Mary's active role begins. Until then, although she was aware of her fate, she could but wait. Now, she used the limited time available to her. Three things were essential and one further thing not far from her mind. First, she had to demonstrate her steadfastness in the Catholic faith until the very end. Secondly, she had to accept her death gracefully and forgive those wishing her harm. Thirdly, she needed to defend her innocence. Last but not least, she wanted to settle her affairs so that her servants might be free to build a new life wherever they chose, as well as to pass on reports of her fate and any instructions she gave them to her relatives and associates abroad. With this in mind Mary carefully choreographed her display as a Catholic martyr, accepting her fate in the view of her deliverance after her death.<sup>798</sup> Although the organisers sought to contain the situation by securing and containing all of her belongings – so as to prevent the creation of relics – and by keeping her body secluded at Fotheringhay until her eventual funeral in August, the accounts written in the aftermath of the execution could and would immortalise her every word and action.<sup>799</sup> Eventually, the sheer number

<sup>795</sup> Warrant for Execucon, in BL, Harl. MS 290, fos. 203–204r; For a discussion of the developments leading up to the execution, see: Guy, *Queen of Scots*, chap. 29; Allison Heisch, "Arguments for an Execution: Queen Elizabeth's 'White Paper' and Lord Burghley's 'Blue Pencil'," *Albion* 24, no. 4 (1992): 591–604; For relevant primary material of that period, see e.g.: Thomas B. Howell, ed., *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783, with Notes and Other Illustrations* (London: Hansard, 1816), 1:64, pp. 1161–1228; Terence E. Hartley, ed., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, 1585–1589* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 2:214–271; "Feb 1587," *CSP Scot*, 9:284–285.

<sup>796</sup> For a discussion of these liberties in miscellaneous contexts, see: Maria Hayward, "'We should dress us fairly for our end': The Significance of the Clothing, Worn at Elite Executions in England in the Long Sixteenth Century," *History* 101, no. 2 (2016): 222–245.

<sup>797</sup> On her French influence: Greengrass, "Dowager Queen," 184; Wilkinson, *French Public Opinion*, 159.

<sup>798</sup> Wilkinson, *French Public Opinion*, 139, 159.

<sup>799</sup> BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 646v; Memorial from Secretary Walsingham, 2 February 1587, in "February 1587" *Cecil Papers*, vol. 3: 1583–1589 (London: HMSO, 1889), BHO, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-cecil-papers/vol3/pp216-234> (accessed 1 September 2016): 471; Cited in: Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 127–

of witnesses on 8 February 1587, including six of Mary's own servants, ensured a widespread distribution of several accounts describing the event, both in England and abroad. From an English point of view the inclusion of Mary's servants was not necessarily advisable. Yet, Mary's status as queen assured their presence. Originally, the number had been set at four and was to be confined to men only. On the day of the execution, however, Mary successfully argued to include two gentlewomen of her choice for the executioners "might graunt me a request of farre greater curtesy then this yf I were a woman of farr meaner calling then the Queene of Scottes."<sup>800</sup>

Initially, one might expect the accounts written by her critics, including those of the commissioners and Wingfield, to give little room to her protestations of innocence and her Catholic faith or to her composure in the face of death. Overall, the contrary is more accurate. To list but a few examples, Wingfield repeatedly mentions Mary's "pleasaut countenance" and her willingness to proceed to the place of execution among other things. The commissioners record her assurance that "shee was readye to dye in the Catholycke Romayne faythe w(hi)ch her auncesto(u)rs had p(ro)fessed, from w(hi)ch shee would nott be removed."<sup>801</sup> Similarly, the English accounts record her pleadings with her servants to rejoice rather than weep at her imminent delivery. On the scaffold, she emphatically rejects the assistance of Protestant confessors and prays forcefully on her own.<sup>802</sup> The theme of her innocence is less pronounced than the other two, but implicitly it surfaces in both accounts, for instance in the description of her dress. The sombre black and white outer garments and headdress befitted the occasion, but her colourful undergarments, particularly "her petticote skirtes of crimson vellvett" and the "sleeves of purple vellvett" accentuated her sovereignty as well as her conceived martyrdom.<sup>803</sup> The reason for the inclusion of such details corresponds to the rationale behind her later funeral, namely that the writers wished to show the respect with which Mary was treated and to demonstrate their efforts to convert Mary for the sake of her salvation. The former could appease foreign critics, while the latter was probably directed at an English audience and Elizabeth I in particular. Finally, with the enormous foreign interest in her fate, it was only a matter of when and not if detailed accounts reached foreign soil. A Catholic version undoubtedly would surface and the commentary included in the English account was to ensure its proper reception. Still, it provided Mary's apologists and martyrologists with a wealth of detail which might otherwise not have been available before October 1587.

---

142, esp. 127–128, 131; Wilkinson questions Phillips' portrayal in part, but does not contradict that attempts were made to contain the situation. See: Wilkinson, *French Public Opinion*, 124, 129, 134; The following confirm the English embargo on news: Guillaume de l'Aubespine, baron de Châteauneuf to Henri III, London, 27 February 1587, in Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 4:169–170, 172; The original can be found in: BNF, Béth. 8880, f. 7. This was not consulted.

<sup>800</sup> BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 640r.

<sup>801</sup> Ibid., fos. 637v, 638r. Wingfield records that she "wept bitterly" shortly after, but evidence of her calmness is overwhelming; Commissioners, 8 February 1587, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 214v.

<sup>802</sup> Commissioners, 8 February 1587, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, fos. 215v–216r; BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, fos. 638v–639r, 643, 644v–645v.

<sup>803</sup> BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, fos. 638r, 643r, 644v; Commissioners, 8 February 1587, in BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 215; Interestingly, no reference is made to her innocence in l'Aubespine's account. See: Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 4:170–172; For a detailed analysis of Mary's dress, see: Hayward, "Significance of Clothing," 237–238, 240–242; Allinson, "Queen's Three Bodies," 106–108.

Thus, even her enemies and critics aided the formation of her image as a Catholic martyr. The execution and its reports were crucial in building Mary's reputation and her role therein was active indeed. Mary expertly manipulated every opportunity provided in the framework of the execution ritual.

Mary's execution and its association with martyrdom momentarily reinforced the – fragmented – Catholic cause in Western Europe. Henri III, Philip II and James VI assured one another as well as Elizabeth I, that they strongly condemned the act and were considering a suitable reaction. Furthermore, some of them stated outright that they did not believe Elizabeth's claims to her innocence in the affair. In most of the courts a breakdown of diplomatic relations ensued, if only temporarily.<sup>804</sup> Furthermore, one by one the European courts went into mourning.<sup>805</sup> Two official obsequies were held in the presence of the respective monarchs, first in France on 2/12-3/13 March 1587<sup>806</sup>, then in Spain in April 1587. Woodward misrepresents the sources she cites when she claims that "Philip went into mourning" once "the Pope had privately pronounced her a martyr". Instead –according to the English translation – the Venetian Ambassador to Spain, Hieronimo Lippomano, implies that Philip arranged the funeral after he was advised that a service was "desirable" in the absence of her official recognition as martyr from the Catholic Church. Also, Philip's agents were instructed to encourage the pope to recognise Mary's martyrdom. Beyond the official commemoration, the extant copy of John Leslie's *Oraison funèbre* suggests that another service was celebrated in a Scottish exile community, presumably in Normandy. Furthermore, the Guise faction and the house of Lorraine sought to keep Mary's memory alive, by celebrating two services "with great solemnity" in Reims and Lorraine in March and April 1588. The former was apparently celebrated by Mary's ambassador in France, James Beaton.<sup>807</sup> Accounts of the proceedings in combination with the printed text of the funeral sermon by de Beaune only survive for

<sup>804</sup> Philipp II to Mendocça, San Lorenzo, 21/31 March 1587, in Jean B. Teulet, ed., *Lettres de Marie Stuart publiées avec sommaires, traductions, notes et fac-simile* (Paris: Didot, 1859), 380–381; Stafford to the Secretaries, Paris, 22 February 1587 (OS), in TNA, SP 78/17, f. 58; Printed in: "February 1587," *CSPF Elizabeth*, vol. 21.1; Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, Paris, 3/13 April 1587, in "Apr 1587," *CSPV*, 8:500; "A memorial of things accorded between the French Ambassador and certain commissioners appointed by her Majesty to treat with him," May 1587, in "May 1587, 16–31," *CSPF Elizabeth*, vol. 21.1.

<sup>805</sup> Sometime in February (OS) for France. See: Don Bernardino de Mendocça to Philip II, Paris, 25 February/7 March 1587, in Teulet, *Lettres*, 376; L'Estoile, *Registre-journal*, 217; The same in Scotland: Archibald Douglas to Walsingham, [1 March 1587], in "March 1587," *CSP Scot*, 9:303; Henri III to Courcelles, Paris, 1/11 June 1587, in TNA, SP 52/42, f. 49r; This passage is illegible in: BL, Cott. MS Calig. D/I, f. 210r; Translation printed in: "June 1587," *CSP Scot*, 9:353; Spain in April. See: Hieronimo Lippomano, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate, Madrid, 21 April 1587, in "Apr 1587," *CSPV*, 8:504.

<sup>806</sup> Woodward appears to be wholly unaware of the funeral service performed at Notre Dame, in: *Theatre of Death*, 68.

<sup>807</sup> France: Service funéraire, Paris, 28 February/10 Mars 1587, in Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 4:178–179; L'Estoile, *Registre-journal*, 217–218; Bernardino De Mendocça to Philip II, Paris, 26 March 1587, in "March 1587, 21–31," *CSP Simancas*, 4:46; The same to the same, 15 March 1588, in Croze, *Les Guises, les Valois et Philippe II* (Paris: D'Amyot, 1866), 2:25, p. 322; Giovanni Dolfin, Venetian ambassador to France, to Doge and Senate, Paris, 13 March 1587, in "March 1587," *CSPV*, 8:483; Spain: Relacion de Gorion, 24 October 1587, in Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 5:503–504; Hieronimo Lippomano to Doge and Senate, Madrid, 21 April 1587, in "Apr 1587," *CSPV*, 8:504; See: Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 73; "Instructions given to Dr. Allen," Rome, March 1587, in "Mar 1587, 21–31," *CSP Simancas*, 4:55; Scottish Exiles: Leslie, *Oraison funèbre*; Guise: Memorial from Killigrew to Walsingham, [April? 1588], in "Apr 1588, 26–30," *CSPF Elizabeth*, vol. 21.4; Advertisements from Paris, 1/11 March 1588, in "Mar 1588, 1–10," *CSPF Elizabeth*, vol. 21.1.

the official French commemoration. The attendance of Henri III and his supporters alongside the Guise implied their momentary coalition against the blasphemy of England and its queen and existing evidence suggests that the ritual proceeded without complication. After all, Giovanni Dolfin, the Venetian ambassador to France, called the "ceremony [...] truly regal."<sup>808</sup> However, the call to arms proclaimed by an anonymous broadside poem entitled *De Iezabelis Angliæ Parricidiis* and fixed on the door of Notre Dame on the day of the funeral, as well as by de Beaune in his sermon, clearly exceeded Henri III's inclinations on the subject.<sup>809</sup> An augmented version of the poem enumerates Elizabeth's crimes and reminds Scotland and France of their duty to avenge her treachery.<sup>810</sup> In turn, de Beaune reminds the Christian princes that:

Dieu vous appelloit auparauant à la vengeance de ceste nation qui a pollu ses Temples, contaminé ses Autels, & massacré ses Prestres; pource que vous auez esté negligens de venger ses iniures, il a conioinct voz iniures avec les siennes, il a permis que vous fussiez tous violez en la personne de ceste Royne, pour vous rallier par vne cause commune à venger sa mort.<sup>811</sup>

Leslie, in turn, championed Mary's innocence and her faith, all the while opposing – like de Beaune – every good in Mary with every evil in Elizabeth. Above all, Leslie insists on Mary's royal status, superior to that of Elizabeth, as Mary "estant fille, femme, & mere de Roy, la où l'autre n'est que fille."<sup>812</sup> He thereby draws attention to the contemporary understanding of sovereignty, which was subject only to God. A female monarch was no exception to this rule and he thus condemned Elizabeth's actions as violating God's law. Leslie's oration is a passionate vindication of female sovereignty, within the confines of sixteenth-century concepts of patriarchy, for it is Mary's relation to men, specifically kings, which add weight to his arguments and her status. Yet despite the urgent entreaties and condemnation of Elizabeth I, France never committed to a crusade and eventually resumed diplomatic relations with her, particularly when she initiated the preparations for Mary's English burial in July 1587.

In her last will Mary had left instructions to ensure that her death would be commemorated in the desired fashion. Her requests included "qu'il soit faict ung service complet pour mon ame en l'église de Saint Denis en France, et l'autre à Saint Pierre de Rheims " and "ung obit annuel soit fondé pour prier pour mon ame à perpétuité."<sup>813</sup>

<sup>808</sup> Dolfin to Doge and Senate, Paris, 13 March 1587, in "Mar 1587," *CSPV*, 8:483. The service largely corresponded to the ritual observed in 1560 in commemoration of her mother's death.

<sup>809</sup> The prince du sang Charles de Bourbon, comte de Soissons et de Dreux and two of Mary's relations, Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine, duc de Mercœur et de Penthièvre and Charles Ier, duc d'Elbœuf, acted as chief mourners. The cardinals of Bourbon, Vendôme, Guise and Joieuse attended. See: L'Estoile, *Registre-journal*, 217–218; Henri's attendance is confirmed by Mendoza, 26 March 1587, in "Mar 1587, 21–31," *CSP Simancas*, 4:46; The original broadside is no longer extant, but augmented copies such as the following: *De Iezabelis Anglae parricidio varii generis poemata Latina et Gallica* (1501/1588), sig. A1–B1v; See: Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 162, 288–289, n. 138.

<sup>810</sup> *De Iezabelis Anglae*, sig. A1r. Original: "perfidiam, & iustus scelus."

<sup>811</sup> Beaune, *Oraison Fvnebre*, 40. App. T29.

<sup>812</sup> Leslie, *Oraison funèbre*, 17. App. T30; John Leslie, *Harangue funèbre sur la mort de la Royne. Traduite d'Escossois en François par N. L. R. P* (1587); Phillips, *Images of a Queen*, 153; For the editions see: Scott, *Bibliography*, 170; Wilkinson, *French Public Opinion*, 132–134, 203, n. 121–122, 124.

<sup>813</sup> Stewart, "Testament," 191–192. App. T31.



Contrary to these wishes, the abovementioned French obsequies proceeded at Notre Dame, not Saint Denis. Yet, Notre Dame was the usual location for royal funeral services, for both French and foreign monarchs, since the burial alone followed at Saint Denis.<sup>814</sup> Moreover, Mary's life as consort and dowager queen of France had begun there in many ways, since it had also been her wedding venue in 1558. More importantly, the will as well as her final letters and the personal testimony of her servants did not reach France until many months later, in October 1587.<sup>815</sup> The organisers of the service could not be expected to execute her wishes, while they remained undisclosed. We can, however, assume that French diplomats and Mary's family were aware of the contents of an earlier will from 1577, since Beaton was one of the executors.<sup>816</sup> In this will, which Woodward appears to confuse with her final version, "Mary was effectively requesting a full royal funeral in the Catholic French style."<sup>817</sup> She stipulated that "que si je decedde en ceste prison mon corps soit porté en France [...] pour estre inhumé en l'Eglise Saint Denys aupres du corps de mon trescher & treshonoré seigneur & mary, le Roy de France François", her entrails to be buried separately.<sup>818</sup> She further requested the presence of the prominent mendicant orders of Paris such as the Jacobins and Franciscans as well as the Capuchins as well as other unspecified "religieux". Finally, she desired to have orphans and the obligatory two hundred poor in mourning in attendance. These requests do not include any marked personal preferences. All in all, one should "faire celebrer le divin service tant vigiles que messes ainsi qu l'on a accoustumé de faire".<sup>819</sup> Such a burial would have honoured her status as queen, albeit with an emphasis on her consort queenship, and would have placed her in the most sacred and honourable of tombs in France. Naturally, since Elizabeth I was unwilling to relinquish Mary's body, Henri III could not comply with these earlier wishes, had he – however unlikely – been so inclined. Yet before her death Mary acknowledged that Elizabeth had denied her request "quapres ma mort mon corps fust transporte sellon mon desir en votre royaume ou iay eu lhonneur destre royne votre soeur & ancienne allyee."<sup>820</sup> She, therefore, abandoned her earlier hopes of a French Catholic burial, but still insisted on her Catholic commemoration in France, worthy of her status as queen dowager. To an extent, Mary's wishes imitated the solution found on behalf of her mother. The commemoration was to be relocated to France in order to comply with the Catholic ritual. In Mary's case, however, the actual burial had to be sacrificed, so she adapted her

<sup>814</sup> Service funéraire, Paris, 28 February/10 Mars 1587, in Teulet, *Relations politiques*, 4:178–179. Refer to Chapter 4: III)

<sup>815</sup> It is not quite clear whether the will was delivered alongside the other documents. Initially Mendoza claims that Mary's servants brought the will with them in October, but by December he reports that the will was intercepted by Elizabeth. See his letters to Philip II, Paris, 24 October and 22 December 1587, in "October 1587" and "December 1587," *CSP Simancas*, 4:158–159, 185. The fact that he names three of the executors proves that some knowledge of the will's contents circulated.

<sup>816</sup> BL, Cott. MS Vesp. C/XVI, f. 146r.

<sup>817</sup> Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 67–68.

<sup>818</sup> BL, Cott. MS Vesp. C/XVI, fos. 145r, 150v. App. T32.

<sup>819</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 145. App. T33.

<sup>820</sup> NLS, Adv. MS 54.1.1; Online version: "The Last Letter of Mary Queen of Scots," NLS, <http://digital.nls.uk/mqs/index.html> (accessed 1 September 2016). App. T34.

requests to the situation in question. In combination with her martyr's death, the rituals would fulfil their immediate purpose to facilitate her salvation.

