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LUCINDA H. S. DEAN

“richesse in fassone and in fairness”: Marriage, Manhood and Sartorial Splendour for Sixteenth-century Scottish Kings

ABSTRACT

Marriage was a prominent ‘life-stage’ ritual linked to achievement of the hegemonic manly state in the period: it was associated with self-control and was seen as a stabilising force against the ‘follies of youth’. James IV (1488–1513), James V (1513–1542) and James VI (1567–1625) came to the throne as minors and their weddings provided particularly potent opportunities for shaping their identity both at home and abroad. Clothing was a crucial element of the social dialogue performed by both men and women in late medieval and early modern Europe. Dress, of the royal person and of others, was a mode of display in which all three monarchs invested heavily at the moment of their weddings. By offering a comparative analysis of the investment in sartorial splendour and the use of dress and personal adornment through a gendered lens, this article demonstrates how clothing and adornments were used to make statements about both manhood and royal status by three sixteenth-century Stewart kings attempting to secure their place in the homosocial hierarchy.

[The prince] suld be abone all otheris of his subjectis bathe in richesse in fassone and in fairenesse, and suld ever have maist notable and fairest and richest and strangeast and best fassound anournementis, sa that he suld appere abone and before all otheris

in knowlage of dignitee, sa that throu the nobilitee of him, his ornamentis and estate
all his cowntre war the mare prisit, lovit lufit and honourit.¹

Gilbert Haye's mid-fifteenth-century *Buke of the Gouvernance of Princis* outlines the crucial role of the clothing and adornment of princes. Dress was not only a marker by which the prince or king was judged, but also one by which his country could be measured. The detailed account by John Young, Somerset herald, of the marriage between Margaret Tudor and James IV in 1503 shows the continuing importance of such display at the turn of the sixteenth century.² Sarah Carpenter stated that Young's vivid engagement with costumes and settings was far more than 'a naïve interest in the glamour of luxury and high fashion' and that clothing was an essential part of the performance of 'noblesse' that Young witnessed in the celebration of this political union.³ Throughout the later middle ages and early modern period, laws were enacted and amended in Scotland, and, indeed, across Europe, to mediate the manner by which different social ranks might use sartorial splendour, underscoring widespread concerns about access to, and display of, material luxuries.⁴ By default,

¹ *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript (A.D.1456)*, ed. J. H. Stevenson 2 vols, Scottish Text Soc. (Edinburgh, 1901–14), ii. 92.

² London, College of Arms [COA], MS 1st M.13 bis. ('The Marr. of Margarete da: to Hen: VII to the King of Scots'), fos 75–115v; John Young, 'The fyancells of Margaret, eldefth daughter of king of the king Henry VIIth to James king of Scotland', in *Johannis Lelandi antiquarii De rebus Brittannicis Collectanea*, ed. Thomas Hearne, 6 vols (London, 1774), iv. 258-300.

³ Sarah Carpenter, "'To the exaltacyon of noblesse": a herald's account of the marriage of Margaret Tudor and James IV', *Medieval English Theatre* 29 (2007) 104–20, at 108.

⁴ There is considerable literature on sumptuary laws, but some key examples for Scotland and beyond include J. Chisholm, 'The sumptuary law in Scotland', *Journal of Jurisprudence [and the Scottish Law Magazine]* 35 (1891) 290–7; F. J. Shaw, 'Sumptuary legislation in Scotland', *Juridical Review* 24 (1979) 81–115; Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passion: A history of*

such laws also enforced the complexities of homosocial hierarchical order. Clothing was one of several ways by which a man could assert his position within this hierarchy, whether as a king, knight, merchant or craftsman. It was a powerful tool, when used correctly, as it was an integral part of a wider social and political vocabulary.⁵ This article addresses the interplay between clothing and the assertion of personal, manly and kingly status and identity by pinpointing a particular moment in the journey to reaching the estate of manhood: royal marriage.

Marriage was a prominent ‘life-stage’ ritual linked to reaching the prime state of manhood. The hegemonic manly state in late medieval and early modern Europe was widely associated with age, stability and self-control, the owning of property, social status and worth, prowess in ‘manly’ activities, honour and virtue, marital status and progeny.⁶ Self-control could be demonstrated through the choice of one sexual partner and thus marriage offered a stabilising force against the follies of

sumptuary law (Basingstoke, 1996); Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (eds), *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary laws in a global perspective, c. 1200–1800* (Cambridge, 2019), 96–120. On the laws dictating Scottish parliamentary dress, see Maria Hayward, *Stuart Style: Monarchy, dress and the Scottish male elite* (New Haven and London, 2020), 254–6.

⁵ See, e.g., Kim Phillips, ‘Masculinities and the medieval English sumptuary laws’, *Gender & History* 19:1 (2007) 22–42; Gabriele Mentges, ‘Fashion, time and the consumption of a renaissance man in Germany: the costume book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496–1564’, *Gender & History* 14:3 (2002) 382–402; Elizabeth Curry, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence* (London, 2016).

⁶ For helpful summaries, see Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003), 21–3; Christopher Fletcher, ‘The whig interpretation of masculinity? Honour and sexuality in late medieval manhood’, in J. H. Arnold and Sean Brady (eds), *What is Masculinity? Historical dynamics from antiquity to the contemporary world* (Basingstoke, 2013), 57–75.

youth.⁷ Such an understanding was reflected in James VI's advice to his son, composed in the 1590s, in which he stated that marriage was 'ordained for staunching the luste in your youth: Especially a King must timeously Marie for the weall of his people'.⁸ Furthermore, he emphasised that, for a king, the stability of manhood was intrinsically connected to the well-being and stability of the realm. Marriage was a crucial step in securing legitimate heirs: kings were duty-bound to provide male progeny for a stable succession. In 1589 James VI compared his lack of wife and heir to a 'nakedness' that undermined his status as a man and made him weak in the eyes of others:

I doubt nocht it is manfastlie knawne to all how far I wes generalie found fault with be all men for the delaying sa lang of my marriage ... This my naikatnes maid me to be waik and inemyis stark; ane man wes as na man, and the want of hoip of successioun bread disdayne; yea, my lang delay bred in the breistis of mony a grite jealousie of my inhabilitie, as gif I wer a barrane stok ...⁹

Marriage was also an opportunity to demonstrate status and worth, which were central to identifying a place within the male hegemonic hierarchy and particularly important since the

⁷ Christopher Fletcher, 'Manhood, kingship and the public in late medieval England', *Edad Media Revista de Historia* 13 (2013) 123–42, at 128; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 93–125; B. B. Roberts, *Sex & Drugs Before Rock 'n' Roll: Youth culture and masculinity during Holland's golden age* (Amsterdam, 2012).