Mary's English burial, on 1 August 1587 served a different purpose, one which centred on the English queen rather than the deceased. The funeral was a tool with which Elizabeth attempted to appease her foreign critics, while limiting its domestic impact. Still, it may be considered a late partial triumph for Mary, since in order to procure her aim, Elizabeth needed to publicly acknowledge Mary's sovereignty with a state funeral of sorts, albeit in a secluded location. Peterborough Cathedral was the obvious choice, since it lay near Fotheringhay (distance approx. 10 miles), was remote and in the domain of the dean of Peterborough, who had already attended Mary's execution. Elizabeth I and the officers she had appointed for the preparations and execution were faced with a dilemma: while the funeral needed to acknowledge Mary's position, it could not question the legitimacy of Elizabeth's and her councillors' past actions. Unsurprisingly, the quandary faced by the organisers was reflected in the event's symbolism. The presence of six prominent heralds, including the Garter King of Arms, infused the proceedings with the necessary gravitas. Yet, the fact that English heralds attended the Scottish queen's body, a former possible heir to the English throne, holds some irony.<sup>821</sup> Superficially, the arrangements complied with the principles of a heraldic and even a royal funeral. Beyond the burial, the proceedings included the central mourning procession, the funeral service in Peterborough Cathedral, the return procession and the concluding mourning feast. The church was decked in black interspersed with the arms of the former Queen of Scotland, both individually and in conjunction with those of her two deceased husbands François II and Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. Her third husband was conveniently ignored. The hearse provided the secular focal point according to Woodward and within its confines the principal mourners and the two earls found stools with velvet cushions. Overall its dimensions and appearance seem to compare favourably to the hearse constructed for Mary Tudor, although the information provided by different sources appears contradictory.<sup>822</sup> The full heraldic ensigns, from the standard of Scotland to Mary's great banner, bannerolles and escutcheons were on display throughout the procession and service. The eight bannerolles illustrated six generations of Mary's genealogy, each one displaying the joint arms of the consecutive monarchs of Scotland and those of their spouses, beginning with Robert III and Anabella Drummond and concluding with Mary and her second husband, Darnley.<sup>823</sup> At the centre of the procession four heralds – Portcullis, York, Rouge-dragon and Somerset – carried the customary achievements – helm

<sup>821</sup> BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 210r; TNA, SP 53/21, fos. 80v–81r; Personal invitations produced the necessary number of attendants at the funeral. See: *APC*, 15:152.

<sup>822</sup> For descriptions of the decorations see BL, Harl. MS 1440, f. 13. Dethick claims the hearse covered an area of eight square. In this account he lists six principals and posts; Crosby and Bruce, *Accounts and Papers*, 37–41, esp. 39. Dethick's financial accounts mention eight pillars; TNA, SP 53/21, f. 81r. The hearse's dimensions are presented as 20 feet square and 27 feet high; "Scottish Queens Buriall," 477–478. There were reportedly fourteen stools, one too few to seat all the above-mentioned; BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 210r; *Mort de la Royne*, 129–130. Blackwood likens the hearse to the French chappelle ardente; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 32–33.

<sup>823</sup> TNA, SP 53/21, f. 82r; Twelve according to Dethick's financial accounts. See: Crosby and Bruce, *Accounts and Papers*, 40.

and crest, target, sword and coat of arms – which preceded the coffin. These later constituted a prominent part of the offering, as John Manners, fourth Earl of Rutland and Henry Clinton, second Earl of Lincoln presented them to the bishop of Peterborough and the Garter king of arms in the company of the other heralds. The two kings of arms and their ushers accompanied the coffin itself, Clarenceux walking before and Garter immediately behind it and its bearers. A pall of royal purple velvet covered the coffin and according to most reports a closed imperial crown, the ultimate symbol of royalty, rested upon it. Last but not least, four knights bore the black “velvet canapie” above the coffin.<sup>824</sup>

Upon closer scrutiny, however, some ritual aspects and symbolism can be found wanting. The funeral procession from Fotheringhay to Peterborough on Sunday, 29 July 1587, for instance, advanced under the cover of night.<sup>825</sup> Furthermore, a hasty burial followed immediately after their arrival in Peterborough, deferring all ceremony until the funeral. Thus, the casket used for the actual funeral was empty. As Woodward points out, the explanations provided in the sources were enough to “preclude any criticism” from abroad, but it clearly contravened established English funeral ritual.<sup>826</sup> Other shortcomings occurred during the principal ritual procession. Mary’s thirteen mourners fell short of the fifteen at Mary Tudor’s funeral.<sup>827</sup> Secondly, not one foreign ambassador attended the solemnities. Furthermore, only two earls, three countesses who included the wives of the former as well as the chief mourner Bridget, Countess of Bedford, and finally two bishops partook in the proceedings. The greater part of her mourning delegation did not surpass the rank of barons. This display of rank paled in comparison to the numerous earls, five countesses as well as seven bishops and one archbishop who attended in 1558 at Mary Tudor’s funeral.<sup>828</sup> Essentially, the entire ceremony was ultimately about keeping up appearances. Except for the members of Mary’s household, the mourners attended at Elizabeth’s invitation without any sentimental ties to the deceased. It was to be ritual mourning at its best. Woodward’s claims of the funeral as “relatively inexpensive,” seemingly amounting to a total cost of £321 14s. 6d, would confirm this impression. She compares this number to the sums of £2,297 and £1,571 spent on the funerals of the Earl of Rutland and Henry Sidney respectively.<sup>829</sup> Her sum is very close to the 320/ 14s. 6d., the final amount found below the detailed *Charges of Diet for the Scottish Queen's Funerals* drawn up by Darrell and Cox and repeated in a separate declaration of these charges. A closer scrutiny of these accounts immediately reveals that these expenses only encompass

<sup>824</sup> “Scottish Queens Buriall,” 480; TNA, SP 53/21, fos. 80r–81v; BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, fos. 210r, 211r; BL, Lansd. MS 260, f. 255; *Mort de la Royne*, 133–135.

<sup>825</sup> *Mort de la Royne*, 127. A number of Mary’s former servants, then at Fotheringhay, accompanied the procession; TNA, SP 53/21, f. 80r; BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 210r.

<sup>826</sup> Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 79; The body was too heavy and the casing might break according to: TNA, SP 53/21, f. 80r; According to the dean’s account, the decision to defer the solemnity was taken unanimously, including the Scots present. See: BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 210; The debate is alluded to in the French publication, but not the Scots opinion per se *Mort de la Royne*, 130.

<sup>827</sup> TNA, SP 53/21, f. 81r; BL, Lansd. MS 260, f. 255v; BL, Harl. MS 1354, f. 48v; *Mort de la Royne*, 136; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 18.

<sup>828</sup> TNA, SP 53/21, fos. 80r–81r; BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 210v; BL, Lansd. MS 260, f. 255; BL, Harl. MS 1354, fos. 47r, 48v; “Scottish Queens Buriall,” 479–481; *Mort de la Royne*, 134–136.

<sup>829</sup> Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 80. I have not verified these numbers.

the two banquets with their associated costs.<sup>830</sup> The banquets encircled the funeral per se, one held on the evening of Monday, 31 July and the other immediately after the funeral on 1 August. According to the dean's report, more than a thousand people attended the feast and the French account speaks of a "grande opulence".<sup>831</sup> The overall funeral costs were significantly higher and included the expenses by Fortescue and Dethick for the wardrobe and armorial preparations respectively. According to Sherlock the total expenses amounted to £1,371 5s. 8d.<sup>832</sup> Yet, even this sum does not appear sufficient, for according to my reading of the accounts the total in fact amounts to £2,259 12s. 8d.<sup>833</sup> This figure falls well short of the £7,763 spent on Mary Tudor's funeral, but is nonetheless a considerable sum, which better reflects the decorations and provisions set out in the narrative sources.<sup>834</sup> Last but not least, the question remains whether an effigy was used. Blackwood's account mentions a "represe(n)tation" in the funeral procession.<sup>835</sup> This reference has led several biographers and historians to conclude that an effigy was made and used throughout the proceedings.<sup>836</sup> Woodward in turn rejects this theory, claiming "that in all probability, Mary's 'représentation' was a crown resting on a pall on top of the coffin."<sup>837</sup> The term 'representation' or effigy certainly cannot be found in any of the English manuscripts. Still, their terminology allows for a certain ambiguity. The printed English account alone uses the term "coffin" in its description of the procession and of the funeral service; the other manuscripts refer to the "body" or "corps". In at least one of these the author was aware that the displayed coffin was empty, since he previously described the hurried burial scene two nights before the funeral.<sup>838</sup> With some imagination therefore, one might substitute the term "body" with a representation of it, i.e. an effigy. Yet, this is highly unlikely. First, as Woodward points out, the French term "represe(n)tation" has multiple meanings. Secondly, the description of the hearse at the beginning of Blackwood's funeral account, in which he describes "vne façon de biere couuerte de velours noir, & dessus vn aurillier de velours cramoyssi, sur lequel estoit posee vne couronne," seems to contradict the presence of an effigy.<sup>839</sup> A crown would normally have rested on the effigy's head, which in turn would make the cushion described obsolete. Furthermore, two English accounts refer to the crown resting on a cushion upon

<sup>830</sup> TNA, SP 53/21, fos. 84r–91v, esp. 90v, 93r.

<sup>831</sup> BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, fos. 210v–211r; TNA, SP 53/21, f. 81v; *Mort de la Royne*, 140.

<sup>832</sup> Sherlock, "Monuments," 268; Based on: Crosby and Bruce, *Accounts and Papers*, 28–63.

<sup>833</sup> Consisting of £299 9s. 4d. for the banquets: *Mort de la Royne*, 131–132; Wardrobe: £1536 49s. and heralds: £421 14s. 4d. See: Crosby and Bruce, *Accounts and Papers*, 28–42.

<sup>834</sup> TNA, SP 12/1, fos. 32–33; Cited in: Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 313.

<sup>835</sup> *Mort de la Royne*, 129–130, 135, 137.

<sup>836</sup> I.e. Lionel H. Cust and George Scharf, *Notes on the Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots Based on the Researches of the Late Sir George Scharf, K.C.B., Rewritten in the Light of New Information by Lionel Cust* (London: Murray, 1903), 118; Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 682; Susan Watkins, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 211.

<sup>837</sup> Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 84–85. Again Woodward confuses the different Blackwood accounts, but her conclusions are not affected by it.

<sup>838</sup> The burial is mentioned in: TNA, SP 53/21, fos. 80r–81v; The lists only refer to the funeral procession. See: BL, Lansd. MS 260, f. 255r; BL, Harl. MS 1354, fos. 47v–48r; Although the terminology is more precise, this account claims that the burial occurred on the same day as the funeral, albeit before the procession. See: "Scottish Queens Buriall," 477.

<sup>839</sup> *Mort de la Royne*, 129–130.

the coffin.<sup>840</sup> Yet the inclusion of Dethick's financial accounts, which Woodward failed to consider, again obstructs a clear picture. On the one hand, Dethick mentions "a pyllowe of purple velvett, frindged and tasselles of golde, for the state of representacion" and does not mention the creation of an effigy. On the other, beyond the coat of arms, helmet, target, sword and crown also mentioned elsewhere, he includes "mantles of clothe of golde, lined with clothe of silver, powdered with ermynes [...]" in the list.<sup>841</sup> Who or what was to wear or carry these? Other royal insignia of sceptre and orb, displayed alongside the robes of estate on English royal effigies, do not appear. Surely these would have been commissioned as well, alongside the crown. Based on these clues, the use of an effigy must still be considered unlikely, but they are too vague and contradictory to be conclusive. Mary Stewart's funeral therefore complied with many contemporary expectations of a royal funeral – even that of a former queen regnant – albeit on a reduced scale. Elizabeth could not permit it to rival that of her deceased sister, since this would showcase Mary Stewart's claims to the English throne.

Despite Elizabeth's attempts to honour Mary's position as much as could be reasonably expected, she could and would not accord her the same courtesy which she had shown her sister Mary, namely a Catholic funeral. From the perspective of Mary Stewart's servants, the principal fault lay in the religious setting of this funeral, since the Protestant service offended them and the memory of their mistress. Blackwood's account makes repeated references to the Protestant deviations from Catholic ritual, such as the absence of candles in and around the hearse. And although some rituals such as the offering ceremony largely survived the Reformation unscathed, the Scottish delegation still predominantly boycotted it and the funeral sermon preached by William Wickham, bishop of Lincoln. This sermon continued the English narrative of hoping against all odds that Mary had renounced her Catholic faith at the last minute, thereby jeopardizing Mary's greatest triumph: her reputation as a Catholic martyr. Lincoln failed to provide any context to Mary's life and merely expressed "thankes for the happie dissolucon of the high and mightie Princesse, Marie late Queene of Scotland and Dowager of France of whose lief and death at this tyme I have not much to say, because I was not acquainted with the one & neither was I present at the other."<sup>842</sup> Illustrious and royal she might be, but for Wickham she was not worthy of a eulogy. The Scottish boycott was further enhanced by Mary's priest, who reportedly wore a prominent cross around his neck, emphasising his religious allegiance publicly.<sup>843</sup> Although two English accounts mention the partial boycott of the funeral ceremony by the Scots, they differ considerably from the Blackwood publication, which provides numerous indications of the rift between the English majority and the Scottish delegation, including a spatial division of both companies during the funeral feast

<sup>840</sup> TNA, SP 53/21, f. 81; "Scottish Queens Buriall," 480.

<sup>841</sup> Crosby and Bruce, *Accounts and Papers*, 39–40.

<sup>842</sup> BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, fos. 210v–211r; *Mort de la Royne*, 129–132, 138–140; "Scottish Queens Buriall," 482.

<sup>843</sup> *Ibid.*, 479; The crucifix in his hand according to: *Mort de la Royne*, 134.

– effectively dividing those truly mourning from the others.<sup>844</sup> The English published account curiously stresses both discord and unity alike, since the boycott is counterweighed by a curious episode in which at the end of the service “the Scottish women parted on both sides, and as the English Ladies passed, they kissed them all.”<sup>845</sup> The religious dimension of Mary Stewart’s funeral stood in stark contrast to Mary Tudor’s earlier one. By 1587 Elizabeth could determine the religious setting and thereby ignore the wishes of the deceased. Mary’s funeral was important for England to maintain and mend its relations to Scotland and the European Catholic states. Yet, Elizabeth and her government would not compromise on the Protestant service, attributing greater weight to it than to any other dimension of this spectacle. Not only was it in Elizabeth’s domestic interest to prevent any public Catholic demonstration of strength, which a Catholic funeral would certainly have been, but it was also unthinkable that the English participants chosen by her would have attended a Catholic service. Nonetheless, although details of the Protestant funeral circulated abroad in French printed accounts, it does not appear to have endangered the fragile diplomatic relations in France or Scotland. Apparently, Elizabeth’s choice to acknowledge Mary’s queenship was of greater consequence abroad than the funeral’s religious dimension. As Mary could anticipate these arrangements before her death, she sought other means to fulfil the religious requirements, namely with her own conduct at the execution in combination with the French and other European commemorative services which follow her death. In the tense European climate skipping the funeral altogether was out of the question for Elizabeth. However, both she and Mary used their respective agency to adapt the rituals to suit the situation, demonstrating once again the adaptability of rituals on the one hand and their continued merit on the other.

---

<sup>844</sup> *Mort de la Royne*, 131–132, 138–140; BL, Cott. MS Calig. C/IX, f. 210v; “Scottish Queens Buriall,” 481; This is the only account, which does not mention the boycott: TNA, SP 53/21, fos. 80r–81v.

<sup>845</sup> “Scottish Queens Buriall,” 483.

## V) Conclusion

The case studies in this chapter revolve around the questions of agency, the representation of queenship, the role of ritual in the succession narrative and finally ritual failure. In all of these aspects the deaths and commemoration – including the funeral ritual – of the three queens are intricately linked. Generally, the three Marias had some agency in the manner of their death. Despite the varying and frequently exceptional circumstances, each woman sought to achieve a “good death”. This concept was well-established in the early modern period, but a death's categorisation as such depended as much on the people reporting on it as on the actions of the dying.<sup>846</sup> There is thus an intricate link between the queens' commemorations and the assessments of their deaths. On the one hand, certain criteria had to be met. Not all of these criteria were absolute, the combination was essential. Commonly, the gradual progression of illness leading to a natural death as experienced by Marie de Guise and Mary Tudor was desirable, whereas the sudden and violent death of Mary Stewart was not. Furthermore, from the Catholic queens' perspective, the administration of the last rites by a Catholic priest was vital. However, Mary Tudor alone received them, whereas Mary Stewart and her mother were only allowed access to Reformed clergymen. Reportedly, their willingness to engage with these men varied, with Mary Stewart denying the ministrations outright, while Marie launched into a dialogue and conceded certain points, without denouncing her faith outright. This difference was crucial, since Mary Stewart actively sought to fashion herself in the role of a martyr. In this case the violent death was compensated by other factors such as her continued demonstrations of her Catholic convictions and her attestations to her innocence. The beneficiaries of these demonstrations were first of all her servants who witnessed the execution. Mary successfully exploited the apprehension of her executioners given the novelty of the scenario – the execution of an anointed sovereign on foreign territory – to increase the number of sympathetic witnesses and consequently the impact of her conduct. The witnesses in turn carried their reports abroad and ensured their dissemination among the international audience for which they had been ultimately intended. The nature of the occasion, alongside its political and religious reverberations and Mary's own actions ensured that the story of her “good” death was the most widely publicised of the three. The need to prove her religious convictions to an international or domestic audience was less vital for Marie de Guise. Instead, she emphasised more common qualities. All three queens displayed a calm acceptance of their fate and made attempts to settle their affairs. While Marie sought to make peace with her opponents among the Lords of the Congregation, who would determine her commemoration, Mary Stewart expressly forgave her executioners. Furthermore, all of the Marias either drafted or amended their wills shortly before, since these last requests were to extend their agency

---

<sup>846</sup> Lucinda M. Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 69.

beyond death and protect their legacies.<sup>847</sup> Mary Tudor sought to safeguard her religious legacy in England, although essentially in vain, but she also emphasised the Catholic post-mortem rituals, which would ensure her swift ascent to heaven. She alone had the funeral she envisioned. While the Catholic commemoration also figures prominently in both of Mary Stewart's wills, in the short- as well as the long-term, Mary already acknowledged her defeat with regard to the actual funeral in her final will. Instead, she deferred the completion of the necessary rituals, with the exception of the burial, to France, where her wishes were principally met. This scenario will figure in the discussion of ritual failure below. Last but not least, detailed provisions on her commemoration are ostensibly lacking in Marie de Guise's supposed will. This leads to the assumption that the surviving copy either does not relate the full terms or is an outright forgery, however further research is necessary to ascertain its originality. If the copy contains the full terms as genuinely dictated by Marie, then it might be considered proof of her resignation with regard to the religious dimension of her remembrance. In this case, both Scottish queens clearly accepted the limitations of their agency, not only in terms of their political and religious legacies, but also with regard to their personal commemoration.