⁸ *The Basilicon Doron of King James VI*, ed. James Craigie, 2 vols, Scottish Text Soc. (Edinburgh and London, 1944), i. 126.

⁹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. J. H. Burton *et al.*, 14 vols (Edinburgh, 1877–98) [hereafter *RPC*], iv. 427. See also *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland*, ed. Joseph Bain, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1898–1952) [hereafter *CSPS*], x. no. 249.

status of the king reflected the status of the realm.¹⁰ For a king performing on a European stage this hierarchical structure extended beyond the reach of his kingdom, so international marriages became performative spaces in which the assertion and maintenance of a position engaged with two or more co-existing hierarchies. Marriage, therefore, presented a critical juncture in the pre-modern male life cycle in which clothing played a crucial role in the performance of masculinity.

The marriages in the spotlight here were all between Scottish kings and prominent foreign women: James IV married Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII of England, in 1503; James V married Madeleine of France, daughter of Francis I, in 1536–7 and then Marie de Guise-Lorraine, the widowed duchess of Longueville, in 1538; and James VI married Anna, daughter of Frederick II of Denmark, in 1589–90. These marriages have all received scholarly attention but they are rarely compared, and certain ritual components often steal the limelight as the foci for discussion, such as royal entries and associated staged performances and ephemeral structures, speeches, diplomatic precedence, religious preaching and sermonising.¹¹ Dress and décor were central to these wedding

¹⁰ Raewyn W. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity posits that there are a range of interdependent masculine identities in which the hegemonic is the dominant expression of manhood in a specific society or place: R. W. Connell and J. W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic masculinity: rethinking the concept', *Gender and Society* 19:6 (2005) 829–59. For examples relating to kingship specifically, see Fletcher, 'Manhood, kingship and the public', 123–42; K. J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013), 7, 34–5, and *passim*.

¹¹ Ian Campbell, 'James IV and Edinburgh's first triumphal arches', in Deborah Mays (ed.), *The Architecture of Scottish Cities: Essays in honour of David Walker* (East Linton, 1997), 26–33; David Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1997); Douglas Gray, 'The royal entry in sixteenth-century Scotland', in Sally Mapstone and Juliette Hood (eds), *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the culture of late medieval and renaissance Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), 10–32; M. M. Meikle, 'Anna of Denmark's coronation

displays and, unlike complex entry performances or speeches, the messages imparted by dress were particularly accessible to all who viewed them; however, dress rarely features at the centre of current discussions.¹² This is a particularly notable oversight considering that dress was paramount to contemporary observers such as Haye and Young, but also to kings. In extensive commentary on ‘rayments’ (clothing) in *Basilicon Doron*, James VI noted that God created clothing to cover human ‘nakedness and shame’, to make the body more becoming and to protect it from the elements.¹³ While these are ostensibly all relatively practical observations, James also emphasised the visual importance of dress in projecting a certain image and, overall, his statement elucidates a complex, layered meaning. ‘Nakedness’, for example, was used as a euphemism for having a lack of spouse and heir in 1589.¹⁴ Contemporary engagement with clothing speaks to the importance of being adequately ‘clothed’ in myriad ways to reach the estate of manhood. Despite an increasing volume of work exploring masculinity in the late medieval and early modern world, royal manhood remains

and entry into Edinburgh, 1590: cultural, religious and diplomatic perspectives’, in Julian Goodare and A. A. MacDonald (eds), *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, 2008), 277–94; L. H. S. Dean, ‘Enter the alien: foreign consorts and their royal entries into Scottish cities [sic], c. 1449–1590’, in Ronnie Mulryne and Anna Maria Testaverde with Ines Aliverti (eds), *The Iconography of Power: Ceremonial entries in early modern Europe* (Farnham, 2015), 267–95.

¹² Exceptions include Carpenter, “‘To the exaltation of noblesse’”, 104–120; M. L. Beer, “‘Translating’ a queen: material culture and the creation of Margaret Tudor as queen of Scots’, in Robin Netherton and G. R. Owen-Crocker, with M. L. Wright (eds), *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 10 (Woodbridge, 2014), 151–64.

¹³ *Basilicon Doron*, i. 172–3.

¹⁴ Hayward, *Stuart Style*, 42.

relatively underexplored, with most existing studies focusing only on England.¹⁵ Many questions remain about what it was to reach the ‘prime state of manhood’ in late medieval and early modern Scotland, particularly where this relates to the kingdom’s monarchs and their sartorial choices.¹⁶

¹⁵ Key works on medieval manhood and monarchy include W. M. Ormrod, ‘Monarchy, martyrdom and masculinity: England in the later middle ages’, in P. H. Cullum and K. J. Lewis (eds), *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2004), 174–91; Christopher Fletcher, ‘Manhood and politics in the reign of Richard II,’ *Past & Present* 189:1 (2005) 3–39; Cynthia Herrup, ‘The king’s two genders’, *Journal of British Studies*, 45:3 (2006) 493–510; Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, youth and politics, 1377–99* (Oxford, 2008); Fletcher, ‘Manhood, kingship and the public’, 123–42; Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*; Emma Levitt, ‘The Construction of High Status Masculinity through the Tournament and Martial Activity in the Later Middle Ages’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Huddersfield, 2016); Hélder Carvalhal, ‘Kingship and masculinity in renaissance Portugal (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries)’, in Elena Woodacre *et al.* (eds), *The Routledge History of Monarchy: New perspectives on rulers and rulership* (Abingdon, 2019), 300–13.

¹⁶ The Scottish historiography of pre-modern masculinity is still in relative infancy but works include Katie Barclay, Tanya Cheadle and Eleanor Gordon, ‘The state of Scottish history: gender’, *SHR* 92: Supplement (2013) 83–107, particularly at 86–9; Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth Ewan (eds), *Nine Centuries of Man: Manhood and masculinity in Scottish history* (Edinburgh, 2017), chapters by Sarah Dunnigan, Janay Nugent, Harriet Cornell, Cynthia Neville and Sergi Mainer looking at the pre-1600 period. Where full studies exist, most are late early modern: see Rosalind Carr, *Gender and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2014). However, there has been recent doctoral work forging new medieval paths in this direction: C. T. Holton, ‘Masculine Identity in Medieval Scotland: Gender, Ethnicity, and Regionality’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Guelph, 2017). Hayward’s recently published work on the seventeenth-century Stuart kings is an

Given the poor survival of material culture, a range of documentary sources can be used for each marriage to explore these interlinking questions about marriage, manhood and sartorial splendour.¹⁷ This article will analyse these materials in three ways: through an assessment of the investments in sartorial splendour at the time of marriage by the three men in question; through a comparison of the importance of their marital unions to their manly and kingly identities; and through comparative observations on how these monarchs utilised dress as a form of display in their extended marriage ceremonial. In so doing, it will emphasise the manifold issues upon which pre-modern masculine identity could hinge and reveal the extent to which contemporary views on the importance of royal dress were manifested.