In each case the details of the commemorations are clearly fashioned by the living rather than the deceased. As such they offer an interesting study of queenship, particularly the representation of it in the various sermons. A common theme across them is the interrelation between each queen and her royal male relatives. According to contemporary understanding, the greater the number of male connections, the more prestigious their queenship becomes. Thus, Mary Stewart easily trumped Elizabeth Tudor, due to the fact that she was queen in so many different ways: as daughter, wife and mother of kings. According to this logic Mary Stewart reigns supreme, followed by Mary Tudor as daughter and wife of a king. Marie de Guise comes last, as the wife of a king but the less prestigious mother of a queen, although in his eulogy d'Espence equally portrays her as the quasi-daughter of François I<sup>er</sup>. Interestingly, the terminology to describe queenship is very similar regardless of the form it took. The eulogisers attest both Mary Tudor and Marie de Guise a male heart in the body of a woman. The latter is further stylised as warrior queen illustrated by her resemblance to mythical, biblical and actual queens, including queens regnant. Consequently, the prerequisites for the role of a queen regent were apparently deemed to be very similar if not identical to that of a queen regnant, the bloodline excluded. It does emerge, however, that allegiance seems to trump gender in the sermons. Philip's dominance in Richardot's sermon is clearly linked to the location of the commemoration and the eulogiser's link to Philip. The most apt illustration of Richardot's priorities, however, is his emphasis on Catalina de Aragon's beneficial influence on Mary's upbringing, deemed to exceed that of Henry VIII considerably.

Beyond the review of queenship in the sermons, gender is not a dominating theme in the funerals. It has an indirect bearing on Marie de Guise's funeral, since her regency as

---

<sup>847</sup> Muir, *Ritual*, 50–54.



well as the lack of support for her burial was based on her daughter's absentee queenship. More overtly, there is a slight possibility that the increase of mourners from thirteen to fifteen for Mary Tudor might have been associated with gender, but the evidence is inconclusive. Similarly, the display of the first female effigy of an English regnant monarch was not ground-breaking, since the public had been accustomed to the appearance of a female monarch for the past five and a half years. Furthermore, one cannot automatically assume the effigy to represent anything but the body natural, since it was placed in close proximity to the body in the coffin and effigies were used in other funeral processions such as those of the nobility or that of queen consorts. Still, it was a visible variation from the former union of the male body natural and body politic. The scenario devised for Mary Stewart's funeral, in which only the crown rather than a full effigy represented the monarch, is a neat solution to the issue of gendered representations. At the same time, it harks back to her coronation, where her subjects presumably declared their oaths of fealty while touching the royal crown of Scotland. The two scenarios for the regnant queens illustrate the different responses to the challenges which gender might generate in rituals. Both solutions worked equally well, although the latter was slightly more timeless and universally applicable regardless of age or gender.

The effigy also figures prominently in the discussion of whether or not the "ceremonial interregnum" concept, which Giesey identified for France, is equally applicable in Tudor England, as suggested by Woodward. The analysis has demonstrated clearly, that the concept cannot be applied to Mary Tudor's funeral. Not only does the close proximity of the effigy to the actual corpse digress from the French model, but Elizabeth's accession from the time of Mary's death was uncontroversial, both ceremoniously and legally. Admittedly, Elizabeth abstained from attending the funeral, thereby avoiding the joint appearance of the living and deceased monarch simultaneously. This practice had the convenient side-effect that in post-Reformation England it allowed the funerals to be held according to religious rites, which the new monarch might not embrace. Furthermore, individual elements of the funeral service appear to support a succession narrative, such as the ritual breaking of the household staves before or the proclamation of the successor after the burial. However, these elements were spatially and temporally separated, unlike in France. In addition, a number of public events, such as Elizabeth's proclamation as queen immediately after Mary's death, her subsequent royal entry into London before Mary's funeral, her presence in London throughout and finally the verbal acknowledgement of her queenship in the funeral ceremony itself, all demonstrate that the ceremonial acknowledgement of Elizabeth's queenship coincided with the legal framework.

Whereas Mary Tudor's funeral proceeded smoothly with the exception of the house-arrest of Bishop White after its conclusion, the Scottish queens were not so fortunate. The concept of ritual failure must be applied to both, although it is more prominent in the case study of Marie de Guise. With a thirteen-month delay and its eventual celebration in France rather than Scotland, Marie de Guise's funeral certainly did

not follow "normal" procedure. The failure to perform the ritual in a timely manner illustrates the royal power vacuum in Scotland following her death. As her regency concluded, no new regent was appointed in her place. Meanwhile Mary, the queen, remained in France. While records prove that Mary's will was consulted on the matter of the funeral arrangements and although her response is no longer extant, it is hardly conceivable that she sanctioned the long deferral. Yet the political and religious climate surrounding Marie's death made a Scottish funeral virtually impossible and the transfer of her body was almost as controversial. Finally, the timing of its eventual transfer to France is by no means random in the face of Mary Stewart's pending return to Scotland. It took the physical presence of the regnant queen or at least the promise of it to initiate the ritual's conclusion. There is of course a multitude of possible ritual failures of varying severity. In this case the divergence from "normal" procedures was intentional or at least implicitly tolerated by the Lords of the Congregation. Although the initial preparations of the body occurred, it was then left in limbo for an extensive period of time, without the required display of mourning as royal funds were not made available. From a Catholic perspective, the lack of decorum was particularly damaging, as the correct rituals would aid the soul's journey from purgatory to heaven. Thus, the ceremonies performed in France become crucial. The same can be argued for Mary Stewart. Her body was kept in limbo for almost six months, hidden away at Fotheringhay and then buried in the depth of night. As before for her mother, French – as well as other European – commemorations supplement the English funeral to complete the essential rituals. Religion poses a substantial threat not only to the funeral ritual, but more importantly to the remembrance of these particular Scottish queens. Therefore, two scenarios emerge in response to the Reformation challenges, one involving a natural succession while the other was developed in response to more complex circumstances. First, as exemplified in the case of Mary Tudor, the traditional absence of the new monarch from the funeral of their predecessor enabled a ceremony which gratified the religious inclination of the deceased, without a substantial challenge to the new monarch's authority. Secondly, if it proved impossible for those in power to concede on religion, the ritual was divided across state borders. Both solutions were tailored to the individual circumstances, relying both on the flexibility of the rituals themselves and of the actors involved.

## Conclusion

Adaptability and the plurality of ritual enactment permeate this thesis. As such, the fashioning of rituals with their specific adaptations in the face of challenges is always embedded in the immediate context. These observations must be partially attributed to the methodology followed in this work. Rather than taking a longitudinal approach with the aim to study the long-term development of rituals<sup>848</sup>, the focus lies on a cross section of rituals across principally two, but essentially three countries – England, Scotland and France. The advantage of this type of study is not only a comparison of rituals across "national" borders, but equally and more importantly a comparison of responses and ritual adaptations to the two coinciding challenges posed by the unprecedented prominence of queenship and the fluctuations in religion. Some of the following conclusions offer further scope for study. This could branch out in two ways; First, while retaining the focus on rituals, one could expand the research to include the wider court culture, including the enactment of religious feasts or the participation of queens in the life-cycle rituals of their subjects. Secondly, one could further pursue the comparative study of queenship during this period in all its forms, consulting other sources such as literary publications, speeches, images and so forth. Above all, studies of queenship should seek to address its diversity, beyond the traditional separation into consort and regnant queenship.

The ritual responses to similar challenges in the different countries varied considerably, further influenced by the specific circumstances under which the rituals proceeded. This is exemplified in the coronation ceremonies of the regnant queens. In England, the ceremony was essential to secure and enhance Mary Tudor's queenship. The ceremony was adapted to contemporary notions of female sovereignty, emphasising the tradition of previous male regnant monarchs, but equally seeking inspiration in consort ritual to fill the gaps. The combination of both did not detract from the efficacy of the ritual in securing Mary's authority and the question remains how many of those who witnessed the events had a clear conception of the separate male and female traditions in the first place. In Scotland, there was no comparable urgency to crown Mary Stewart, her queenship as a minor went uncontested. Similarly, while not much is known about the details of the ritual, it is unlikely that many adaptations were needed to accommodate her gender, given her young age. Another example of diverging solutions to the gender challenges of regnant queenship can be found in chapter three on marriages. Both queens entered into interdynastic marriages with heirs to a foreign throne. Despite the difficulties this entailed, such matches were quite common for queens regnant across Europe in the medieval and early modern period.<sup>849</sup> However, the types of queenship they embraced in these unions were quite distinct. Thus, Mary Tudor remained in her own country and

---

<sup>848</sup> This is the methodology chosen by Dean in her study *Representations of Authority* on Scottish ritual.

<sup>849</sup> One prominent couple is Isabel I de Castilla and Fernando de Aragón. Furthermore, all five queens regnant of Navarre married "foreigners who held substantial territories of their own." See: Woodacre, *Queens Regnant*, 166.

emphasised her regnant queenship. There are only few indications of her enacting the role of Spanish consort alongside Philip, both in the marriage treaty and in rituals. Mary Stewart in turn, built her life in France as French dauphine and consort, leaving the daily government in Scotland to others. In her wedding, this choice was clearly visualised. Rather than emphasising common understanding like the Anglo-Spanish ceremony, the Franco-Scottish celebrations mostly proceeded independently of each other. Yet, Mary's absentee queenship enabled her mother to assume the role of queen regent in Scotland and according to my reading of her inauguration, the ceremony accentuated the close bond between mother and daughter. Finally, the funeral ceremonies for both queens illustrate ritual diversity, in this instance in response to religious challenges. Needless to say, the context differed considerably. Mary Tudor died in her own country as a reigning queen and Elizabeth as her successor could countenance a Catholic funeral ceremony despite her own diverging religious views and future policies. One reason for this is that Elizabeth was able to distance herself from the ceremony due to her absence from it; Another is that it was the closing chapter of her predecessor's reign, a ritual celebrated during a transitional phase where restraint in religious adjustments was only prudent. In this she echoed Mary Tudor's own conduct upon her brother's death in 1553. The situation for Mary Stewart was very different. She was executed in captivity long after her forced abdication in Scotland in 1567. Similar prudence on Elizabeth's behalf was unnecessary as there was no succession narrative to enact and she herself was firmly established on the English throne. Domestically, it was more of a risk than an asset. Only on the international arena was the Protestant service a gamble, given the ceremony's purpose to appease foreign critics of Mary's execution. The fact, however, that Catholic countries such as France and Spain had organised their own commemorative services, deflected the potential implications of Elizabeth's decision. Evidently, the context determined the varied responses to similar challenges and it is this diversity which ensured the unceasing efficacy of the rituals.

The abovementioned European commemorations celebrated upon the deaths of Mary Stewart and Marie de Guise raise questions concerning the threat of and actual ritual failure as well as the steps taken to prevent it. These services were celebrated in honour of a number of European monarchs and consorts in the sixteenth century, but they took on a new significance and urgency in the examples discussed in this thesis. They were one response to the dangers of ritual failure. Rituals-gone-wrong is not quite as dominating a theme in this thesis as the plurality of ritual adaptations, but it spans three chapters altogether. The case studies go beyond smaller involuntary mistakes and usually involve more than the disruptions of specific elements. The deviations are at least partly intentional, the consequence of complex politico-religious factors converging at that particular moment in time.<sup>850</sup> For instance, the period 1560–1561 in Scotland encompasses two of the rituals in question, namely Marie de Guise's funeral and Mary Stewart's ceremonial entry into Edinburgh upon her return to Scotland respectively. A third example

---

<sup>850</sup> Schieffelin, "Introduction," 2.

is Mary Stewart's funeral in 1587. Last in the list is Mary's 1567 wedding to Bothwell, a very subdued affair that was spurned by the principal political and ecclesiastical elites. To turn to the funerals first, the Scottish queens were unable to ensure that the proper procedures were followed upon their death. Their burials were delayed considerably, not in order to prolong the period of public grieving since in both cases there was none, but rather because the people in charge of their commemoration were uncertain of how to handle the situation. The existing funeral rituals failed to provide an adequate framework for the complicated state of affairs. As the figurehead of the royalist party, the ritual recognition of Marie's death had no place in the Reformation narrative. Similarly, in the aftermath of Mary Stewart's execution, Elizabeth I had to manoeuvre carefully in order to contain any domestic and foreign repercussions. The funeral followed only once foreign outrage diminished a little and the crisis was temporarily contained, although the funeral itself played no unimportant part in securing this in the long term, at least with regard to Scotland and France. The assessment of ritual failure in these cases is very much dependent on the perspective of the different participants. From the deceased queens' perspectives, one might readily speak of ritual failure. Marie de Guise was not buried in Scotland according to her status as dowager queen and Mary Stewart was denied not only a Catholic burial, but also her final resting place with her husband in France. For Elizabeth, Mary's funeral was a success. For the latter's relations, the burial itself was not, but the services they attended in France and elsewhere provided the desired ritual closure and ensured the required religious integrity of Mary's commemoration. The same applies to the eventual transfer of Marie de Guise's body to France and her subsequent burial in Reims, although the correct conclusion came only after a distressingly long delay. In turn, the devolvement of any responsibility to the French solved the conundrum faced by the Lords of the Congregation, who did not wish to openly antagonise Mary Stewart, their queen, while remaining true to the newly established Reformed religion. All surviving interested parties found methods to accommodate the ritual to their respective needs, only the queens' agency understandably did not transcend their death. Mary Stewart's ceremonial entry into Edinburgh poses a different picture. First, all of the stakeholders were alive and participated in the ritual. Furthermore, the ritual was concluded without any apparent impediments. This, however, is by no means self-evident. Some ritual elements emphasise the division between the reformed elites and their newly returned sovereign, while others uphold the fiction of consensus. Due to the lack of a regent to represent and uphold royal authority in the last year of Mary's absenteeism, the typical power relations in the enacted dialogue of the entry were jeopardised. The civic pageants recorded had a clear agenda, linking the loyalty of Mary's subjects to her adoption of the Reformed religion. While Mary could not possibly accept such an ultimatum, she had been unable to prevent its formulation in the first place. Still, the ritual did not actually fail, in the sense that it was terminated prematurely. There is no record of Mary expressing displeasure and the entry was concluded, as it should. While the adaptations to the entry route highlighted by Guidicini seem to tip the balance of power in Mary's favour, this is counteracted by the

pageantry. Without doubt, a dialogue was enacted in which many ritual traditions were adhered to, but significant changes and statements were made to shift the power dynamics. Still, the ritual was important enough for both parties to engage in it and to see it through. It certainly set a preliminary agenda for the beginning of Mary's personal reign. With time Mary was able to become more assertive, both with regard to her queenship and religion. This trend, however, was reversed in the last royal ritual of her reign, the wedding to Bothwell. Not only did the ceremony proceed according to the Reformed rite, it was marked by the conspicuous absence of the principal Scottish elites. The core ritual served its purpose as the ceremony transformed the couple into husband and wife. In a broader sense, however, rather than augmenting Mary's authority, the wedding with its associated marriage was a key element in destroying it altogether.

What then made rituals successful? In the case studies presented in this thesis, the integration of various parties despite their differences proved to be crucial. There were different methods of achieving this apparent concord. Ambiguity is certainly an important element, which enabled different actors and spectators to derive an interpretation of the ritual agreeable to them. Two examples illustrate its advantages, first the Anglo-Spanish wedding and secondly the Scottish baptismal celebrations. In the former, Mary's regnant queenship and Philip's move to England precluded the traditional role distribution. On the other hand, prevalent gender concepts and Philip's dynastic future as heir to the Spanish Empire equally ruled out the reversal of their roles. Instead, compromises were made along the way, accentuating each partner at different stages. The result is variety of sources which essentially tell the same story, but according to their emphases augment either Mary's or Philip's authority in the proceedings. This ambiguity appears to be intentional, encouraged in order to ensure the successful proceeding of the wedding and the marriage. It even allows the historian to ponder the significance of certain actions. Mary's choice to swear obedience to her husband for instance, might have been based on her personal beliefs or it may have been one of the compromises that were achieved. The 1566 Scottish baptism equally demonstrates the versatility of queenship and the advantages of ambiguity in uniting disparate groups. Mary Stewart recognised the importance of widespread support to successfully enact her role as queen and mother, the head of a promising dynasty. Although she insisted on the celebration of the baptism according to the Catholic rite, she nonetheless secured the Protestant Elizabeth I's consent to become her son's godparent. By skilful negotiation and by emphasising different non-religious aspects of the ritual, the English, French and Scottish delegations celebrated relatively peacefully side-by-side. Religious differences were largely ignored, because they only impacted on the actual christening within the church. Protestants avoided the service, but participated in every other part of the ritual, including the procession to and from the church. Here the neat distinction between religious and secular elements blurs. In the secular celebrations thereafter, it was the dynastic dimension of the entire proceedings which figured prominently in Mary's representation of her monarchical authority. It shows that she could successfully stage a convincing representation of Stewart authority in the absence of her

husband, enacting the role of host throughout. Yet in many ways the ceremony drew attention to the future rather than the present. Like Mary Tudor, who combined the traditional role of consort with her regnant queenship in her coronation and wedding, Mary Stewart exercised her regnant queenship as host but also employed the iconography of the less political role of queen mother.<sup>851</sup> This shows that the roles queens enacted were manifold and that the usual distinction between regnant and other forms of queenship is not always constructive. Although the different titles of queen consort, regent, mother, dowager and regnant were well established – unlike their potential male equivalents – they could coincide in a single person. Different forms of queenship evolved simultaneously and interacted with one another; The boundaries between them were fluid, so that Mary Stewart might consider herself queen regnant of Scotland, but equally stressed her status as queen dowager of France. Further in-depth study is needed to explore the diversity of queenship and the relationship between its different forms more fully. Within the confines of this thesis, the enactment of multiple roles and the ambiguity associated with this had an important share in the successful staging of some of the rituals. At the same time, the inclination of the all participants to bring the ritual to a successful closure was equally essential. During James VI's baptismal celebrations, the Protestant lords made the concession of conveying the young Scottish prince to the church, although they would not witness the Catholic ritual within. This demonstrates the continued investment of all parties involved in the customary royal rituals.

Sovereignty in sixteenth-century England and Scotland was marked by ceremonies, but it was not initiated by them, since rulers began their reigns upon their predecessors' death. Still, the rituals of the royal entries and coronations were indispensable. Based on the case studies, it is impossible to draw conclusions on the succession narrative enacted in Scotland, but in England the legal understanding largely echoed the ritual enactment. Elizabeth appeared on the public stage soon after Mary's death and ritually claimed her sovereignty in London. Mary's effigy, life-like though it was, did not symbolize the queen as yet living. Even Mary Stewart, although she abdicated her throne twenty years previously, is represented as queen of Scotland in the funeral proceedings, albeit without an effigy. Both the coronation and the funeral were indispensable rituals in the narrative of monarchy, but their significance and corresponding enactment depended on the circumstances and the former might even differ for the different parties involved.

The cases discussed in this thesis permit some preliminary conclusions on the differences in the ritual enactment in England and Scotland during this period. Most strikingly, the rituals vary in the use of private and public space. In both countries, the ceremonial entries proceeded chiefly in the public sphere, usually along the principal landmarks of a town. Mary Stewart and Marie de Guise followed an almost identical route through Edinburgh during their respective entries. The civic procession during Mary Tudor's coronation equally spanned the East-West axis through London. Her accession

---

<sup>851</sup> The peaceweaver and mother constitute two crucial roles in fifteenth-century English queenship according to Laynesmith, *English Queenship*, 263.

entry, however, was less formalised in its route, with only the destination of the Tower fixed in advance. The long-established English coronation ritual combines the seclusion of ceremonies celebrated in the Tower, the Abbey and the Palace of Westminster with the purposefully public processional elements. Mary Stewart's Scottish coronation by contrast, is not only less elaborate, but also entirely confined to the more private space of Stirling castle. The same applies to James VI's baptism and apparently Mary's second and third wedding. One explanation for this, with regard to the first two ceremonies, is the young age of either Mary or her son. This confinement, however, does not detract from the ritual efficacy. The personal style of the Stewart monarchy provided other opportunities to engage with a wider public, not only in formalized entries, but also on progresses throughout the country. Furthermore, there was a lack of centralisation. There was no clear ritual capital, but several locations which might be chosen due to political expedience and personal preference. The English coronation, by contrast, necessarily proceeded in London as tradition dictated. Yet, the same constraints did not apply to royal weddings and funerals. Mary Tudor's choice to celebrate her wedding in Winchester and thereby to escape possible disruptions by critics of the marriage in London increased the likelihood of it proceeding smoothly. With regard to the funeral, Westminster Abbey was one of two choices, the other being St George's chapel in Windsor. In all cases in both England and Scotland it is very difficult to determine who made the actual decisions regarding the ritual. Furthermore, the bearers of the principal regalia within the processions do not appear to have been hereditary, either in terms of family or office. In most cases seniority, influence and allegiance determined their assignment. This does not necessarily correspond to other parts of the ceremonies, like the English coronation banquet. Evidently, there was a more encompassing ritual tradition in England than in Scotland. Yet, both were flexible enough to survive and absorb the challenges discussed in the course of this thesis.



## **Bibliography**

### **Manuscripts**

#### **British Library, London**

Additional MS 4712.  
Additional MS 18669.  
Additional MS 32651.  
Additional MS 32652.  
Additional MS 34320.  
Additional MS 35838.  
Additional MS 48027.  
Additional MS 78184.  
Cotton MS Caligula B II.  
Cotton MS Caligula B V.  
Cotton MS Caligula B IX.  
Cotton MS Caligula B X.  
Cotton MS Caligula C IX.  
Cotton MS Caligula D I.  
Cotton MS Nero C IX.  
Cotton MS Tiberius E VIII.  
Cotton MS Vespasian C XVI.  
Cotton MS Vespasian D XVIII/X.  
Egerton MS 985.  
Harley MS 290.  
Harley MS 1354.  
Harley MS 1440.  
Harley MS 5111.  
Harley MS 6949.  
Lansdowne MS 260.  
Sloane MS 3199.  
Stowe MS 159.

#### **College of Arms, London**

MS I 7.

MS I 14.

MS I 18.

MS W Y.

### **Society of Antiquaries, London**

MS 123

### **Westminster Abbey Library, London**

MS 38.

### **The National Archives, London**

E 351/3145

Patent Roll, 1 Mary p. 2

SP 10/1/9.

SP 11/1.

SP 12/1.

SP 52/6.

SP 52/12.

SP 52/42.

SP 53/21.

SP 59/12.

SP 78/17.

### **Bodleian Library, Oxford**

MS Rawlinson B 146.

MS Wood F 33.

### **National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh**

E 21/40.

E 31/7.

E 31/8.

E 33/3/4.

PC 1/1.

PC 1/2.

PC 5/4.

MS GD 18.

## **National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh**

Advocates MS 29.2.1

Advocates MS 31.7.22.

Advocates MS 33.1.9.

Advocates MS 35.4.2.

Advocates MS 54.1.1.

## **Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris**

CPA 8/12.

MD Angleterre 15.

## **Archives Nationales de France, Paris**

H2 1783.

K 1714.

X 1a/1595.

## **Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris**

Collection Dupuy 33.

Collection Dupuy 324.

Collection Clairambault 295.

Collection Clairambault 335.

Fonds de Béthune 8880.

## Printed Sources

- Adam, Robert, ed. *Edinburgh Records: The Burgh Accounts*. 2 vols. Edinburgh: The Council, 1899.
- Adam, Robert, ed. *Edinburgh Records: The Burgh Accounts*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Edinburgh: The Council, 1899.
- Adam, Robert, ed. *Edinburgh Records: The Burgh Accounts*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Edinburgh: The Council, 1899.
- Anstis, John, ed. *Observations Introductory to an Historical Essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath*. London: Woodman, 1725.
- Archaeologia; Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*. Vol. 1. 17 vols. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1770.
- Aviso de tvtti li apparati et solennita fatte in Francia nella città di Rens per la coronatione del christianissimo re Francesco II.: con la descrizione di tutte le cerimonie fatte nella untione regale: e il nome di tvtti li personaggi & ufficiali del re, che si trouorono alla detta coronatione*. 1559.
- Aylmer, John. *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes, against the Late Blowne Blaste [by John Knox], Concerninge the Gouernment of Wemen*. Strasbourg: Daye, 1559.
- Bain, Joseph, William K. Boyd, Henry W. Meikle and Annie I. Cameron, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*. 11 vols. London: HMSO, 1898–1936. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/scotland/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Bain, Joseph, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*. Vol. 1: 1547–1563. 11 vols. London: HMSO, 1898. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/scotland/vol1/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Bain, Joseph, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*. Vol. 2: 1563–1569. 11 vols. London: HMSO, 1900. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/scotland/vol2/> (accessed 10 April 2016).
- Bain, Joseph, ed. *Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century. Formerly in the Possession of the Dukes of Hamilton, now in the British Museum*. 2 vols. Camden Society, New Series. London: H.M. General Register House, 1890–1892.
- Bain, Joseph, ed. *Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century. Formerly in the Possession of the Dukes of Hamilton, now in the British Museum*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Camden Society, New Series. London: H.M. General Register House, 1890.
- Bain, Joseph, ed. *Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth Century. Formerly in the Possession of the Dukes of*

- Hamilton, now in the British Museum*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Camden Society, New Series. London: H.M. General Register House, 1892.
- Barahona, Juan de. "Viaje del principe D. Felipe a Inglaterra y casamiento con la reina Maria." In *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial*, 139–145. Barcelona: Malfatti, 1956.
- Beaune, Renaud de. *Oraison Fvnebre, de la tres-chrestienne, tres-illvstre, tres-constante, Marie Royne d'Escosse, morte pour la Foy, le 18. Fevrier, 1587, par la cruauté des Anglois heretiques, ennemys de Dieu*. [Paris], 1588.
- Bergenroth, Gustav A., Garrett Mattingly, Pascual de Gayangos, Martin A. Hume, and Royall Tyler, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*. 19 vols. London: HMSO, 1862–1954. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-state-papers--spain/> (accessed 29 December 2016).
- Birrel, Robert. "The Diarey of Robert Birrel, Burges of Edinburghe, Containing Divers Passages of Staite, and Uthers Memorable Accidents: Frome the 1552 Zeir of Our Redemptione, Till Ye Beginning of the Zeir 1605." In *Fragments of Scottish History*, edited by John G. Dalyell. Edinburgh: Constable, 1798.
- Blackwood, Adam. *Martyre de la Royne D'Escosse, Douariere de France: Contenant le vray discours des traïsons à elle faictes à la suscitation d'Elizabet Angloise, par lequel les mensonges, calomnies & faulses accusations dressees contre ceste trsuertueuse, trescatholique & tresillustre princesse sont eclarcies & son innocence aueree*. [Edinburgh]: Nafeild, 1587.
- Blackwood, Adam. *Martyre de la Royne D'Escosse, Douariere de France: Contenant le vray discours des traïsons à elle faictes à la suscitation d'Elizabet Angloise, par lequel les mensonges, calomnies & faulses accusations dressees contre ceste trsuertueuse, trescatholique & tresillustre princesse sont eclarcies & son innocence aueree*. [Edinburgh]: Nafeild, 1589.
- Blackwood, Adam. "Martyre de Marie Stuart Reyne d'Escosse." In *Adami Blacvodæi Opera Omnia*, 505–734. Paris: Cramoisy, 1644.
- Bonnardot, François, Alexandre Tuetey, Paul Guérin and Léon le Grand, eds. *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*. 19 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1883–1958.
- Bonnardot, François, ed. *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*. Vol. 4: *Histoire Générale de Paris*. 19 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1888.
- Bower, Walter. *Scotichronicon*. Edited by Alexander B. Scott and Donald E. Watt. New ed. Vol. 7: *Books XIII and XIV*. 9 vols. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1996.
- Boyd, William K., ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*. Vol. 9: *1586–1588*. 11 vols. London: HMSO, 1915. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/scotland/vol9/> (accessed 10 April 2016).

- Brewer, John S., James Gairdner and Robert H. Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*. 28 vols. London: HMSO, 1862–1910. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/letters-papers-hen8?query=&title=/> (accessed 22 February 2015).
- Brown, Keith M., Gillian H. MacIntosh, Alastair J. Mann, Pamela E. Ritchie, and Roland J. Tanner, eds. *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*. St Andrews, 2007–2017. <http://www.rps.ac.uk/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Brown, Peter H., ed. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. Vol. 2. 2<sup>nd</sup> Series. 8 vols. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1900.
- Brown, Rawdon L., George C. Bentinck, Horatio F. Brown, and Allen B. Hinds, eds. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*. 38 vols. London: HMSO, 1864–1947. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/cal-state-papers--venice> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Brown, Rawdon L., ed. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*. Vol. 5: 1534–1554. 38 vols. London: HMSO, 1873. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol5/> (accessed 10 April 2016).
- Brown, Rawdon L., ed. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*. Vol. 6: 1555–1558. 38 vols. London: HMSO, 1877. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol6/> (accessed 10 April 2016).
- Brown, Rawdon, and George C. Bentinck, eds. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*. Vol. 7: 1448–1580. 38 vols. London: HMSO, 1890. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol7/> (accessed 10 April 2016).
- Brown, Rawdon L., ed. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*. Vol. 8: 1581–1591. 38 vols. London: HMSO, 1894. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol8/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Buchanan, George. *Ane Detectioun of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, Thouchand the Murder of Hir Husband, and Hir Conspiracie, Adulterie, and Pretensed Mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane Defence of the Trew Lordis, Maintaineris of the Kingis Graces Actioun and Authoritie*. London: Day, 1571.
- Buchanan, George. *Georgii Buchanani [...] Opera Omnia, Ad optimorum Codicum fidem summo studio recognita & castigata*. Another ed. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Lugduni Batavorum, 1725.
- Buchanan, George. *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*. Edinburgh: Arbuthnot, 1582.
- Buchanan, George. *Rerum Scoticarum Historia [...]*. Edinburgh: Arbuthnot, 1583.

- Burton, John H. and David Masson, eds. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. 1<sup>st</sup> Series. 14 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877–1898.
- Burton, John H., ed. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. Vol. 1. 1<sup>st</sup> Series. 14 vols. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1877.
- Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House*. Vol. 3: 1583–1589. 24 vols. London: HMSO, 1889. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-cecil-papers/vol3/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Car., Giovanni P. *La Partita del serenissimo príncipe con l'armata di Spagna, et l'arrivata sua in Inghilterra, et l'ordine tenuto dalla regina in ricevere sua altezza*. Rome: Dorico, 1554?
- Clifford, Arthur, and Walter Scott, eds. *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Constable, 1809.
- Commendone, Giovanni F. "Events of the Kingdom of England." In *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of Escorial*, edited by Cesare V. Malfatti, 3–61. Barcelona: Malfatti, 1956.
- Commendone, Giovanni F. "Successi delle Attioni del Regno d'Inghilterra incominciando dal re Edoardo VI fino al sponsalio seguito tra il Ser.Mo Prencipe Filippo di Spagna et la Ser.Ma Reina Maria." In *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of Escorial*, edited by Cesare V. Malfatti, 99–131. Barcelona: Malfatti, 1956.
- Copia d'vna lettera scritta all'Illustratiss[imo] S. Francesco Tauerna Crancanz. etc. da vno gentil'huomo della corte del Sereniss[imo] Re di Spagna, da Vincestre alli xxv di Giulio el felicissimo viaggio in Inghilterra, [et] delli sponsalitii fatti con quella Serenissima Regina*. [1555].
- "La Coronacion de la Inclita y Serenissima reyna dona Maria de Ynglaterra [...]" In *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial*, edited by Cesare V. Malfatti, 151–155. Barcelona: Malfatti, 1956.
- Coronacione de la serenissima Reina Maria d'Inghilterra fatta il di primo d'Ottobre MD.LIII*. Rome: Bladus, 1553.
- Crosby, Allan J., ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth*. Vol. 8: 1566–1568. 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1871. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol8/> (accessed 10 April 2016).
- Crosby, Allan J., and John Bruce, eds. *Accounts and Papers Relating to Mary Queen of Scots*. Old Series 93. Camden Society, 1867.
- Croze, Joseph de. *Les Guises, les Valois et Philippe II*. 2 vols. Paris, 1866.
- Dasent, John R., E. G. Atkinson, J. V. Lyle, R. F. Monger and P. A. Penfold, eds. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. 46 vols. London: HMSO, 1890–1964. BHO.

- <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/acts-privy-council/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Dasent, John R., ed. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. Vol. 2: 1547–1550. 46 vols. London: HMSO, 1890. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol2/> (accessed 8 August 2016).
- Dasent, John R., ed. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. Vol. 4: 1552–1554. 46 vols. London: HMSO, 1892. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol4/> (accessed 8 August 2016).
- Dasent, John R., ed. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. Vol. 7: 1558–1570. 46 vols. London: HMSO, 1893. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol7/> (accessed 8 August 2016).
- Dasent, John R., ed. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. Vol. 15: 1587–1588. 46 vols. London: HMSO, 1897. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol15/> (accessed 8 August 2016).
- De lezabelis Anglae parricidio varii generis poemata Latina et Gallica*. 1501/1588.
- [A Description of Mary's Wedding to the Dauphin]. Edinburgh: Scot?, 1558.
- D'Espence, Claude. *Oraison funebre es obseques de [...] Marie [...] Royne douairiere d'Escoce, prononcee à Nostre Dame de Paris, le douzieme d'Aoust, mil cinq cens soixante*. Paris: de Vascosan, 1561.
- Dickinson, Gladys, ed. *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse: An Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Year 1543 and the Journal of the Siege of Leith 1560*. Publications of the Scottish History Society 36. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1942.
- Dickinson, William C., ed. *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*. 2 vols. London: Nelson & Sons, 1949.
- Dickinson, William C., ed. *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London: Nelson & Sons, 1949.
- Dickinson, William C., ed. *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. London: Nelson & Sons, 1949.
- Dickson, Thomas, James B. Paul, C. T. McInnes, and Athol L. Murray, eds. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*. 13 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877–1978.
- Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe fait au mariage de tresnoble & magnifique Prince François de Valois Roy Dauphin, [...] & de treshaulte & vertueuse Princesse madame Marie d'Estreuart Roine d'Ecosse*. Paris: Briere, 1558.
- Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe fait au mariage de tresnoble & magnifique Prince François de Valois Roy Dauphin, [...] & de treshaulte & vertueuse Princesse madame Marie d'Estreuart Roine d'Ecosse*. Lyon: Brotot, 1558.



- "Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe fait au mariage de tresnoble & magnifique Prince François de Valois Roy Dauphin, [...] & de treshaulte & vertueuse Princesse madame Marie d'Estreuart Roine d'Ecosse." In *Ceremonial at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots with the Dauphin of France*, edited by William Bentham. Publications of the Roxburgh Club. London: Woodfall, 1818. Reprint, Rouen: Remortier & Boulec, 1558.
- Dumont, Jean. *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens [...]*. Vol. 4.1. 8 vols. Amsterdam: Brunel, Wetstein, Smith, Waesberge & Chatelain, 1728.
- Elder, John. *The Copie of a Letter Sent in to Scotlande of the Ariuall and Landynge and [...] Marryage of [...] Philippe, Prynce of Spaine to the Princess Marye Quene of England, Solemnised in the Citie of Winchester [...]*. London: Waylande, 1555.
- Elder, John. "John Elder's Letter, January 1555." In *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, edited by John G. Nichols. Camden Society 48, 137–152. London: Camden Society, 1850.
- Ellis, Henry, ed. *Original Letters Illustrative of English History, Including Numerous Royal Letters from Autographs in the British Museum, and One or Two Other Collections*. Vol. 3. 3 vols. London: Harding & Lepard, 1827.
- Enriquez, Pedro. "Carta primera de lo sucedido en el viaje de S. A. á Inglaterra año de 1554." In Andrés Muñoz, *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra por Andrés Muñoz (impreso en Zaragoza en 1554) y relaciones varias relativas al mismo suceso*, edited by Pascual de Gayangos. La sociedad de bibliófilos españoles 15, 85–101. Madrid: Aribau, 1877.
- Execution oder Todt Marien Suarts Königinnen aus Schotlandt gewesen Königinnen zu Franckreich welche Adi 18. Februarii Anno 1587. Stilo Nouo. in Engleandt enthauptet worden ist im Schloß Fodringham in Northamptonshir*. Erfurt, 1587.
- "Extracts from the Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland and Other Papers Connected with the Method and Manner of Ryding the Scottish Parliament, MDC–MDCCIII." In *Miscellany of the Maitland Club: Consisting of Original Papers and Other Documents Illustrative of the History and Literature of Scotland*, edited by A. Macdonald, J. Dennistoun and J. Robertson. Vol. 3. 7 vols. Maitland Club Publications 25, 99–137. Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842.
- Félibien, Michel, and Guy-Alexis Lobineau, eds. *Histoire de la Ville de Paris*. 5 vols. Paris: Desprez & Desessartz, 1725.
- Félibien, Michel, and Guy-Alexis Lobineau, eds. *Histoire de la Ville de Paris*. Vol. 3. 5 vols. Paris: Desprez & Desessartz, 1725.
- Félibien, Michel, and Guy-Alexis Lobineau, eds. *Histoire de la Ville de Paris*. Vol. 4. 5 vols. Paris: Desprez & Desessartz, 1725.