A marriage into a prominent European house offered an opportunity to address the issue of a king's manly status and worth in a very public arena. Scotland was firmly integrated into the complexities of European dynastic politics but its kings had to secure and maintain their position within the monarchical hierarchy through marital alliances and associated performative display. Scotland was, however, at an economic disadvantage. Although James IV and James V gained substantial windfalls from dowry settlements, the Scottish coinage lost value through the sixteenth century and the crown was increasingly in debt as the century progressed.¹⁸ This encouraged an economy-of-scale in ceremony, so that the heaviest investments were, in the main, targeted at ritual

exception at present in considering male fashion and includes 'life cycle' case studies: Hayward, *Stuart Style*, particularly part one.

¹⁷ Surviving contemporary and near contemporary portraits of James V and James VI in particular are helpful in assessing dress but this article focuses on documentary evidence.

¹⁸ Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 2006), 146–69; Jamie Cameron, *James V: The personal rule*, ed. Norman Macdougall (East Linton, 1998), 255–85; Amy Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2015), 89–126; Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), 102–32; Julian Goodare, 'James VI's English subsidy', in Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (eds), *The Reign of James VI* (Edinburgh, 2008), 110–26.

displays such as royal weddings that would be visible to the widest audiences from both within and beyond the realm.¹⁹ Indeed, so important were the performances of royal marriage in the sixteenth century that both James IV and James V spent the equivalent of well over half of their dowry income on the displays designed to celebrate their marriages.²⁰

Clothing and other textile-based adornments were a major item of expenditure for each king on the occasion of marriage.²¹ In 1503, for example, there were some truly outrageous wardrobe expenses, such as over £1,400 spent on just two of the king's fur-lined gold gowns: one made of 'twenty-two elnes claith of gold, linit with buge' totalling £657 3s. 3d. and the second with a similar quantity of cloth of gold, a 'mantill of mertrikis' and lining of the same, costing over £785.²² To put this into perspective, while building up his navy James IV purchased ships costing between £100 and

¹⁹ On the economy-of-scale in ceremony, see L. H. S. Dean, 'Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions: Continuity and Change in the Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony, c. 1214–c. 1603', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Stirling, 2013); L. H. S. Dean, *Death and the Royal Succession in Scotland, c. 1214–c. 1543: Ritual, ceremony and power* (forthcoming).

²⁰ Calculations of costs associated with these weddings indicate that over £18,500 was spent on material goods and provisions which can be explicitly associated with the wedding of James IV and Margaret Tudor, when James received a dowry of £35,000. Meanwhile James V spent between 57,977 francs and 65,750 francs on his display in France and acquisitions of material goods (not including preparatory expenses in Scotland) compared to a dowry of approximately 100,000 francs. See Dean, *Death and the Royal Succession*, ch. 5, app. iii and iv.

²¹ For further detail on the cost of James IV's wedding, see Dean, *Death and the Royal Succession*, app. iii.

²² Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland [NRS], E21/6 (Exchequer records: accounts of the treasurer), fos 19r–v; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Dickson and J. B. Paul, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1877–1916) [TA], ii. 208.

£1,085, while the larger 600–700-ton *Margaret* cost approximately £8,000.²³ Meanwhile, the Parisian marriage of 1537 has been described as an event ‘fortuitously’ paid for by the French king but this overlooks the young king’s agency in projecting his image and status.²⁴ James V’s expenditure on material goods, particularly personal attire, was vast. It included 1,620 francs (approximately £850) spent on two hundred marten furs in mid-December 1536, ahead of the wedding ceremony.²⁵ Over 3,000 crowns were spent on cloth of gold of various colours and nearly two hundred metres (212 ells) of red and black velvet were purchased for in excess of 2,800 francs.²⁶ In both cases it seems that little expense was spared in the materials to be used for the king’s wedding clothes, making sure that he was ‘above all others’ in the richness of his apparel. These were potent demonstrations not just of status and wealth, but of manly identity too.

For James VI money was a perpetual concern and one that made him reliant upon the charity of others. Of £21,753 6s. 8d. received as an English subsidy in 1589, over £15,000 was spent on the king’s wedding and diplomacy relating to it.²⁷ This was in addition to silver plate worth £2,000 sterling (about nine times as much in Scottish money) that Elizabeth had sent for James VI’s use at

²³ The ‘Margaret’ was the first large ship that James had built for his own fleet; it required a specially built dock at Leith. See *TA*, iii. pp. lviii–lxx; Macdougall, *James IV*, 221–46, at 233–4.

²⁴ Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The court of James V, 1528-1542* (Edinburgh, 2005), 183.

²⁵ NRS, E21/35, fo. 7v; *TA*, vi. 459. Note: exchange rate of 1 franc to 9s. to 10s. 6d. in Scots money is identified in the *TA* and is used by J. M. Gilbert, ‘The usual money of Scotland and exchange rates against foreign coin’, in D. M. Metcalf (ed.), *Coinage in Medieval Scotland (1100–1600): The second Oxford symposium on coinage and monetary history* (Oxford, 1977), 131–53, at 144.

²⁶ NRS, E30/5 (Accounts by Cardinal Beaton of James V’s expenses in France and of the receipt and expenditure of the dowries of Queens Magdalene and Mary of Guise-Lorraine), fos 7r–v; *TA*, vii. 3–4.

²⁷ London, British Library [BL], Add MS 22958 (Audit of the accounts of Sir John [Maitland] of Thirlestane), fos 5r–v; Goodare, ‘James VI’s English subsidy’, 110–25, at 117.

the time of his marriage.²⁸ Unfortunately, the incomplete financial accounts make it impossible to determine the extent of James's reliance on the English subsidy to finance the wedding. However, a significant part of the £15,000 was spent on clothing, including £5,000 'in p[ar]t paim[e]n[t] of his hienes claith[is]' made to Sir William Keith, master of the king's wardrobe.²⁹ Despite financial concerns, attire was high on the king's agenda. No itemised account of these purchases is extant but some indications about James's clothing survive in other records. Wardrobe accounts from the 1590s offer important insights into the expenditure, provision and extraordinarily decorative qualities of clothing for both the king and queen.³⁰ In May 1590, the month of their return to Scotland and the start of related festivities, new clothes were purchased and fashioned for the king. His clothing was embellished with rich silk linings, embroidered with gold and silver decoration and adorned with gold and silver buttons, gold lace and passements of gold. The cost of the decoration alone for a cloak, doublet and hose was over £250.³¹ James VI appears to have been particularly concerned that, as king, he 'suld ever have maist notable and fairest and richest and strangeast and best fassound anournementis' at the time of his wedding.³² Indeed, with rumours flying thick and fast about his financial difficulties, he was arguably under even more pressure to present himself in a manner that, by contrast, emphasised his status and worth.³³

²⁸ 'Plate delivered to the ambassador of Scotland, September 1589', *CSPS*, x. no. 226.