- Forbes-Leith, William, ed. *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI: Now First Printed from the Original Manuscripts in the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Collections*. Edinburgh: Paterson, 1885.
- Fowler, William. *A True Reportarie of the Most Triumphant, and Royal Accomplishment of the Baptisme of the Most Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Prince, Frederik Henry: By the Grace of God, Prince of Scotland; Solemnized the 30. Day of August. 1594*. Edinburgh: Waldegrave, 1594.
- Frarin, Peter. *An Oration against the Vnlawfull Insurrections of the Protestantes of Our Time, Vnder Pretence to Refourme Religion. Made and Pronounced in Latin, in the Schole of Artes at Louaine, the .Xij. of December, Anno 1565*. Translated by John Fowler. Antwerp: Fowler, 1566.
- Gachard, Louis-Prospér, and Charles Piot, eds. *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*. Vol. 4. 4 vols. Collection de chroniques belges inédites. Brussels: Hayez, 1882.
- Gairdner, James, and Robert H. Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*. Vol. 18.1: *January–July 1543*. Edited by James Gairdner and Robert H. Brodie. 28 vols. London: HMSO, 1901. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol18/no1/> (accessed 22 February 2015).
- Gairdner, James, and Robert H. Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*. Vol. 18.2: *August–December 1543*. Edited by James Gairdner and Robert H. Brodie. 28 vols. London: HMSO, 1902. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol18/no2/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Gibson-Craig, William, Henry James, and Cosmo Innes, eds. *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. Southampton: Ordnance Survey Office, 1870.
- Gilby, Anthony. "An Admonition to England and Scotland to Call Them to Repentance." In *The Appellation of John Knox [...] With His Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobilitie, Estates, and Comunalitie of the Same Realme*, edited by John Knox, 59v–77r. Geneva, 1558.
- Gilles, Nicole, and François de Belleforest. *Les chroniques et annales de France des l'origine des Francoys, et leur venue es gaules [...]*. Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1573.
- Godefroy, Theodore, and Denys Godefroy, eds. *Le cérémonial françois*. 2 vols. Paris: Cramoisy, 1649.
- Godefroy, Theodore, and Denys Godefroy, eds. *Le cérémonial françois*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Paris: Cramoisy, 1649.
- Godefroy, Theodore, and Denys Godefroy, eds. *Le cérémonial françois*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Paris: Cramoisy, 1649.
- Goodman, Christopher. *How Superior Powers Ought to Be Obeyed of Their Subjects [...]*. Geneva: Crispin, 1558.

- Guarás, Antonio de. *Relacion muy verdadera de A d G.: criado de la [...] reyna de Inglaterra [...]*. Medina del Campo: Del Canto, 1554.
- Guarás, Antonio de. *The Accession of Queen Mary: Being the Contemporary Narrative of A. de Guaras, a Spanish Merchant Resident in London*. Edited by Richard Garnett. London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1892.
- Guarás, Antonio de. "Relacion muy verdadera de Antonio d'Guaras: criado de la Serenissima y Catholica reyna de Inglaterra." In *The Accession of Queen Mary: Being the Contemporary Narrative of A. de Guaras, a Spanish Merchant Resident in London*, edited by Richard Garnett, 33–75. London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1892.
- Guiffrey, Georges, ed. *Cronique du roy François premier de ce nom*. Paris: Renouard, 1860.
- Hall, Edward, and Richard Grafton. *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in which Are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of Those Periods. Carefully Collated with the Editions of 1548 and 1550*. Edited by Henry Ellis. London: Johnson, 1809.
- Hannay, Robert K., ed. and trans. *Rentale Sancti Andree, Being the Chamberlain and Granitar Accounts of the Archbishopric in the Time of Cardinal Betoun, 1538–1546*. Publications of the Scottish History Society 4. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1913.
- Hannay, Robert K., ed. *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501–1554. Selections from the Acta Dominorum Concilii Introductory to the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1932.
- Harris, Mary, J. M. Thurgood, David L. Potter, Diarmaid MacCulloch, Mia J. Rodríguez-Salgado, and Simon Adams, eds. *The Camden Miscellany*. Vol. 28. Camden 4<sup>th</sup> Series 29. 44 vols. London: Royal Historical Society, 1984.
- Hartley, Terence E., ed. *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*. Vol. 2: 1585–1589. 3 vols. London: Leicester University Press, 1995.
- "Heralds' Account." In *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, edited by John G. Nichols. Camden Society 48, 167–172. London: Camden Society, 1850.
- Herodotus. *The Histories*. Edited by Carolyn Dewald. Translated by Robin Waterfield. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: OUP, 2008.
- Holinshed, Raphael. *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande*. 2 vols. London: Hunne, 1577.
- Holinshed, Raphael. *The Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande [...]*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London: Hunne, 1577.

- Holinshed, Raphael. *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. Edited by Henry Ellis. 6 vols. 1587. Reprint, London: Johnson, 1807–08.
- Holinshed, Raphael. *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. Edited by Henry Ellis. Vol. 4: *England*. 6 vols. 1587. Reprint, London: Johnson, 1808.
- Holinshed, Raphael. *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. Edited by Henry Ellis. Vol. 5: *Scotland*. 6 vols. 1587. Reprint, London: Johnson, 1808.
- Howell, Thomas B., ed. *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783, with Notes and Other Illustrations*. Vol. 1. 34 vols. London: Hansard, 1816.
- Hughes, Paul L., and James F. Larkin. *Tudor Royal Proclamations*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. New Haven: YUP, 1964.
- Hume, Martin A., ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas)*. 4 vols. London: HMSO, 1892–1899. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/simancas/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Hume, Martin A., ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas)*. Vol. 1: 1558–1567. 4 vols. London: HMSO, 1892. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/simancas/vol1/> (accessed 10 April 2016).
- Hume, Martin A., ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas)*. Vol. 4: 1587–1603. 4 vols. London: HMSO, 1899. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/simancas/vol4/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Hume, Martin A., and Royall Tyler, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*. Vol. 9: 1547–1549. 13 vols. London: HMSO, 1912. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol9/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Il trionfo delle superbe nozze fatte nel sposalitio del principe di il Spagna [et] la regina d'Inghilterra, con numero delli principi, signori, [et] ambasciatori che si trouorno alle presente nozze, con il numero delle velle dell'armata che venne con il principe*. [Rome?], [1554].
- Jackson, Richard A., ed. *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*. Middle Ages Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Jerdan, William, ed. *Rutland Papers: Original Documents Illustrative of the Courts and Times of Henry VII and Henry VIII*. Camden Society, Old Series 21. London: Nichols and Son, 1842.
- Jewel, John. "The Defence of the Apology of the Church of England." In *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, edited by John Ayre. Vol. 4, 627–1092. 4 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1850.
- "Journal de Dominique Bourgoing, Médecin de Marie Stuart." In *Marie Stuart, son procès et son exécution d'après le journal inédit de Bourgoing, son médecin, la*

*correspondance d'Amyas Paulet, son geaulier, et autres documents nouveaux*, edited by Régis Chantelauze, 465–578. Paris: Plon, 1876.

Keith, Robert. *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland: From the Beginning of the Reformation to the Year 1568*. Edited by John Parker Lawson. 2 vols. Spottiswoode Society Publications 1. Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, 1734. Reprint, 1844–1845.

Keith, Robert. *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland: From the Beginning of the Reformation to the Year 1568*. Edited by John Parker Lawson. Vol. 1: Church and State Affairs, 1524–1560. 2 vols. Spottiswoode Society Publications 1. Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, 1734. Reprint, 1844.

Keith, Robert. *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland: From the Beginning of the Reformation to the Year 1568*. Edited by John Parker Lawson. Vol. 2: State Affairs, 1560–1568. 2 vols. Spottiswoode Society Publications 1. Edinburgh: Spottiswoode Society, 1734. Reprint, 1845.

Knox, John. *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*. Geneva: Crispin, 1558.

Labanoff, Alexandre. *Lettres Inédites de Marie Stuart, accompagnées de diverses dépêches et instructions, 1558–1587*. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1839.

Labanoff, Alexandre, ed. *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse: publiées sur les originaux et les manuscrits du State Paper Office de Londres et des principales archives et bibliothèques de l'Europe, et accompagnés d'un résumé chronologique*. 7 vols. London: Dolman, 1844.

Labanoff, Alexandre, ed. *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse: publiées sur les originaux et les manuscrits du State Paper Office de Londres et des principales archives et bibliothèques de l'Europe, et accompagnés d'un résumé chronologique*. Vol. 1. 7 vols. London: Dolman, 1844.

Labanoff, Alexandre. *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse: publiées sur les originaux et les manuscrits du State Paper Office de Londres et des principales archives et bibliothèques de l'Europe, et accompagnés d'un résumé chronologique*. Vol. 2. 7 vols. London: Charles Dolman, 1844.

Labanoff, Alexandre. *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse: publiées sur les originaux et les manuscrits du State Paper Office de Londres et des principales archives et bibliothèques de l'Europe, et accompagnés d'un résumé chronologique*. Vol. 4. 7 vols. London: Dolman, 1844.

Labanoff, Alexandre, ed. *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse: publiées sur les originaux et les manuscrits du State Paper Office de Londres et des principales archives et bibliothèques de l'Europe, et*

- accompagnés d'un résumé chronologique*. Vol. 6. 7 vols. London: Charles Dolman, 1844.
- Laing, David, ed. *The Works of John Knox*. Vol. 2. 6 vols. Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1848.
- Laing, David. *Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Paterson, 1879.
- "The Last Letter of Mary Queen of Scots." National Library of Scotland.  
<https://digital.nls.uk/mqs/index.html/> (accessed 1 September 2016).
- Legg, Leopold G., ed. *English Coronation Records*. Westminster: Constable, 1901.
- Leland, John, and Thomas Hearne, eds. *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea*. Another ed. 6 vols. London: White, 1774.
- Leland, John, and Thomas Hearne, eds. *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea*. Another ed. Vol. 4. 6 vols. London: White, 1774.
- Leland, John, and Thomas Hearne, eds. *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea*. Another ed. Vol. 5. 6 vols. London: White, 1774.
- Lesley, John. *The Historie and Life of King James the Sext: Being an Account of the Affairs of Scotland from the Year 1566 to the Year 1596; With a Short Continuation to the Year 1617*. Edited by Thomas Thomson. Bannatyne Club 13. Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1825.
- Lesley, John. *The History of Scotland, from the Death of King James I in the Year 1436 to the Year 1561*. Edited by Thomas Thomson. Bannatyne Club 38. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830.
- Lesley, John. "Bishop Leslie's Narrative of the Progress of Events in Scotland, 1562–1571." In *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI: Now First Printed from the Original Manuscripts in the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Collections*, edited by William Forbes-Leith, 85–126. Edinburgh: Paterson, 1885.
- Leslie, John. *Oraison funèbre sur la mort de la royne d'Escosse, traduite d'escossois en nostre langue françoise*. Translated by Nicolas Loiseul. Paris: Charron, 1587.
- Leslie, John. *Harangue funèbre sur la mort de la Royne d'Escosse. Traduite d'Escossois en François par N. L. R. P.* 1587.
- Leslie, John. *De origine, moribus & rebus gestis Scotorum libri decem: e quibus septem veterum Scotorum res in primis memorabiles contractius [...]: accessit nova & accurata regionum & insularum Scotiæ, cum vera ejusdem topographia tabula descriptio*. Rome, 1675.
- L'Estoile, Pierre de. *Registre-journal de Henri III*. Edited by Jacques-Joseph Champollion-Figeac and Aimé Champollion. Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series 1.1. Paris: Proux, 1837.

- Lettenhove, Kervyn de, ed. *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de L'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II*. Vol. 1. 11 vols. Brussels: Hayez, 1882.
- "Liber Regalis." In *English Coronation Records*, edited by Leopold G. Legg, 81–130. Westminster: Constable, 1901.
- Lindesay of Pitscottie, Robert. *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Zeir*. Edited by Æneas J. Mackay. 3 vols. Scottish Text Society 42, 43, 60. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1899–1911.
- Lindesay of Pitscottie, Robert. *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Zeir*. Edited by Æneas J. Mackay. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Scottish Text Society 42. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1899.
- Lindesay of Pitscottie, Robert. *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Zeir*. Edited by Æneas J. Mackay. Vol. 2. 3 vols. Scottish Text Society 43. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1899.
- Lindsay, David. *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490–1555*. Edited by Douglas Hamer. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Scottish Text Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1931.
- Lindsay, Jerome. "The Forme of the Coronatioun of the Kings of Scotland." edited by Roderick J. Lyall. *Innes Review* 28, no. 1 (1628): 6–11.
- "Little Device for the Coronation of Henry VII." In *English Coronation Records*, edited by Leopold G. Legg, 219–239. Westminster: Constable, 1901.
- Lomas, Sophie C., ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth*. Vol. 21.1: 1586–1588. 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1927. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol21/no1/> (accessed 24 August 2016).
- Lomas, Sophie C., and Allen B. Hinds, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth*. Vol. 21.4: *January–June 1588*. 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1931. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol21/no4/> (accessed 24 August 2016).
- Luders, Alexander, Thomas E. Tomlins, John France, William E. Taunton, and John Raithby, eds. *The Statutes of the Realm [...]*. Vol. 4. 12 vols. London, 1819.
- Malfatti, Cesare V., ed. and trans. *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial*. Barcelona: Malfatti, 1956.
- "The Manner of the Solemnity of the Scottish Queen's Funeral, Being the First of August 1587, When She Was Buried in the Cathedral Church of Peterborough." In *The History of the Church of Peterburgh: wherein the most remarkable things concerning that Place, from the First Foundation thereof; with other passages of*

- History, not unworthy Publick View, are represented*, edited by Simon Gunton, 77–79. London: Chiswell, 1686.
- Marichal, Paul. *Catalogue des actes de François Ier*. 10 vols. Paris: Académie des sciences morales et politiques, 1887–1908.
- Marichal, Paul. *Catalogue des actes de François Ier*. Vol. 3. 10 vols. Paris: Académie des sciences morales et politiques, 1889.
- Marichal, Paul. *Catalogue des actes de François Ier*. Vol. 8. 10 vols. Paris: Académie des sciences morales et politiques, 1905.
- Marlot, Guillaume. *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims, métropolitaine de la Gaule Belgique*. Vol. 4. 4 vols. Reims: Jacquet, 1846.
- Marwick, James D., and Marguerite Wood, eds. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*. 1403–1589. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1869–1882. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/edinburgh-burgh-records/1528-57/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Marwick, James D., ed. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*. Vol. 2: 1528–1557. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1871. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/edinburgh-burgh-records/1528-57/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Marwick, James D., ed. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*. Vol. 3: 1557–1571. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1875. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/edinburgh-burgh-records/1557-71/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Mason, Roger A., ed. *Knox: On Rebellion*. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. Cambridge: CUP, 1994.
- Masson, David, ed. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*. Vol. 14. 1<sup>st</sup> Series. 14 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1898.
- Maxwell, John. *Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, and a Portion of the Reign of King James the Sixth*. Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1836.
- McInnes, C. T., ed. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*. Vol. 12. 13 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1970.
- Melville, James. *Memoirs of His Own Life*. Bannatyne Club 18. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827.
- La Mort de la Royne d'Escosse, Douairiere de France. Où est contenu le vray Discours de la procedure des Angloys à l'Execution d'icelle, la Constante & Royale resolutiõ de sa maiesté defunte [...]*. [Paris], 1588.
- [La Mort de la Royne d'Escosse, Douairiere de France. Où est contenu le vray Discours de la procedure des Angloys à l'Execution d'icelle, la Constante & Royale resolutiõ de sa maiesté defunte: ses vertueux deportements & derniers propos, ses*



*funerailles & enterremēt, d'ou on peut cognoistre la traistre cruauté de l'Heretique Angloys à l'encontre d'une Royne souueraine, treschrestienne & catholique, innocente].* 1589.

- Muñoz, Andrés. *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra por Andrés Muñoz (impreso en Zaragoza en 1554) y relaciones varias relativas al mismo suceso.* Edited by Pascual de Gayangos. La sociedad de bibliófilos españoles 15. Madrid: Aribau, 1877.
- Muñoz, Andrés. "Sumario y verdadera relacion del buen viaje que el invictissimo Principe de las Españas don Felipe hizo á Inglaterra, y recebimiento en Vincestre donde caso y salio para Londres, en el cual se contiene grandes y marauillosas cosas que en este tiempo passaron." In Andrés Muñoz, *Viaje de Felipe Segundo Á Inglaterra por Andrés Munoz (impreso en Zaragoza en 1554) y relaciones varias relativas al mismo suceso*, edited by Pascual de Gayangos, 1–84. La sociedad de bibliófilos españoles 15. Madrid: Aribau, 1877.
- Mychel, John. *A Breuiat Chronicle Contayning All the Kynges, from Brute to This Day, and Many Notable Actes, Gathered out of Diuers Chronicles, from Willyam Conqueroure, Vnto the Yeare of Christ. M.V.C.LV. With the Mayors, and Shiryffes of the Citie of London.* Rev. ed. London: King, 1555.
- Narratione assai piu particolare della prima, del viaggio, et dell'entrata del Serenissimo Prencipe di Spagna, al presente Re d'Inghilterra [...].* [Rome?], [1554].
- Nau, Claude. *The History of Mary Stewart, from the Murder of Riccio until her Flight into England. By Claude Nau, her Secretary. Now First Printed from the Original Manuscripts, with Illustrative Papers from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Collections in Rome.* Edited by Joseph Stevenson. Edinburgh: Paterson, 1883.
- Navarrete, Martin F., Miguel Salvá, and Pedro S. de Baranda. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España.* Vol. 3. 113 vols. Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1843.
- Newe Zeytung was sich jetzt verschinen tagen mit des Printzen ankunfft inn Engellandt [...] zugetragen hat.* Augsburg: Zimmermann, 1554.
- Nichols, John G., ed. *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica.* Vol. 4. 10 vols. London: Nichols, 1790.
- Nichols, John G., ed. *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563.* Camden Society 42. London: Nichols, 1848.
- Nichols, John G., ed. *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat.* Camden Society 48. London: Camden Society, 1850.