²⁹ BL, Add MS 22958, fo 5v.

³⁰ See e.g. NRS, E35/13 (Wardrobe Inventories, Accounts and Papers, 1590–1600). Jemma Field used this account and other records of Anna's consortship in Scotland to explore the importance of queenly sartorial splendour: Jemma Field, 'Dressing a queen: the wardrobe of Anna of Denmark at the Scottish court of King James VI, 1590–1603', *The Court Historian* 24:2 (2019) 152–67, at 153–5.

³¹ NRS, E35/13, fo 3r.

³² *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript*, ii. 92.

³³ See n. 55 below, for examples of the rumours in correspondence.

In addition to the king's personal clothing, when court and kingdom were on display it was essential that members of the court reflected the magnificence of the realm. Sixteenth-century Danish sumptuary laws sought to emphasise the splendour of the royal court and its nobility, with specific decorative clothing only permitted for nobles in attendance at court. The Danish king sent out specific orders regarding how nobles should dress for royal ceremonial or state visits.³⁴ Similarly, in Scotland messages dispatched as early as September 1502 demanded that guests dress in their finest apparel for the royal wedding of the following year.³⁵ Provisions of clothing made by the crown constituted an even more specific indicator of the king's manly status and worth and were common for occasions when audiences were large and included foreign representatives. James IV spent around £1,736 on clothing for guests and officers in 1503, including new liveries for henchmen of blue velvet parti-coloured with cloth of gold. In 1589–90 James VI spent nearly £2,950 on clothing for attendees including royal officials, musicians and valets, and £2,302 was spent on eight sumptuously-decorated velvet saddles for Anna and her ladies.³⁶ The trumpeters, drummers and

³⁴ Leon Jespersen, 'Court and nobility in early modern Denmark', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 27 (2002) 129–42, esp. 132–3.

³⁵ *TA*, ii. 341.

³⁶ In 1503 costs ranged from under £2 for the doublet of Alexander Gordon to nobles, foreign guests and knights receiving clothing worth between £32 and £162: NRS, E21/6, fos 78r–83r; *TA*, ii. 306–4. The costs for the henchmen and heralds, see NRS, E21/6, fos 80r–v, 132v; *TA*, ii. 309, 395. In 1590 many received between £100 and £200 each, the velvet alone for the queen's saddles cost over £1,000, and large quantities of gold, silver and black silk and satin passements were purchased to decorate them: NRS, E21/67, fos 165r–v, 202v–203v; *Papers relative to the marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland, with the Princess Anne of Denmark ...*, ed. J. T. Gibson Craig (Edinburgh, 1828), app. ii, 16–17. The king's trumpeter who travelled to Scandinavia also received clothing with his fee and new trumpet: BL, Add MS 22958 (Audit of the accounts of Sir John [Maitland] of Thirlestane), fos 6r–7v.

‘quhislaris’ (whistlers or pipe players) who travelled to France to collect Marie de Guise in 1538 received new livery of yellow and red satin, while an entourage of nine pages, four lackeys, three mule drivers, four armourers and five trumpeters were decked in new red and yellow livery for her arrival, with the trumpeters adorned with fringed Spanish cloaks and ostrich feathers, which were still a rarity in early modern Scotland.³⁷ Symbols, colours and cloth types amplified the royal authority vested in these individuals as representatives of the king and visible extensions of his power. Moreover, gifts of clothing were demonstrative of the status, worth and honour of a king who could give generously, particularly to those who were reliant upon him such as servants and household officials.

For each of the kings discussed here, financial investment in sartorial splendour indicated the critical role of clothing in the performative aspects of the marriage ceremony. There is, of course, far more to understanding the use of dress and textiles than the simple cost of attire thus far discussed. Clothing offered early modern people a nuanced method of communicating with the world—a ‘body script’, as Cristian Berco has coined it—that was layered with complex meaning in an era of conspicuous consumption that attracted criticism and praise in equal measure.³⁸ Before, however, considering the details of clothing beyond mere cost, it is essential to explore the comparative context for each king, in order to identify his trajectory on the ascent to manhood and his relationships with key contemporary powers, and to better understand why such investments were a necessity, even if the crown struggled to afford them.

³⁷ NRS, E21/34, fos 30r–35v; *TA*, vi. 399–405. For more on the importance of the king’s trumpeters, see Hayward, *Stuart Style*, 258–90.

³⁸ Cristian Berco, ‘Textiles as social text: syphilis, material culture and gender in the golden age of Spain’, *Journal of Social History* 44:3 (2011) 785–810, at 786; Kathleen Llewellyn, ‘A fantastic frenzy of consumption in early modern France’, *Renaissance and Reformation/ Renaissance et Réforme* 38:3 (2015) 119–39.

Katherine J. Lewis has suggested that ‘[t]here was an essential dynamic between kingship and manhood’, and ideally a king should demonstrate his manly qualities prior to taking the throne.³⁹ In reality, this was often impossible. All three men considered here came to the throne as minors and so ‘came of age’ once they were already kings.⁴⁰ Each ruled in his own right while significantly under the prime age of man—which contemporaries considered could begin as late as thirty years old—and all faced criticism of youthful instability.⁴¹ Since each king was too young to oversee his own coronation (or earlier life ceremonies), the importance of marriage and the crowning of a consort was inflated.⁴² Marriage offered a potent opportunity to demonstrate the king’s ascent to manhood, his control of the occasion, and the prospect of stability and progeny.

³⁹ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 143.

⁴⁰ James IV, who came to the throne aged fifteen, largely ruled in his own right from 1495. James V, crowned when under eighteen months, took power aged sixteen, in 1528. James VI was crowned at a little over one year old and took increasing control of his kingdom from 1583, when aged seventeen.