- Nichols, John G., ed. *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*. Camden Society, Old Series 53. London: Camden Society, 1852.
- Nichols, John G., ed. *Literary Remains of King Edward VI: edited from his autograph manuscripts; with historical notes, and a biographical memoir by J. G. Nichols*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London: Nichols & Sons, 1857.
- Een nieuu tiidinghe hoe dat die Prince van Spaengien triumphelick aengecomen is in Engelandt mist gaders die bruyloft te Winchestre ghehouden. [1554].
- Paris, Louis, ed. *Négociations, lettres et pièces diverses relatives au règne de François II: tirées du portefeuille de Sébastien de l'Aubespine, évêque de Limoges*. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 1<sup>st</sup> Series: Histoire Politique. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1841.
- Paton, Henry M., ed. *Accounts of the Masters of Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles [...]*. Edinburgh: HMSO, 1957.
- Paul, James B., ed. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*. Vol. 6. 13 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1905.
- Paul, James B., ed. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*. Vol. 7. 13 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1907.
- Paul, James B., ed. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*. Vol. 8. 13 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1908.
- Paul, James B., ed. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*. Vol. 10. 13 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1913.
- Paul, James B., ed. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland: Compota thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*. Vol. 11. 13 vols. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1916.
- Perlin, Estienne. *Description des royaumes d'Angleterre et d'Escoce*. [Paris]: Trepeau, 1558.
- Perlin, Stephen. "Description of England and Scotland by a French Ecclesiastic, in the 16th Century." In *The Antiquarian Repertory: A Miscellaneous Assemblage of Topography, History, Biography, Customs, and Manners; Intended to Illustrate and Preserve Several Valuable Remains of Old Times*, edited by Francis Grose and Thomas Astle. New ed. Vol. 4, 501–548. 4 vols. London: Jeffery, 1809.
- Pitcairn, Robert, ed. *Collections Relative to the Funerals of Mary Queen of Scots*. Edinburgh: Laing, 1822.
- Planché, James R. *Regal Records: Or, a Chronicle of the Coronation of the Queens Regnant of England*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1838.

- Pollen, John H., ed. *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots during Her Reign in Scotland, 1561–1567*. Publications of the Scottish History Society 37. Edinburgh: Constable, 1901.
- Popelinière, Henri L. de la. *L'Histoire de France, enrichie des plus notables occurrences survenues ez provinces de l'Europe et pays voisins, soit en Paix soit en Guerre: tant pour le fait Seculier qu'Eclesiastic; Depuis l'an 1550 jusques à ces temps*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Abraham, 1581.
- Proctor, John. *The Historie of Wyates Rebellion: With the Order and Maner of Resisting the Same, Wherunto in the Ende Is Added an Earnest Conference with the Degenerate and Sedicious Rebelles for the Serche of the Cause of Their Daily Disorder*. London: Caly, 1554.
- Rait, Robert S., ed. *Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1587: Extracts from the English, Spanish, and Venetian State Papers, Buchanan, Knox, Lesley, Melville, The "Diurnal of Occurents," Nau, &c. &c.* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Scottish History from Contemporary Writers 2. London: Nutt, 1900.
- Richardot, François. *Le Sermon fvnebre, fait devant le Roy, par Messire Francois Richardot, Euesque de Nicople, & Suffragant d'Arras: Aus obseques & Funerailles du Tresgrand & Tresuictorieus Empereur Charles Cinquième. [...]* Avtre sermon fvnebre fait devant le roy, par icellvy Richardot, avs obseques de la Serenissime Royne Marie Douairiere de Hongrie, Boheme, &c. [...]. Encores, vn avtre sermon, fait par le svsdit Richardot, devant Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye: Aus Obseques de la Royne Marie d'Angleterre [...]. Antwerp: Plantin, 1559.
- Richardot, François. "Sermon fvnebre fait aus obseques de madame Marie Royne d'Angleterre par Messire Francois Richardot, evesqve de Nicople, svffragant d'Arras." In *Le Sermon fvnebre, fait devant le Roy, par Messire Francois Richardot, Euesque de Nicople, & Suffragant d'Arras: Aus obseques & Funerailles du Tresgrand & Tresuictorieus Empereur Charles Cinquième. [...]*. Antwerp: Plantin, 1559.
- Rogers, Charles, ed. *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters, Relative to the Affairs of Scotland and Nova Scotia from 1615 to 1635*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1885.
- Rymer, Thomas, ed. *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica [...]*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Vol. 14. 20 vols. London: Tonson, 1728.
- The Scottish Queens Buriall at Peterborough, Upon Tuesday Beeing Lammas Day 1587*. London: Venge, 1589.
- "The Scottish Queens Buriall at Peterborough, Upon Tuesday Beeing Lammas Day. 1587." In *Tudor Tracts, 1532–1588*, edited by Albert Frederick Pollard, 477–484. New York: Cooper Square, 1964.

- Seker nieuwe tijdinge hoe dat de Prince van Spaengien triumphelick aengecome is in Enghelandt midtsgaders de bruyloft te Winchestre ghehouden.* Antwerp: van Ghelen, [1554].
- Smith, Thomas. *De Republica Anglorum: The Maner of Gouvernement or Policie of the Realme of England.* London: Midleton, 1583.
- La solenne et felice intrata delli serenissimi re Philippo, et regina Maria d'Inghilterra.* [Milan?], 1554.
- Steuart, Archibald F., ed. *Trial of Mary, Queen of Scots.* Notable British Trials. Edinburgh: Hodge, 1923.
- Stevenson, Joseph, Allan J. Crosby, Arthur J. Butler, Sophia C. Lomas, Allen B. Hinds and Richard B. Wernham, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth.* 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1863–1950. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/> (accessed 20 October 2016).
- Stevenson, Joseph, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth.* Vol. 1: 1558–1559. 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1863. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol1/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Stevenson, Joseph, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth.* Vol. 2: 1559–1560. 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1865. BHO. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol2/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Stevenson, Joseph, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth.* Vol. 3: 1560–1561. 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1865. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol3/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Stevenson, Joseph, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth.* Vol. 4: 1561–1562. 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1866. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol4/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Stevenson, Joseph, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth.* Vol. 7: 1564–1565. 26 vols. London: HMSO, 1870. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol7/> (accessed 20 October 2016).
- Stow, John. *The Chronicles of England, from Brute Unto This Present Yeare of Christ, 1580.* London: Newberie, 1580.
- Stow, John. *The Annales of England, Faithfully Collected Out of the Most Autenticall Authors, Records and Other Monuments of Antiquitie, from the First Inhabitation Until This Present Yeere 1592.* London: Newbery, 1592.
- Stow, John. "Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow." In *The Camden Miscellany*, edited by Charles L. Kingsford. Vol. 12, Camden 3<sup>rd</sup> Series 18. 94 vols. London: Royal Historical Society, 1910.
- Strickland, Agnes, ed. *Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Documents Connected with Her Personal History, Now First Published.* Vol. 2. 2 vols. London: Colburn, 1842.

- Strype, John, ed. *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion [...]*. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1822.
- Strype, John, ed. *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion [...]*. Vol. 2.2. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1822.
- Strype, John, ed. *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion [...]*. Vol. 3.2. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1822.
- Strype, John, ed. *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer, Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury: Wherein the History of the Church, and the Reformation of It, [...] Are Greatly Illustrated [...]*. New ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Oxford: OUP 1840.
- Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, Gómez. "The Count of Feria's Dispatch to Philip II of 14 November 1558." In *The Camden Miscellany*, edited by Mia J. Rodríguez-Salgado and Simon L. Adams. Vol. 28. Camden 4<sup>th</sup> Series 29, 302–344. 44 vols. London: Royal Historical Society, 1984.
- Le Testament et derniers propos de la Roynne d'Escosse, avant son supplice: Ensemble les legs qu'elle a laissé aux officiers de sa maison*. Paris: Marin, 1589.
- Teulet, Jean B., ed. *Papiers d'état relatif, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus relatif à l'histoire de l'Ecosse au XVIème siècle*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1851.
- Teulet, Jean B., ed. *Lettres de Marie Stuart publiés avec sommaires, traductions, notes et fac-simile*. Paris: Didot, 1859.
- Teulet, Jean B., ed. *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVIe siècle: papiers d'etat, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus, tirés des bibliothèques et des archives de France*. New ed. 5 vols. Paris: Renouard, 1862.
- Teulet, Jean B., ed. *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVIe siècle: papiers d'etat, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus, tirés des bibliothèques et des archives de France*. New ed. Vol. 1. 5 vols. Paris: Renouard, 1862.
- Teulet, Jean B., ed. *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVIe siècle: papiers d'etat, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus, tirés des bibliothèques et des archives de France*. New ed. Vol. 4. 5 vols. Paris: Renouard, 1862.
- Teulet, Jean B., ed. *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVIe siècle: papiers d'etat, pièces et documents inédits ou peu connus, tirés des bibliothèques et des archives de France*. New ed. Vol. 5. 5 vols. Paris: Renouard, 1862.
- Thomson, Thomas, ed. *A Collection of Inventories and Other Records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse, and of the Artillery and Munitioun in Some of the Royal Castles, 1488–1606*. Edinburgh, 1815.

- Thomson, Thomas, ed. *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, That Have Passed within the Country of Scotland, since the Death of King James the Fourth, Till the Year 1575. From a MS. of the Sixteenth Century, in the Possession of Sir J. Maxwell, of Pollock*. Maitland Club Publications 23. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833.
- Thomson, Thomas, ed. *Letters and Papers Relating to Patrick Master of Gray Afterwards Seventh Lord Gray*. Bannatyne Club 48. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1835.
- Thorpe, Markham J., ed. *Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Scotland: Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*. 2 vols. London: Longman, Brown and Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858.
- Thou, Jacques-Auguste de. *Illustris viri Jacobi Augusti Thuani, Regii in sanctiore consistorio consilarii, et in suprema Regni Gallici Curia Praesidis, Historiarum sui temporis ab anno Domini 1543 usque ad annum Domini 1607. Libri CXXXVIII, [...]*. Vol. 1. Heredes Petri, 1626.
- Tillet, Jean du. *Recueil des roys de France, levr covronne et maison, ensemble, le reings des grands de France*. Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1580.
- Tuetey, Alexandre, ed. *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*. Vol. 5. 19 vols. Histoire Générale de Paris. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892.
- Tyler, Royall, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*. Vol. 11: 1553. 13 vols. London: HMSO, 1916. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol11/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Tyler, Royall, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*. Vol. 12: 1554. 13 vols. London, HMSO, 1949. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol12/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- Tyler, Royall, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*. Vol. 13: 1554–1558. 13 vols. London, HMSO, 1954. BHO. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol13/> (accessed 10 December 2016).
- V., P. *Narratio historica vicissitudinis, rerum quæ in inclyto Britanniae Regno acciderunt, Anno Domini 1553. Mense Iulio*. [Wittenberg], 1553.
- Vertot, Rene A. de and Claude Villaret, eds. *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre*. 5 vols. Leyden, 1763.
- Vertot, Rene A. de, and Claude Villaret, eds. *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre*. Vol. 2. 5 vols. Leyden, 1763.
- Vertot, Rene A. de and Claude Villaret, eds. *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre*. Vol. 3. 5 vols. Leyden, 1763.
- Weiss, Pierre C., ed. *Papiers d'état du cardinal de Granvelle d'après les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Besançon*. Vol. 4. 9 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1843.
- White, John. "A Sermon Preached at the Funerals of Queen Mary." In *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion [...]*, edited by John Strype. Vol. 3.2, 536–550. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1822.

- Wingfield, Robert. "The Vita Mariae Anglia Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham." In *The Camden Miscellany*, edited by Diarmaid MacCulloch. Vol. 28. Camden 4<sup>th</sup> Series 29, 181–301. 44 vols. London: Royal Historical Society, 1984.
- Wood, Marguerite, ed. *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, From the Originels in the Balcarres Papers*. Publications of the Scottish History Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, 4, 7. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1923–1925.
- Wood, Marguerite, ed. *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, From the Originels in the Balcarres Papers*. Vol. 1: 1537–1548. Publications of the Scottish History Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, 4. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1923.
- Wood, Marguerite, ed. *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, From the Originels in the Balcarres Papers*. Vol. 2: 1548–1557. Publications of the Scottish History Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, 7. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1925.
- Wright, Thomas. *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times: A Series of Original Letters, Selected from the Inedited Private Correspondence of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, the Secretaries Walsingham and Smith, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Most of the Distinguished Persons of the Period*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London: Colburn, 1838.
- Wriothesley, Charles. *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559*. Edited by William D. Hamilton. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Camden Society 20. London: Camden Society, 1877.

## Reference Works

- Dictionary of the Scots Tongue*. Edinburgh: Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd. <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/kaip/> (accessed 18 May 2016).
- The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*. Edited by Michael Lynch. Oxford Reference. Oxford: OUP, 2001.
- The Oxford Companion to World Mythology*. Edited by David Leeming. Oxford Companion Series. New York: OUP, 2005.
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Edited by David Cannadine. Online ed. Oxford: OUP, 2004–2017. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 20 January 2017).
- The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Edited by David H. Farmer. 5<sup>th</sup> rev. online ed. Oxford: OUP, 2011. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-1078/> (accessed 3 November 2016).
- Oxford English Dictionary* (OUP, 2018), <http://www.oed.com/> (accessed 10 February 2018).

## Secondary Literature

- Adamson, John. *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime, 1500–1750*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999.
- Alford, Stephen. "Knox, Cecil and the British Dimension of the Scottish Reformation." In *John Knox and the British Reformations*, edited by Roger A. Mason, 201–219. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- Allinson, Rayne. "The Queen's Three Bodies: Gender, Criminality and Sovereignty in the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots." In *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Megan Cassidy-Welch and Peter Sherlock. *Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 11, 99–116. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.
- Andrews, Jean, and Marie-Claude Canova-Green, eds. *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.
- Anglo, Sydney. *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*. Oxford-Warburg Studies. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Anselme de Sainte-Marie, and Honoré Du Fourny, *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Vol. 3. Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1728.
- Ariès, Philippe. *L'homme devant la mort*. 2 vols. Points: Histoire 82. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977.
- Assmann, Jan, Franz Maciejewski, and Axel Michaels, eds. *Der Abschied von den Toten: Trauerriuale im Kulturvergleich*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005.
- Baller, Susann. *Die Ankunft des Anderen: Repräsentationen sozialer und politischer Ordnungen in Empfangszeremonien*. *Eigene und Fremde Welten* 5. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008.
- Balsamo, Jean, ed. *Les funérailles à la Renaissance: XIIe colloque international de la Société française d'étude du seizième siècle, Bar-le-Duc, 2-5 décembre 1999*. *Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance* 356. Geneva: Droz, 2002.
- Bapst, Edmond. *Les mariages de Jacques V*. Paris, 1889.
- Barker, Brian. *The Symbols of Sovereignty*. Newton Abbot: Westbridge Books, 1979.
- Bath, Michael. "'Rare Shewes and Singular Inventions': The Stirling Baptism of Prince Henry." *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 4 (2012).
- Baudouin-Matuszek, Marie-Noëlle. "Henri II et les expéditions françaises en Ecosse." *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 145, no. 2 (1987): 339–382.
- Becker, Lucinda M. *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Beem, Charles. *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.



- Beemer, Cristy. "The Female Monarchy: A Rhetorical Strategy of Early Modern Rule." *Rhetoric Review* 30, no. 3 (2011): 258–274.
- Béhar, Pierre, and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, eds. *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe*. Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 31. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999.
- Bell, Catherine M. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. New York: OUP, 1997.
- Bell, Catherine M. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: OUP, 1992.
- Bergeron, David M. *English Civic Pageantry, 1558–1642*. London: Arnold, 1971.
- Bertelli, Sergio. *The King's Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Translated by R. Burr Litchfield. New rev. & enl. ed. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.
- Betteridge, Thomas. "Maids and Wives: Representing Female Rule During the Reign of Mary Tudor." In *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, edited by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, 138–152. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Blake, William. *William Maitland of Lethington, 1528–1573: A Study of the Policy of Moderation in the Scottish Reformation*. Studies in British History 17. Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1990.
- Blakeway, Amy L. *Regency in Sixteenth-century Scotland*. St Andrews Studies in Scottish History. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015.
- Bonner, Elizabeth. "French Naturalization of the Scots in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." *Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997): 1085–1118.
- Bonner, Elizabeth. "Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295–1560." *History* 84, no. 273 (1999): 5.
- Bowers, Rick. "James VI, Prince Henry, and 'A True Reportarie' of Baptism at Stirling 1594." *Renaissance and Reformation* 29, no. 4 (2005): 3–22.
- Brochard, Thomas. "The Integration of the Elite and Wider Communities of the Northern Highlands, 1500–1700: Evidence from Visual Culture." *Northern Scotland* 6, no. 1 (2015): 1–23.
- Brogan, Stephen. *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin*. Royal Historical Society Studies in History, new ed. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2015.
- Brook, Alexander J. "Technical description of the regalia of Scotland." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 24 (1889–1890): 49–141.
- Brosius, Christiane. "The Unwanted Offering: Ubiquity and Success of Failure in a Ritual of the Hindu Right." In *When Rituals Go Wrong: Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*, edited by Ute Hüsken. Numen Book Series, Studies in the History of Religions 115, 291–324. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

- Brown, Elizabeth A. *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*. Variorum Collected Studies. Aldershot: Variorum, 1991.
- Brown, Elizabeth A. "Royal Bodies, Effegies, Funeral Meals and Office in Sixteenth Century France." In *Micrologus: natura, scienze e società medievali*, edited by Jacques Chiffolleau and Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani. Vol. 7: *Il cadavere*, 437–508. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.
- Brown, Keith M. *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*. Edinburgh: EUP, 2011.
- Brown, Keith M., and Roland J. Tanner, eds. *Parliament and Politics in Scotland: 1235–1560*. The History of the Scottish Parliament 1. Edinburgh: EUP, 2004.
- Bryant, Lawrence M. "From Communal Ritual to Royal Spectacle: Some Observations on the Staging of Royal Entries." In *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text*, edited by H el ene Visentin and Nicolas Russell, 207–246. Publications of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies Essays and Studies 11. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007.
- Bryant, Lawrence M. *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance*. Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 216. Geneva: Droz, 1986.
- Bryant, Lawrence M. "The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris." In *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, edited by J anos M. Bak, 88–113. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Bucholz, Robert O. and Carole Levin, eds. *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Burnett, Charles J. and Christopher J. Tabraham. *The Honours of Scotland: The Story of the Scottish Crown Jewels*. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 1993.
- Burns, Charles. "Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs: The Golden Rose and the Blessed Sword." *Innes Review* 20 (1969): 150–194.
- Cameron, Jamie. *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528–1542*. The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland. East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998.
- Campbell, Ian, and Aonghus Mackechnie. "The 'Great Temple of Solomon' at Stirling Castle." *Architectural History* 54 (2011): 91–118.
- Carpenter, Sarah. "Performing Diplomacies: The 1560s Court Entertainments of Mary Queen of Scots." *Scottish Historical Review* 82, no. 2 (2003): 194–225.
- Carpenter, Sarah, and Graham Runnals. "The Entertainments at the Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and the French Dauphin Fran ois, 1558: Paris and Edinburgh." *Medieval English Theatre* 22 (2000): 145–161.