⁴¹ On the ages of man, see Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, fig. 3, 55; *Ratis Raving and Other Moral and Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*, ed. J. R. Lumby (London, 1890), 57–76, at 65, lines 1412–17. For comment on the corruption of all three during their youth, see *Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. P. H. Brown (Edinburgh, 1891), 41; ‘The dreame’ and ‘The complaynt of schir David Lindesay’, in *Sir David Lyndsay: Selected poems*, ed. J. H. Williams (Glasgow, 2000); L. H. S. Dean, ‘Reaching the estate of manhood: a case study of James V of Scotland’ (forthcoming); *The Diary of Mr James Melvill, 1556–1601* (Edinburgh, 1829), 85–6.

⁴² For more on the coronations and marriage ceremonies of these kings, see Michael Lynch, ‘Scotland’s first protestant coronation: revolutionaries, sovereignty and the culture of nostalgia’, in L. A. J. R. Houwen (ed.), *Literature and Religion in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Leuven, 2012), 177–207; Dean, ‘Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions’, 173–208, 266–90, 305–16; Dean, ‘Crowning the child: representing authority in the inaugurations and coronations of minors

Shortly after taking the reins of power in 1495, James IV squared up to his southern neighbour, Henry VII, by supporting a pretender to the English throne, Perkin Warbeck, in 1496–7.⁴³ Compared to the Stewart dynasty, which had reigned in Scotland since 1371, the Tudor dynasty was in its infancy as Henry VII had only taken power in 1485.⁴⁴ In the hegemonic European monarchical hierarchy, James’s dynasty had longevity that the Tudor dynasty did not. Nonetheless, on a personal level James had not yet asserted his own manhood. He was only in his early twenties, with mistress/es but no wife or legitimate children, and no proven record on the battlefield except in the skirmish that had led to his father’s death.⁴⁵ Henry, by contrast, was a proven warrior, in his prime at the age of forty and the father of two young male heirs and a daughter.⁴⁶ By 1502–3, James was in a more secure position—having crossed the significant age boundary of thirty that year—as he took Henry’s daughter as his bride and concluded a peace treaty with his father-in-law. Without a legitimate heir, however, there was still significant need to assert his personal manhood in order to

in Scotland, c. 1214 to c. 1567’, in Elena Woodacre and Sean McGlyn (eds), *The Image and Perception of Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Newcastle, 2014), 254–80.

⁴³ Macdougall, *James IV*, 116–34; Sean Cunningham, ‘Henry VII’s Scottish campaigns’, in Andy King and David Simpkin (eds), *England and Scotland at War, c.1296–c.1513* (Leiden, 2012), 297–328.

⁴⁴ For an extensive analysis of relations between Henry VII and James IV, see Katie Stevenson, ‘Chivalry, British sovereignty and dynastic politics: undercurrents of antagonism in Tudor-Stewart relations, c. 1490–c. 1513’, *Historical Research* 86 (2013) 601–18.

⁴⁵ Macdougall, *James IV*, 24–48, 98, 113–14, 180; I. C. M. Barnes, *Janet Kennedy, Royal Mistress: Marriage and divorce at the courts of James IV and V* (Edinburgh, 2007), esp. 17–32; Susan Marshall, ‘Illegitimacy in Medieval Scotland, 1165–1500’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Aberdeen, 2013), particularly at app. a, 278.

⁴⁶ S. J. Gunn, ‘Henry VII (1457–1509)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2008 [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12954>; date accessed 16 Apr. 2020]).

compete with Henry and to emphasise his dynasty's rightful hierarchical position. Clothing was a vital tool in this dialogue, offering expressions of both union and competition. For example, at their wedding in Holyrood abbey, James IV and Margaret Tudor were both dressed in gowns of white damask fashioned with gold, lined with sarcenet and bordered with velvet. This clothing was reused in symbolic gift giving, James's offered to an English herald and Margaret's to a Scottish herald.⁴⁷ The use of clothing in such performative ways was designed to emphasise visually the public joining of the two kingdoms, but gift giving was also a vital tool in the on-going competition between Henry and James as they sought to determine their place on the homosocial hierarchy. This had been witnessed from the moment that the treaty was agreed: the earl of Bothwell, who acted as James's proxy in the rituals in England in 1502, gifted his cloak of gold to the English in response to gifts he had received in the Tudor court.⁴⁸ Textiles and material culture played a vital role in the on-going renegotiation of status.

James V and James VI both travelled beyond their own realm to collect their brides and thus appeared on the European stage in a manner that was unusual for Stewart monarchs. So, while James IV performed to an audience including English elites—the occasion recorded by Young for English consumption—his son and great-grandson performed substantial elements of the kingly manhood and magnificence required for their marriages at the natal courts of their spouses. In both cases, it has been argued, these journeys were about demonstrating the level of domestic stability by showing that the realm could function for an extended period of royal absence: nine months in the case of James V

⁴⁷ COA, MS 1st M.13 bis., fo 107r-v; Young, 'The fyancells of Margaret', 292-4; *TA*, ii. 209; Carpenter, "'To the exaltation of noblesse'", 109-10.

⁴⁸ Young, 'The fyancells of Margaret', 263-4. For more on the competition between Henry VII and James IV in fashion and display, see Beer, "'Translating" a queen', 151-64; L. H. S. Dean, 'Keeping your friends close, but your enemies closer? The Anglo-Franco-Scottish marital triangle, c. 1200 to c. 1625,' in Marie-Claude Canova-Green and Sara Wolfson (eds), *Celebrations for the Wedding of Charles and Henrietta Maria* (Turnhout, 2020), 41-62, at 47-8.

and eight months for James VI.⁴⁹ Both kings were in their early twenties when they married and, as such, they were over the legally significant age of twenty-one to twenty-two when Scottish men could claim their inheritance. Indeed, James V passed his act of revocation, one of the last vestiges of minority for a king of Scots, while he was in France in 1537.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, both kings were significantly younger than ‘the prime age’ of manhood and they were still considered young and inexperienced by contemporaries. Asserting their position in the masculine hierarchy within their own realms and beyond still presented challenges.

When he travelled to France in 1536, James V was young by the standards of contemporary monarchs. His forty-two-year-old father-in-law, Francis I, was comfortably in the prime of life and father to several living, legitimate offspring.⁵¹ James had much to prove both at home and abroad, and he actively sought renown in prominent manly activities, such as jousting.⁵² Another reason proposed for his journey to France was to counteract rumours of youthful folly concerning a possible

⁴⁹ Jamie Cameron, *James V*, 131–60; C. A. Fry, ‘Diplomacy and Deception: King James VI of Scotland’s Foreign Relations with Europe (c. 1584–1603)’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of St Andrews, 2014), 67. Other reasons for James V’s journey, including his desire to seek renown through activities like jousting, are discussed in Dean, ‘Reaching the estate of manhood’ (forthcoming).