- Carroll, Stuart. *Noble Power during the Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy*. Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History. Cambridge: CUP, 1998.
- Charlesworth, James H. *The Good and Evil Serpent: How a Universal Symbol Became Christianized*. New Haven: YUP, 2009.
- Chatenet, Monique. "Quelques aspects des funérailles nobiliaires au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle." In *Les funérailles à la Renaissance: XI<sup>e</sup> colloque international de la Société française d'étude du seizième siècle*, Bar-le-Duc, 2–5 décembre 1999, edited by Jean Balsamo. Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 356, 37–54. Geneva: Droz, 2002.
- Chrościcki, Juliusz A., Mark Hengerer, and Gérard Sabatier, eds. *Les funérailles princières en Europe, XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. 3 vols. Collection Aulica; Collection "Histoire". [Versailles]: Centre de Recherche du Château de Versailles, 2012–2015.
- Cooper, James. *Four Scottish Coronations*. Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society and the Glasgow Ecclesiological Society Special Issue. Aberdeen: Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, 1902.
- Cowan, Ian B., ed. *The Enigma of Mary Stuart*. London: Sphere, 1972.
- Cowan, Ian B. "The Roman Connection: Prospects for Counter-Reformation During the Personal Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots." In *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms*, edited by Michael Lynch, 105–122. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Cressy, David. *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*. Oxford: OUP, 1997.
- Cust, Lionel H. and George Scharf. *Notes on the Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots Based on the Researches of the Late Sir George Scharf, K.C.B., Rewritten in the Light of New Information by Lionel Cust*. London: Murray, 1903.
- Dalley, Stephanie. "Semiramis in History and Legend." In *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, edited by Erich S. Gruen. *Oriens et occidents* 8, 37–59. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005.
- Davidson, Peter. "The Entry of Mary Stewart into Edinburgh, 1561, and Other Ambiguities." *Renaissance Studies* 9, no. 4 (1995): 416–429.
- Dawson, Jane E. "Mary Queen of Scots, Lord Darnley and Anglo-Scottish Relations in 1565." *International History Review* 8, no. 1 (1986): 1–24.
- Dawson, Jane E. *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History. Cambridge: CUP, 2002.
- Dawson, Jane E. "'There is Nothing Like a Good Gossip!': Baptism, Kinship and Alliance in Early Modern Scotland." In *Perspectives on the Older Scottish Tongue: A Celebration of DOST*, edited by Christian J. Kay and Margaret A. Mackay, 38–47. Edinburgh: EUP, 2005.

- Dawson, Jane E. "William Cecil and the British Dimension of Early Elizabethan Foreign Policy." *History* 74, no. 241 (1989): 196–216.
- Dawson, Jane E. *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587*. The New Edinburgh History of Scotland 6. Edinburgh: EUP, 2007.
- Dean, Lucinda H. "Enter the Alien: Foreign Consorts and Their Royal Entries into Scottish Cities, c. 1449–1590." In *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, edited by James R. Mulryne, Maria I. Aliverti and Annamaria Testaverde Matteini. *European Festival Studies: 1450–1700*, 267–295. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015.
- Dean, Lucinda H. "In the Absence of an Adult Monarch: Ceremonial Representations of Authority by Marie de Guise, 1543–1558." In *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles*, edited by Katherine Buchanan, Lucinda H. S. Dean and Michael A. Penman, 143–162. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Desplat, Christian, and Paul Mironneau, eds. *Les entrées: gloire et déclin d'un cérémonial*. Publications de la Société Henri IV. Biarritz: J & D, 1997.
- Doda, Hilary. "Lady Mary to Queen of England: Transformation, Ritual, and the Wardrobe of the Robes." In *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, edited by Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte. *Queenship and Power*, 49–68. [New York]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Donaldson, Gordon. *The Auld Alliance: The Franco-Scottish Connection*. Saltire Pamphlets, New Series 6. Edinburgh: Saltire Society & L'Institut Français d'Ecosse, 1985.
- Doran, Susan. *England and Europe, 1485–1603*. Seminar Studies in History. London: Longman, 1986.
- Doran, Susan. "Revenge her Foul and Most Unnatural Murder? The Impact of Mary Stewart's Execution on Anglo-Scottish Relations." *History* 85, no. 280 (2000): 589–612.
- Doran, Susan, and Thomas S. Freeman, eds. *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Downie, Fiona. *She is But a Woman: Queenship in Scotland, 1424–1463*. Edinburgh: Donald, 2006.
- Duffy, Eamon. *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*. New Haven: YUP, 2009.
- Duindam, Jeroen F. *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300–1800*. Cambridge: CUP, 2016.
- Duncan, Sarah. *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen*. *Queenship and Power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

- Duncan, Sarah, and Valerie Schutte, eds. *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I. Queenship and Power*. [New York]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Dunn, Jane. *Elizabeth and Mary: Cousins, Rivals, Queens*. London: HarperCollins, 2003.
- Durot, Eric. "Le crépuscule de l'Auld Alliance: la légitimité du pouvoir en question entre Ecosse, France et Angleterre (1558–1561)." *Histoire, Économie et Société* 24, no. 1 (2007): 3–46.
- Earenfight, Theresa. *Queenship in Medieval Europe. Queenship and Power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Edington, Carol. *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1994.
- Edwards, John. *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen*. New Haven: YUP, 2011.
- Elton, Geoffrey R. *England under the Tudors. A History of England* 4. London: Methuen, 1955.
- Erickson, Carolly. *Bloody Mary: The Life of Mary Tudor*. London: Dent, 1978.
- Fawcett, Richard, ed. *Stirling Castle. Historic Scotland*. London: Batsford, 1995.
- Fawcett, Richard, ed. *Stirling Castle: The Restoration of the Great Hall. CBA Research Report 130*. York: Council for British Archaeology, 2001.
- Fleming, David H. *Hand-Book to St. Andrews*. New ed. St. Andrews: Innes, 1910.
- Fleming, David H. *Mary Queen of Scots from her Birth to her Flight into England: A Brief Biography, with Critical Notes, a Few Documents Hitherto Unpublished, and an Itinerary*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897.
- Fleming, John A. *Marie de Guise. Souvenirs de France* 5. Glasgow: MacLellan, 1960.
- Fradenburg, Louise O. *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.
- Fradenburg, Louise O., ed. *Women and Sovereignty*. Edinburgh: EUP, 1992.
- Franklin, David. *The Scottish Regency of the Earl of Arran: A Study in the Failure of Anglo-Scottish Relations. Studies in British History* 35. Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1995.
- Fraser, Antonia. *Mary Queen of Scots*. London: Phoenix, 2002.
- Fritz, Paul S. "From 'Public' to 'Private': The Royal Funerals in England, 1500–1830." In *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, edited by Joachim Whaley. The Europa Social History of Human Experience 3: Europa, 1981.
- Froude, James A. *The Reign of Mary Tudor. Everyman's Library*. London: Dent, 1910?
- Garrisson, Janine. *A History of Sixteenth-century France, 1483–1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion*. [Royauté, renaissance et réforme, 1483–1559: Guerre civile et compromis, 1559–1598]. Translated by Richard Rex. European Studies. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.

- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, c. 2000.
- Geertz, Clifford. "Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example." In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, 142–169. New York: Basic Books, c. 2000.
- Geertz, Clifford. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, 3–30. New York: Basic Books, c. 2000.
- Gennep, Arnold van. *Les rites de passage: étude systématique des rites*. Paris: Picard, 1909.
- Giesecke, Annette L. *The Mythology of Plants: Botanical Lore from Ancient Greece and Rome*. Getty Publications, 2014.
- Giesey, Ralph E. *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*. Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance 37. Geneva: Droz, 1960.
- Gittings, Clare. *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*. Routledge, 1984.
- Goodare, Julian. "Queen Mary's Catholic Interlude." In *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms*, edited by Michael Lynch, 154–170. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Goodare, Julian and Alasdair A. MacDonald, eds. *Sixteenth-century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Gray, Douglas. "The Royal Entry in Sixteenth-century Scotland." In *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, edited by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood, 10–37. East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998.
- Greengrass, Mark. "Mary, Dowager Queen of France." In *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms*, edited by Michael Lynch, 171–194. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Grimes, Ronald L., ed. *Ritual Criticism: Case Studies in its Practice, Essays on its Theory*. Studies in Comparative Religion. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990.
- Guidicini, Giovanna. "Imagining and Staging an Urban Border: The Role of the Netherbow Gate in Early Modern Edinburgh." In *The Design of Frontier Spaces: Control and Ambiguity*, edited by Carolyn S. Loeb and Andreas Luescher, 66–86. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015.
- Guidicini, Giovanna. "Municipal Perspective, Royal Expectations, and the Use of Public Space: The Case of the West Port, Edinburgh, 1503–1633." *Architectural Heritage* 22, no. 1 (2011): 37–52.
- Guy, John A. *My Heart Is My Own: The Life of Mary Queen of Scots*. London: Fourth Estate, 2004.

- Guy, John A. *Queen of Scots: The True Life of Mary Stuart*. First Mariner Books ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.
- Hackett, Helen. "Dreams or Designs, Cults or Constructions? The Study of Images of Monarchs." *The Historical Journal* 44, no. 3 (2001): 811–823.
- Hamer, Douglas. "The Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin: A Scottish Printed Fragment." *The Library*, 4<sup>th</sup> Series, 12, no. 4 (1932): 420–428.
- Harding, Vanessa. *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500–1670*. Cambridge: CUP, 2002.
- Harrison, John. *Ladies and Waiting: Marie de Guise at Stirling in the 1540s*. Stirling Castle Palace: Archaeological and Historical Research 2004–2008. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland. [http://sparc.scran.ac.uk/publications/pdfs/L4\\_ladies\\_and\\_waiting.pdf/](http://sparc.scran.ac.uk/publications/pdfs/L4_ladies_and_waiting.pdf/) (accessed 11 February 2014).
- Harrison, John. *People, Place & Process: The Royal Court at Stirling, 1542–1543*. Stirling Castle Palace. Historic Scotland.
- Harvey, Anthony P., and Richard Mortimer. *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994.
- Hayward, Maria. "'We should dress us fairly for our end': The Significance of the Clothing, Worn at Elite Executions in England in the Long Sixteenth Century." *History* 101, no. 2 (2016): 222–245.
- Heisch, Allison. "Arguments for an Execution: Queen Elizabeth's 'White Paper' and Lord Burghley's 'Blue Pencil'." *Albion* 24, no. 4 (1992): 591–604.
- Hoak, Dale E. "The Coronations of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I, and the Transformation of the Tudor Monarchy." In *Westminster Abbey Reformed: 1540–1640*, edited by C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer, 114–151. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Past and Present Publications. Cambridge: CUP, 1983.
- Holmes, P. "Mary Stewart in England." In *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms*, edited by Michael Lynch, 195–218. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Houlbrooke, Ralph A. *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480–1750*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Houlbrooke, Ralph A. Review of "The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England 1570–1625," by Jennifer Woodward. *Renaissance Studies* 12, no. 4 (1998): 605–608.
- Hume, Martin A. "The Visit of Philip II, 1554." *English Historical Review* 7, no. 26 (1892): 253–280.
- Hunt, Alice M. *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: CUP, 2008.

- Hunt, Alice M. "The Reformation of Tradition: The Coronations of Mary and Elizabeth." In *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, edited by Alice M. Hunt and Anna Whitelock, 63–80. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Hunt, Alice M., and Anna Whitelock, eds. *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Hüsken, Ute. "Ritualfehler." In *Ritual und Ritualdynamik: Schlüsselbegriffe, Theorien, Diskussionen*, edited by Christiane Brosius, Axel Michaels and Paula Schrode, 129–134. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.
- Hüsken, Ute, ed. *When Rituals Go Wrong: Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*. Numen Book Series, Studies in the History of Religions 115. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Ives, Eric W. *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Jackson, Peter. "Pierre Bourdieu, the 'Cultural Turn' and the Practice of International History." *Review of International Studies* 34, no. 1 (2008): 155–181.
- Jackson, Richard A. *Vive le roi!: A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
- Jamieson, Fiona. "The Royal Gardens of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, 1500–1603." *Garden History* 22, no. 1 (1994): 18–36.
- Jansen, Sharon L. *Debating Women, Politics, and Power in Early Modern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Johnson, Maxwell E., and Edward Charles Whitaker, eds. *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*. 3<sup>rd</sup>, rev. ed. Alcuin Club collections 79. London: SPCK, 2003.
- Jordan, Constance. "Women's Rule in Sixteenth-century British Political Thought." *Renaissance Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (1987): 421–451.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: PUP, 1957.
- Kelly, Samantha. *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and Fourteenth-century Kingship*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Kertzer, David I. *Ritual, Politics and Power*. New Haven: YUP, 1988.
- Kewes, Paulina. "Godly Queens: The Royal Iconographics of Mary and Elizabeth." In *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, edited by Alice M. Hunt and Anna Whitelock, 47–62. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Kipling, Gordon. "The Deconstruction of the Virgin in the Sixteenth-century Royal Entry in Scotland." *European Medieval Drama* 9 (2005): 127–152.
- Kipling, Gordon. *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Knecht, Robert J. *Catherine De' Medici*. Harlow: Longman, 1998.
- Knecht, Robert J. "Court Festivals as Political Spectacle: The Example of Sixteenth-century France." In *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern*



- Europe*, edited by James R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, Margaret Shewring, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight. Vol. 1. Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association 15, 19–31. Aldershot: MHRA; Ashgate, 2004.
- Knecht, Robert J. *French Renaissance Monarchy: Francis I and Henry II*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Seminar Studies in History. London: Longman, 1996.
- Knecht, Robert J. *Hero or Tyrant?: Henry III, King of France, 1574–89*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014.
- Koslofsky, Craig. *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700*. Early Modern History Society and Culture. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.
- Lancashire, Anne B. *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558*. Cambridge: CUP, 2002.
- Larson, Jennifer. *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*. Oxford: OUP, 2001.
- Laynesmith, Joanne L. *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Le Gall, Jean-Marie. "Les pompes funèbres des souverains étrangers à Notre-Dame de Paris, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles." *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 59, no. 3 (2012): 96–123.
- Lehmann, Hartmut. "The Interplay of Disenchantment and Re-enchantment in Modern European History: or, the Origin and the Meaning of Max Weber's Phrase »Die Entzauberung der Welt«." In *Die Entzauberung der Welt: Studien zu Themen von Max Weber*. Bausteine zu einer Europäischen Religionsgeschichte im Zeitalter der Säkularisierung 11, 9–20. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009.
- Levin, Carole. "Queens and Claimants." In *Gender, Ideology, and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives*, edited by Janet Sharistianian, 41–66. New York: Greenwood, 1986.
- Levin, Carole. *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Llewellyn, Nigel. *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c. 1500 – c. 1800*. London: Reaktion, 1991.
- Llewellyn, Nigel. "The Royal Body: Monuments to the Dead, for the Living." edited by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn. *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540 –1660* (1990): 218–240.
- Loach, Jennifer. "The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII." *Past & Present* 142 (1994): 43–68.
- Loach, Jennifer, and Robert Tittler, eds. *The Mid-Tudor Polity, c. 1540 –1560*. Problems in Focus Series. London: Macmillan, 1980.

- Loades, David M. *Mary Tudor*. Stroud: Amberley, 2011.
- Loades, David M. *Mary Tudor: A Life*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Loades, David M. "The Reign of Mary Tudor: Historiography and Research." *Albion* 21, no. 4 (1989): 547–558.
- Loades, David M. *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England, 1553–1558*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Longman, 1991.
- Loades, David M. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*. Stroud: Amberley, 2009.
- Lyall, Roderick J. "The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service: Some Seventeenth-century Evidence." *Innes Review* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1977): 3–21.
- Lynch, Michael. *Edinburgh and the Reformation*. Edinburgh: Donald, 1981.
- Lynch, Michael. "The Great Hall in the Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI." In *Stirling Castle: The Restoration of the Great Hall*, edited by Richard Fawcett. CBA Research Report 130, 15–22. York: Council for British Archaeology, 2001.
- Lynch, Michael, ed. *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Lynch, Michael. "Queen Mary's Triumph: The Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566." *Scottish Historical Review* 69, no. 1 (1990): 1–21.
- Lynch, Michael. "The Reassertion of Princely Power in Scotland: The Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and King James VI." In *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450–1650*, edited by Martin Gosman, Alasdair A. MacDonald and Arie J. Vanderjagt. Vol. 1. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 118, 199–238. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- M'Kerlie, Emmeline M. *Mary of Guise-Lorraine, Queen of Scotland*. London: Sands, 1931.
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid. "Foxes, Firebrands, and Forgery: Robert Ware's Pollution of Reformation History." *The Historical Journal* 54, no. 2 (2011): 307–346.
- MacDonald, Alasdair A. "Mary Stewart's Entry into Edinburgh: An Ambiguous Triumph." *Innes Review* 42, no. 2 (1991): 101–110.
- MacDonald, Alan R. "The Triumph of Protestantism: The Burgh Council of Edinburgh and the Entry of Mary, Queen of Scots, 2 September 1561." *Innes Review* 48, no. 1 (1997): 73–82.
- Macdougall, Norman. *An Antidote to the English: The Auld Alliance, 1295–1560*. Scottish History Matters. East Linton: Tuckwell, 2001.
- Macdougall, Norman. *James III: A Political Study*. The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland 4. Edinburgh: Donald, 1982.
- Macdougall, Norman. *James IV*. The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland 5. Edinburgh: Donald, 1989.

- Mann, Alastair J. "House Rules: Parliamentary Procedure." In *The History of the Parliament of Scotland*, edited by Keith M. Brown and Alan R. MacDonald. Vol. 3: *Parliament in Context, 1235–1707*, 122–150. Edinburgh: EUP, 2010.
- Mann, Alastair J. "The Scottish Parliaments: The Role of Ritual and Procession in the Pre-1707 Parliament and the New Parliament of 1999." In *Rituals in Parliaments: Political, Anthropological, and Historical Perspectives on Europe and the United States*, edited by Emma Crewe and Marion G. Müller, 135–158. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006.
- Mann, Alastair J. "Symbolism and Ritual in Seventeenth-century Scottish Parliament." In *Parlamentos: a lei, a prática e as representações da Idade Média à Actualidade*, edited by Maria H. da Cruz Coelho and Maria M. Tavares Ribeiro, 479–485. Lisbon: Assembleia da República, 2011.
- Marshall, Peter. *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*. Oxford: OUP, 2004.
- Marshall, Rosalind K. *Mary of Guise*. London: Collins, 1977.
- Marshall, Rosalind K. *Mary of Guise: Queen of Scots*. Scots' Lives. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 2001.
- Marshall, Rosalind K. *Queen Mary's Women: Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary, Queen of Scots*. Edinburgh: Donald, 2006.
- Marshall, Rosalind K. *Scottish Queens, 1034–1714*. East Linton: Tuckwell, 2003.
- McClymond, Kathryn. *Ritual Gone Wrong: What We Learn from Ritual Disruption*. Oxford: OUP, 2016.
- McGladdery, Christine. *James II. The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland, 1371–1603*, 2. Edinburgh: Donald, 1990.
- McGowan, Margaret B. "Forms and Themes in Henri II's Entry in Rouen." *Renaissance Drama*, New Series, 1 (1968): 199–251.
- McGowan, Margaret B. "The Renaissance Triumph and its Classical Heritage." In *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance*, edited by James R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring, 26–48. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- McIntosh, Jeri L. *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516–1558*. Online ed. Gutenberg-E Series. Columbia University Press, 2008. <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/mcintosh> (accessed 16 April 2014).
- McLaren, Anne. "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism." *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 739–767.
- McLaren, Anne. "Memorializing Mary and Elizabeth." In *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, edited by Alice M. Hunt and Anna Whitelock, 11–27. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

- McManus, Clare. "Marriage and the Performance of the Romance Quest: Anne of Denmark and the Stirling Baptismal Celebrations for Prince Henry." In *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, edited by Luuk A. Houwen, Alasdair A. MacDonald and Sally Mapstone. Mediaevalia Groningana, 175–198. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.
- Meikle, Maureen M. "Anna of Denmark's Coronation and Entry into Edinburgh, 1590: Cultural, Religious and Diplomatic Perspectives." In *Sixteenth-century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, edited by Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald, 166. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 277–294. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Menin, Nicolas. *Traité historique et chronologique du sacre et couronnement des rois et reines de France*. Amsterdam: Jean van Septeren, 1724.
- Merriman, Marcus H. "Mary, Queen of France." In *Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms*, edited by Michael Lynch, 30–51. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Merriman, Marcus H. *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551*. East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000.
- Merriman, Marcus H. "Stewarts and Tudors in the Mid-sixteenth Century." In *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, edited by Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, 111–122. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Metcalf, Peter, and Richard Huntington. *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: CUP, 1991.
- Michaels, Axel, ed. *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*. 5 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.
- Mill, Anna J. *Mediæval Plays in Scotland*. St Andrews University Publications 24. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969.
- Monter, William. *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe, 1300–1800*. New Haven: YUP, 2012.
- Muir, Edward. *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: CUP, 2005.
- Mulryne, James R., Maria I. Aliverti, and Annamaria Testaverde Matteini, eds. *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*. European Festival Studies: 1450–1700. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015.
- Mulryne, James R., Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, Margaret Shewring, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight, eds. *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*. 2 vols. Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association 15. Aldershot: MHRA; Ashgate, 2004.
- Oakley-Brown, Liz and Louise J. Wilkinson, eds. *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2009.
- Parsons, John C., ed. *Medieval Queenship*. New York: St. Martin's, 1993.

- Paul, Joanne. "Sovereign Council or Counseled Sovereigns: The Marian Conciliar Compromise." In *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, edited by Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte. Queenship and Power, 135–153. [New York]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Phillips, James E. *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-century Literature*. Berkeley: California University Press, 1964.
- Polit, Karin. "Social Consequences of Ritual Failure: A Garhwali Case Study." In *When Rituals Go Wrong: Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*, edited by Ute Hüsken. Numen Book Series, Studies in the History of Religions 115, 199–208. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Pollard, Albert F. *The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI. to the Death of Elizabeth (1547–1603)*. Longmans, Green, 1910.
- Porter, Linda. *Mary Tudor: The First Queen*. London: Portrait, 2007.
- Potter, David. *A History of France, 1460–1560: The Emergence of a Nation State*. New Studies in Medieval History. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.
- Redworth, Glyn. "Matters Impertinent to Women: Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary." *English Historical Review* 112, no. 447 (June 1997): 597–613.
- Reid, John J. "The Scottish Regalia: Anciently Styled the Honours of Scotland." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 24 (1889–1890): 18–48.
- Richards, Judith M. "Examples and Admonitions: What Mary Demonstrated for Elizabeth." In *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, edited by Alice M. Hunt and Anna Whitelock, 31–46. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Richards, Judith M. *Mary Tudor*. Routledge Historical Biographies. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Richards, Judith M. "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'? Gendering Tudor Monarchy." *Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997): 895–924.
- Richards, Judith M. "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule': Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 1 (1997): 101–121.
- Ritchie, Pamela E. "Marie de Guise and the three Estates, 1554–1558." In *Parliament and Politics in Scotland: 1235–1560*, edited by Keith M. Brown and Roland J. Tanner. The History of the Scottish Parliament, 179–202. Edinburgh: EUP, 2004.
- Ritchie, Pamela E. *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560: A Political Career*. East Linton: Tuckwell, 2002.
- Rodriguez-Salgado, Maria J. "The Habsburg-Valois Wars." In *The New Cambridge Modern History*, edited by Geoffrey R. Elton. Vol. 2: *The Reformation, 1520–1559*, 377–400. Cambridge: CUP, 1990.

- Rohr, Zita Eva and Lisa Benz. *Queenship, Gender, and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060–1600*. Palgrave Macmillan/Springer, 2016.
- Ruble, Alphonse de. *La première jeunesse de Marie Stuart*. Paul, Huard & Guillemin, 1891.
- Samson, Alexander. "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July–August 1554." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 3 (2005): 761–784.
- Samson, Alexander. "A Fine Romance: Anglo–Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 1 (2009): 65–94.
- Samson, Alexander. "Power Sharing: The Co-Monarchy of Philip and Mary." In *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, edited by Alice M. Hunt and Anna Whitelock, 159–172. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010.
- Scalingi, Paula L. "The Scepter or the Distaff: The Question of Female Sovereignty, 1516–1607." *Historian* 41, no. 1 (1978): 59–75.
- Schieffelin, Edward L. "Introduction." In *When Rituals Go Wrong: Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*, edited by Ute Hüsken. Numen Book Series, Studies in the History of Religions 115, 1–20. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Schramm, Percy E. *A History of the English Coronation*. Translated by Leopold G. Legg. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937.
- Scott, John C. *A Bibliography of Works Relating to Mary, Queen of Scots, 1544–1700*. Edinburgh, 1896.
- Sharpe, Kevin M. *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-century England*. New Haven: YUP, 2009.
- Shaw, Dougal. "Scotland's Place in Britain's Coronation Tradition." *Court Historian* 9 (July 2004).
- Shephard, Amanda. *Gender and Authority in Sixteenth-century England: The Knox Debate*. Keele: Ryburn, 1994.
- Sherlock, Peter. *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Sherlock, Peter. "The Monuments of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart: King James and the Manipulation of Memory." *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 2 (2007): 263–289.
- Smuts, Robert M. "Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma: The English Royal Entry in London." In *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, edited by Lee Beier, David Cannadine and James M. Rosenheim, 65–93. Cambridge: CUP, 1989.

- Spangler, Jonathan. "Aulic Spaces Transplanted: The Design and Layout of a Franco-Burgundian Court in a Scottish Palace." *The Court Historian* 14, no. 1 (2009): 49–62.
- Staines, John D. *The Tragic Histories of Mary Queen of Scots, 1560–1690: Rhetoric, Passions and Political Literature*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Stevenson, David. *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark*. Edinburgh: Donald, 1997.
- Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara. *Rituale*. Historische Einführungen 16. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013.
- Streckfuss, Corinna. "'Spes Maxima Nostra': European Propaganda and the Spanish Match." In *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, edited by Alice M. Hunt and Anna Whitelock, 145–157. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Strickland, Agnes. *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain*. 8 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1850–1859.
- Strickland, Agnes. *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain*. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1850.
- Strickland, Agnes. *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain*. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1851.
- Strickland, Agnes. *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain*. Vol. 3. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1852.
- Strong, Roy C. *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984.
- Strong, Roy C. *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy*. London: HarperCollins, 2005.
- Strong, Roy C. *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973.
- Sutton, Anne F., and P. W. Hammond, eds. *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents*. Gloucester: Sutton, 1984.
- Tanner, Roland J. *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament: Politics and the Three Estates, 1424–1488*. Scottish Historical Review Monographs Series 12. East Linton: Tuckwell, 2001.
- Thomas, Andrea. "Crown Imperial: Coronation Ritual and Regalia in the Reign of James V." In *Sixteenth-century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, edited by Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 166, 43–68. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

- Thomas, Andrea. *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542*. Edinburgh: Donald, 2005.
- Timpe, Kevin, and Craig A. Boyd, eds. *Virtues and Their Vices*. Oxford: OUP, 2014.
- Urban, Sylvanus, ed. *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*. Vol. 51. London: Nichols, 1781.
- Van Heijnsbergen, Theo. "Advice to a Princess: The Literary Articulation of a Religious, Political and Cultural Programme for Mary, Queen of Scots, 1562." In *Sixteenth-century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, edited by Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 99–122. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Visentin, H  l  ne, and Nicolas Russell, eds. *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text*. Publications of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies Essays and Studies 11. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007.
- Visentin, H  l  ne, and Nicolas Russell. "The Multilayered Production of Meaning in Sixteenth-century French Ceremonial Entries." In *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text*, edited by H  l  ne Visentin and Nicolas Russell. Publications of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies Essays and Studies 11, 15–27. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007.
- Vovelle, Michel. *La mort et l'Occident, de 1300    nos jours*. Biblioth  que illustr  e des histoires. [Paris]: Gallimard, 1983.
- Walton, Kristen P. *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Politics of Gender and Religion*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Warnicke, Retha M. *Mary Queen of Scots*. Routledge Historical Biographies. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Warnicke, Retha M. "Queenship: Politics and Gender in Tudor England." *History Compass* 4, no. 2 (2006): 203–227.
- Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen, and Anne Simon. *Festivals and Ceremonies: A Bibliography of Works Relating to Court, Civic, and Religious Festivals in Europe, 1500–1800*. New York: Mansell, 2000.
- Watkins, Susan. *Mary Queen of Scots*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2001.
- Weber, Max. *Wissenschaft als Beruf 1917/1919; Politik als Beruf 1919*. Studies ed. Max-Weber-Gesamtausgabe I/17. T  bingen: Mohr, 1994.
- Whitaker, E. "The Sarum Rite." In *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, edited by Maxwell E. Johnson and Edward C. Whitaker. 3<sup>rd</sup>, rev. ed., 284–307. London: SPCK, 2003.
- Whitelock, Anna. *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen*. London: Bloomsbury, 2009.



- Whitelock, Anna. "'A queen, and by the same title, a king also': Mary I: Queen-in-Parliament." In *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, edited by Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte. Queenship and Power, 89–112. [New York]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Whitelock, Anna, and Diarmaid MacCulloch. "Princess Mary's Household and the Succession Crisis, July 1553." *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 2 (2007): 265–287.
- Wilkinson, Alexander S. *Mary, Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion, 1542–1600*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Williams, Patrick. *Philip II*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Wintroub, Michael. "L'ordre du rituel et l'ordre des choses. L'entrée royale d'Henri II à Rouen." *Annales* 56, no. 2 (2001): 479–505.
- Wizeman, William. "The Religious Policy of Mary I." In *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, edited by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, 153–170. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Woodacre, Elena. *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics, and Partnership, 1274–1512*. Queenship and Power. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Wooding, Lucy E. *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England*. Oxford Historical Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.
- Woodward, Jennifer. "Funeral Rituals in the French Renaissance." *Renaissance Studies* 9, no. 4 (1995): 385–394.
- Woodward, Jennifer. *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570–1625*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997.
- Wormald, Jenny. *Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure*. London: Philip, 1988.

## Unpublished Theses

- Beer, Michelle L. "Practices and Performances of Queenship: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503–1533." PhD diss., University of Illinois, 2014.
- Blakeway, Amy L. "Regency in Sixteenth-century Scotland." PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2010.
- Dean, Lucinda H. "Crowns, Wedding Rings, and Processions: Continuity and Change in the Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony, c. 1214 – c. 1603." PhD diss., University of Stirling, 2013.
- Juhala, Amy L. "The Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567–1603." PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000.
- Woodworth, Karen M. "Music and the Court of Mary Stewart, 1561–1567." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2011.

## Appendix

### Translations

#### T1 (Fn. 40)

"Here, ritual in the narrow sense of the term is defined as a human sequence of action, which is characterised by its outer form, repetition and its staged, formative and symbolic character and which generates a fundamental social hierarchy."

#### T2 (Fn. 62)

"By the grace of God queen of Scotland and dowager of France."

#### T3 (Fn. 145)

"the strongest castle in the kingdom."

#### T4 (Fn. 146)

"Must forcibly dwell there 10 days and the reason of it is, as they say, that owing to its outstanding importance, he will be proved with certainty to be the rightful successor to the Crown once master of the Tower."

#### T5 (Fn. 152)

"amid all imaginable joy of the people."

#### T6 (Fn. 238)

"An act of staged voluntariness"

#### T7 (Fn. 292)

"She was conveyed with great ceremony through the city to the palace just outside the city gates. The Governor, however, degraded, mixed himself among the multitude."

#### T8 (Fn. 303)

"The said Lady [was] invested with the regency [...] and admitted to the administration of and complete authority in this kingdom."

#### T9 (Fn. 304)

"she received the sword, sceptre and crown from d'Oysel, to whom the Earl of Hamilton had surrendered them in virtue of the powers he had received from the young queen."

**T10 (Fn. 306)**

"gave up the ensigns of his government to d'Oysel" who "delivered them up to the Queen Dowager."

**T11 (Fn. 339)**

"The queen, after the birth of our prince, desired to celebrate the solemnities of the baptism in a few days."

**T12 (Fn. 361)**

"The ages hurry onward to their good."

**T13 (Fn. 393)**

"God [...] will soon give you a beautiful son."

**T14 (Fn. 481)**

"a long mantle of silver cloth"

**T15 (Fn. 485)**

"bareheaded" and "in order."

**T16 (Fn. 617)**

"The arms of the two kingdoms, joined together and under the same crown."

**T17 (Fn. 620)**

"by these presents, of plain and free gift, done in case of death, to the King of France who is or will be, the kingdom of Scotland"

**T18 (Fn. 625)**

"white as a lily"

**T19 (Fn. 657)**

"herald and interpreter of the Gods"

**T20 (Fn. 671)**

"the ritual arrangement of the transition from life to death is without question an anthropological universal."

**T21 (Fn. 710)**

"The heart of a Hercules," "in this body of woman."

**T22 (Fn. 725)**

“partners in throne and grave, here lie we sisters Elizabeth and Mary, in hope of the resurrection.”

**T23 (Fn. 750)**

“wish and intentions of the king and queen as well as the dowager duchess of Guise, of our lords her children and other relatives regarding the burial of the deceased queen regent.”

**T24 (Fn. 751)**

“will execute all the required ceremonies, everything that the Law of God permits them to do and according to her station.”

**T25 (Fn. 754)**

“was interred in the middle of the choir of the church of the abbey of S. Pierre de Rheims, where one can find her tomb, on which lies a bronze effigy in royal robes, the sceptre in the one and the rod of justice in the other.”

**T26 (Fn. 772)**

“all the great houses of Christianity” and “blood Imperial, Royal and Ducal.”

**T27 (Fn. 774)**

“generosity, chastity and fertility.”

**T28 (Fn. 777)**

“Manly heart in a woman’s body.”

**T29 (Fn. 811)**

“Christian Princes, (that) in the past God called you to vengeance on this nation which polluted its temples, contaminated its altars and massacred its priests; since you have been negligent in avenging these injuries, he has joined your injuries with his own, he has permitted that you have all been violated in the person of that Queen, in order to rally you to a common cause in avenging her death.”

**T30 (Fn. 812)**

“was daughter, wife and mother of a King, where the other is but a daughter.”

**T31 (Fn. 813)**

“I request a complete service for my soul to be held in the church of Saint Denis in France, and another in Saint Pierre de Rheims” and “an annual requiem to pray for my soul in perpetuity.”

**T32 (Fn. 818)**

"I wish and decree that should I die in this prison my body is to taken to France & there at my expense conveyed by all the servants and office-holders of my household close to me at my decease in order to be interred in the church of S. Denis next to the body of my dear and distinguished lord and husband the King of France François."

**T33 (Fn. 819)**

"celebrate the divine service with vigils and mass as one is accustomed to do it."

**T34 (Fn. 820)**

"to have my body conveyed after my death, as I would wish, to your kingdom where I had the honour to be queen, your sister and old ally.