⁵⁰ Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, 85. In Scotland acts of revocation had to be passed before the king reached twenty-five years of age.

⁵¹ Despite the death of his son, Francis, in 1536 Francis I still had two living sons and two living daughters. Among other monarchs of the era, Emperor Charles V was thirty-six and had a son and two daughters living, and Henry VIII of England, James’s uncle, was forty-five with two living daughters, although both had been declared illegitimate by 1536 because of Henry’s complex marital situation. For an interesting comparative study of these three kings, see Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy: The reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V* (London, 2002).

⁵² Dean, ‘Reaching the estate of manhood’.

marriage to one of his mistresses.⁵³ James VI, who had no mistresses and was significantly older than his Danish counterpart, contended with different challenges.⁵⁴ Contemporary diplomatic correspondence between England and Scotland in 1589 is littered with references to James's financial difficulties and need of English financial support.⁵⁵ Financial reliance on Elizabeth I was a challenge to his manhood, as he should have been able to provide for those who depended upon him; however, the dialogues around his relationship with Elizabeth cast his manly identity more crudely and conspicuously in jeopardy. In 1587 David Moysie noted that the king, at twenty-one years old, was 'now come to his perfyte aidge' and sought to stabilise his realm, which included finding a bride, and he was successful in securing taxes for this purpose from parliament.⁵⁶ Yet, as late as 1589—when James travelled to Denmark—commentators, particularly English agents and ambassadors, discussed James's relationship with Elizabeth in terms of a pliant, obedient child and a dominant mother figure.⁵⁷ James VI's lack of a female mistress and affectionate—potentially

⁵³ Cameron, *James V*, 151, 160 (n. 253), 177, 188 (n. 176). On refusal of permission to divorce from the pope, see *The Letters of James V*, ed. R. K. Hannay and Denys Hay (Edinburgh, 1954), 320. The potential marriage to Margaret Erskine was also commented on by Penven once James was in France: *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. James Gairdner, 22 vols (London, 1862–1932) [hereafter *LPHVIII*], xi. no. 916.

⁵⁴ Christian IV of Denmark-Norway was only a twelve-year-old prince-elect and the country was under the rule of a regency council: P. D. Lockhart, *Denmark 1513-1660: The rise and decline of a renaissance monarchy* (Oxford, 2007), 42–4, 55–6, 127–30.

⁵⁵ E.g. *CSPS*, x. nos 19, 123, 156, 161, 169, 175, 179, 181, 186, 199, 201, 226.

⁵⁶ David Moysie, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, from early manuscripts*, ed. James Dennistoun (Edinburgh, 1830), 64; *Records of the Parliament of Scotland [RPS]* (www.rps.ac.uk; this and all subsequent *RPS* references accessed 22 Jun. 2020), A1588/4/2; A1588/4/4.

⁵⁷ Thomas Fowler, an English agent, stated that James was 'lothe to offend hir as any the most obediente childe cane be to the mother' and William Asheby suggests that '[n]ow is the time for her

homoerotic or even sexual—relations with male favourites, such as Ésmé Stuart in the early 1580s, were also well known in courtly and ambassadorial circles, and James was keenly aware of the impact of his ‘delaying sa lang of my marriage’.⁵⁸ Young men were ‘seen to hang in the balance between women and adult men’, so James’s relationship with Elizabeth, his overt public shows of affection towards men, and the criticisms of his youth and ‘mild nature’, blurred gender boundaries.⁵⁹ Marriage, while underpinned by a financial reliance upon Elizabeth, offered James an opportunity to proclaim his manly identity through the display of a female sexual partner who offered the prospect of a secure progeny: something that Elizabeth I did not have and James was keen to prove he could provide.

The use of material culture within the ritual of marriage was central to the efforts made by kings to emphasise their status and manly identity.⁶⁰ Indeed, Simon Yarrow suggested that

majesty to continue her motherly care towards this young prince ... [s]he will find him most grateful and pliant’: *CSPS*, x. nos 19, 56.

⁵⁸ James VI’s sexuality is hotly debated and too large a subject to engage with fully here, especially because it is particularly associated with his reign in England. His early affectionate outbursts—whether evidence of homosexuality or not—did, however, have an impact on views of James VI and the ‘follies’ of youth. For further discussion, see M. B. Young, ‘James VI and I: time for reconsideration?’ *Journal of British Studies*, 51:3 (2012) 540–67, at 543; M. B. Young, *James VI and I and the History of Homosexuality* (Basingstoke and London, 2000). For James’s comments on marriage, see *RPC*, iv. 427; *CSPS*, x. no. 249.

⁵⁹ Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, 6. Fletcher, ‘Manhood, kingship and the public’, 128 makes a similar comparison. Criticisms of James VI’s youthful and mild manner are rife in the *Calendars of State Papers* for the 1580s, including the example from which the ‘mild nature’ quote was taken: *CSPS*, x. no. 15.

⁶⁰ Phillips, ‘Masculinities’, 22–42; Mentges, ‘Fashion, time and the consumption of a renaissance man in Germany’, 382–402; Curry, *Fashion*.

hegemonic masculinity was ‘the mobilisation of material and bodily display in social practices designed to rehearse the relations of power.’⁶¹ James VI’s discourse on clothing in *Basilicon Doron* explored the contemporary appreciation for the ways in which clothing functioned to illustrate a man’s position within the homosocial hierarchy:

... be moderate in youre raiment nather ouer superflouse lyke a deboshed uaistore, nor ouer base lyke a miserabill pedder, not artificiallie trimmed and dekkid lyke a courtizane, not yet ouer sluggishelie cledd lyke a cuntree cloune, not ouer lichtlie lyke a candie soldat or a uaine young courteoure, nor yet ouer graulie lyke a minister, bot in youre garmentis be proper, cleinle, cumlie, & honest uearing youre claitthis in a cairles yet cumlie forme, keiping in thaim a middle forme inter togatos & palliatos, betuixt the grautie of the ane & lichtnes of the other, theirby to signifie that by youre/ calling ye are mixed of baith professions, togatus as a iuge making & pronouncing the law, palliatus be the pouaire of the suorde...⁶²

His comments speak of balance: a prince or king should neither be too ‘superfluously’ nor too ‘gravely’ attired, but strike a middle way between excesses and reflect the princely male roles of lawmaker and warrior. James VI’s reflections on ‘rayments’ that were ‘artificially trimmed and decked’ as those of a courtesan or ‘over lightly (frivolously or wantonly)’ as those of a ‘vain young courtier’ reflect the problematic nature of clothing. It could undermine manly, and thus princely, status by blurring gender boundaries and it could impact upon the moral virtues of the individual.⁶³ Concerns about excessive fashion did not emerge from protestant sensibilities alone; rather, these

⁶¹ Simon Yarrow, ‘Masculinity as a world category of analysis’, in Arnold and Brady (eds), *What is Masculinity?*, 114–38, at 116.

⁶² *Basilicon Doron*, i, 170–3; quote from MS Royal. B. XV version.

⁶³ *ibid.*

were pan-European points of contention that appear across different religious denominations. Excess in fashion was potentially damaging to young men in catholic France and Italy, too, because of its associations with effeminacy and immorality, as even a king such as Henry III of France and his favourites discovered.⁶⁴

Despite the complexities associated with excess, even the contemporary Calvinist minister John Knox recognised that there was no ‘uncleanliness’ in ‘claith, silkis, velveit, gold’; rather, the correct use of these materials by the right type of people was important.⁶⁵ For a king who sought to impress not only his subjects but also foreign courts, correctly managing ostentation in apparel was critical. The sixteenth-century kings examined here used textiles and adornments, for themselves and others, in their extended marriage ceremonies as an expression of manly and kingly identity and status. The use of the finest fabrics—including the prominence of cloth of gold and sewing silks of silver and gold—demonstrated the king’s position at the top of the homosocial hierarchy within his own realm and positioned him on a comparative level with fellow monarchs. Scottish legislation restricted use of certain clothing materials—particularly fine fabrics purchased abroad—to only the highest in society. In 1581 the government of James VI legislated against others ‘presuming to copy his highness and his nobility in the use and wearing of costly clothing of silk ... linen, cambric, fringing and trimmings of gold, silver and silk’.⁶⁶ Cloths of gold and silver were not, however, officially restricted to the king and his family until later in James’s reign (1621) even though the first

⁶⁴ Pascal Bastien, “‘Aux tresors dissipez l’on cognoist le malfaict’: hiérarchie sociale et transgression des ordonnances somptuaires en France, 1543–1606’, *Renaissance and Reformation/ Renaissance et Réforme* 23:4 (1999) 23–43, at 31; Currie, *Fashion*, esp. 109–27.

⁶⁵ *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1895), iv. 227.

⁶⁶ *RPS*, 1581/10/37; Shaw, ‘Sumptuary legislation’, 81–115, at 83–4.

half of the sixteenth century saw decrees of this sort imposed in both France and England.⁶⁷ There was, then, potential for certain fabrics to have a more marked impact than in Scotland.

Maria Hayward, when comparing English and Scottish sumptuary laws, recently argued that the difference in their detail regarding cloth types reflected the ‘less closely defined social hierarchy’ in Scotland.⁶⁸ The rigidity of the English social order may not have been replicated in Scotland’s written laws—and Hayward is not the first to identify differences in the societal structures of Scotland and England, the former often seen as a far more open and its king more accessible.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, of all the guests for whom clothes were purchased for the wedding of 1503, only members of the royal family, royal officials and foreign guests were provided with items of gold decorated fabric. For example, Lord Hamilton—the king’s first cousin, created first earl of Hamilton during the ceremonial—was gifted a white damask gown ‘flourit’ with gold, costing £76 and similar to the white and gold wedding attire made for the king and queen.⁷⁰ Later in the sixteenth century

⁶⁷ *RPS*, 1621/6/37; Beer, “‘Translating’ a queen”, 151; Bastien, ‘Aux tresors dissipez l’ on cognoist le malfaict’, 25–6.

⁶⁸ Maria Hayward, “‘Outlandish superfluties’: luxury and clothing in Scottish and English sumptuary law from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century’, in Riello and Rublack (eds), *Right to Dress*, 96–120, at 105, 119.

⁶⁹ There is an increasing body of scholarship that identifies the differences between the relationships between king, court, nobles and others in Scotland and England. For a clear summation, see John Harrison, *Rebirth of A Palace: The royal court at Stirling Castle* (Edinburgh, 2011), 22.

⁷⁰ Hamilton’s outfit: *NRS*, E21/6, fo. 78r; *TA*, ii. 306. King and queen’s wedding clothes: *NRS*, E21/6, fos 20r-v; *TA*, ii. 209; *COA*, MS 1st M.13 bis., fos 104v-107v; Young, ‘The fyancells of Margaret’, 291-4; Carpenter, “‘To thexaltacyon of noblesse’”, 108-10. The other individual given a gold waistcoat and purple velvet gown was Jan or Jean Cowpanis (also Chapperon or Chaperon in French), who was likely in the service of Charles of Guelders and may have been present as the

too, during the regency of James Hamilton, earl of Arran (1543–53), cloth of this sort seems to have been reserved for the extended royal family. Cloth of gold or silver was purchased only for the regent's eldest daughter, Barbara—a prominent member of the household of the widowed queen, Marie de Guise—on the occasion of her marriage.⁷¹ It appears, then, that, although not stipulated in legislation, in practice cloth of gold and gold decoration was largely reserved for those of royal status or connection. Accessible a Scottish king may have been, but there were occasions when the marking out of his status above the rest was still critical to his identity as both a man and a king.

For James V and James VI, attire was an on-going concern while they travelled abroad. The message communicated by certain cloth types and decoration was important, and perhaps particularly so on foreign journeys while the king was taken beyond the usual domestic performative spaces. It is, however, clear that, while James V spent large sums on textiles for decorating transient spaces on his trip to France, neither he nor James VI carried the regalia, the ultimate symbol of royal status, abroad.⁷² While James IV, very conspicuously, did not wear the crown at his wedding in 1503, other symbolic items of the regalia were actively harnessed in the display at Holyrood abbey and the

representative a foreign prince: NRS, E21/6, fo. 78r; *TA*, ii. 306; J. P. Ward, 'James IV, continental diplomacy and the Guelders' war', *SHR* 83:1 (2004) 70–81.

⁷¹ M. S. Bond, *Dressing the Scottish Court, 1543–1553: Clothing in the accounts of the lord high treasurer of Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2019), 129–30, 415–43.

⁷² For textile-based furnishings, such as a fine velvet state bed and tapestries, see *e.g.* NRS, E30/5, fos 17v, 18v, 26v, 32r–33v, 36v; *TA*, vii. 17–18, 28, 34–6, 39, 43. There are no references in these sources to the carriage of regalia items, but an array of dazzling headwear, such as bejewelled caps, are frequently recorded: see NRS, E30/5, fos 10v, 16r, 19v, 31v, 44r; *TA*, vii. 7, 14, 19, 33, 49. In the Danish account, the only references to James VI's headwear relate to hats, particularly when they were removed respectfully; there is no mention of regalia: 'The Danish account of the marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark', trans. Peter Graves, in Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding*, 79–122, 91, 96.

monarch's regalia were front and centre in the subsequent Scottish coronations of Marie de Guise and Anna of Denmark, which were performed for native audiences and visiting dignitaries.⁷³ In the performative spaces in the French and Danish courts, it is arguable that personal dress and material adornments were even more important in the absence of such potent symbols of royal authority.

Details of James VI's clothing in Denmark are limited as the financial sources tend to record bulk rather than itemised payments, such as 830 daleris delivered to the master of the wardrobe for the king's clothing once on his travels.⁷⁴ There are, however, some fleeting details recorded by a Danish observer that indicate some aspects of James's attire may have been particularly noteworthy. During his initial meetings with Anna and representatives of the Danish and Norwegian secular and ecclesiastical elite, James wore 'a red velvet coat appliqued with pieces of gold so that there was a row of gold stars and another row the velvet could be seen' with an accompanying cloak of black velvet 'lined with sable'. On 19 November and the next day he appeared in 'blue velvet appliqued with pieces of gold'.⁷⁵ The latter decades of the sixteenth century witnessed proactive efforts by Frederick II—Anna's father, who died in 1588—to enforce new sumptuary laws designed to curb the excesses of the nobility and emphasise the majesty of the royal court. These included 'a ban on the use of sewn-on gold and silver tresses' on the clothing of nobles except when at the court.⁷⁶ These restrictions might explain the interest taken in James VI's use of similar garments in the Danish court. As a couple in Scotland, James and Anna invested heavily in decorative embellishments to their clothing but there was perhaps a specific agenda to their use in James's performances in

⁷³ For more on these ceremonies and the use of regalia within them see Dean, *Death and the Royal Succession*, ch. 5; Dean, 'Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions', 269–72, 286–9, 313–16.

⁷⁴ There were approx. 0.5 daler to £1 Scots: £1,660. BL, Add MS 22958, fo 10v.

⁷⁵ 'The Danish account', 91–2.

⁷⁶ Jespersen, 'Court and nobility in early modern Denmark', 131–3.

Denmark, and for a Danish audience in Scotland, that spoke to the ideals expressed in the legislation of his wife's home kingdom.⁷⁷

The financial accounts of James V's journey to France reveal the enormity of the task of clothing the king and his entourage during the visit: this was an on-going project involving numerous Scottish and French craftspeople.⁷⁸ For example, the expenses of brodstaris (embroiderers), furriers and tailors, combined with the purchase of vast quantities of cloth and accessories, including thousands of gold and bejewelled buttons, and gold and silver threads for fashioning the king's clothes, all clearly indicate that items were made *in situ*.⁷⁹ James was accused, rather venomously, by an English ambassador of 'running up and down the streets of Paris buying every trifle himself', implying that the young king took the procurement of clothing to excess.⁸⁰ However, considering the context of the French court in the 1530s, he needed to undertake a proactive and responsive display in order to maintain 'the richesse in fassone and in fairenesse' that upheld his status.⁸¹ In 1543 a French royal edict restricted the use of cloth of gold and silver, along with gold and silver embellishments and embroidery, to the king, the dauphin and the duke of Orléans. This followed efforts in 1532 to regulate the clothing of royal officials by banning the wearing of silk and furs, as well as by limiting the value of the chains, rings and jewels that such individuals could wear.⁸² Royal efforts to control ostentation, as well as a conscious effort to impose rules that created visual and

⁷⁷ For more on the couple's (esp. Anna's) spending on clothing, see Field, 'Dressing a queen', 152–67.

⁷⁸ See also Sally Rush, 'French fashions in sixteenth-century Scotland: the 1539 inventory of James V's wardrobe', *Furniture History* 42 (2007) 1–26.

⁷⁹ NRS, E21/35, fos 5v, 7v–8r, 9v; NRS, E30/5, fos 7r–8r, 9v–10v, 14v, 16r, 17v–21r, 22v, 25r–26r, 31r–v, 35r–36r, 38r; *TA*, vi. 454, 456–62; *TA*, vii. 3–8, 14, 17–21, 23, 37–9, 41.

⁸⁰ 'John Penven to Sir George Douglas, 29 October', *LPHVIII*, xi. 916.

⁸¹ *Gilbert Haye's Prose Manuscript (d. 1456) Vol. II*, 92.

⁸² Bastien, 'Aux tresors dissipez l'on cognoist le malfaict', 24–5.

sartorial indicators of royal status shortly after James's visit, suggest that the court in which James performed was one in which excess in dress was prevalent. In such an environment, it is perhaps no surprise that the young king and his entourage were constantly on the offensive in securing his place visually and sartorially in the hegemonic hierarchy.

Emulation was part of James V's strategy in France. Some items were explicitly made for him in the French or German fashion: defensive armour for horses purchased in the 'fassoun of the King of Francis' or 'maid of the Dolphinis fassoun' and shoes of mail made in the German fashion.⁸³ Equally, other items—such as the thirty-four gold thistles fashioned for a bonnet and twenty thistles of gold for a gown—drew on bold symbols that were synonymous with Scottish royalty by the 1530s and thus emphasised James's identity in relation to his own kingdom.⁸⁴ Haye's statement, claiming that 'throu the nobilitee of him [the king], his ornamentis and estate all his countre war the mare prisit, lovit lufit and honourit', was seemingly advice that James attempted to follow, with clothing, textiles and ornamentation central to his efforts.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, the combination of iconic Scottish royal symbols and open emulation of the styles witnessed in France suggests that the sartorial display was nuanced and not determined simply by the finest clothing and ornaments. Historians have commented on the great honours offered to James, and by default Scotland, in France, including a royal entry to Paris on 31 December 1536.⁸⁶ Yet it is equally notable that James was compared by contemporaries to Francis I's eldest surviving son, Henry, aged seventeen, rather than to the king, aged forty-two. Indeed, James was served by the household of Henry's elder brother who had died in

⁸³ E30/5, fo. 15r; TA, vii. 13.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 33; E30/5, fos 31r–v.

⁸⁵ *Gilbert Haye's Prose Manuscript (d. 1456) Vol. II*, 92.

⁸⁶ *E.g.* Thomas, *Princelie Majestie*, 185–7; Dean, *Death and the Royal Succession*, ch. 5.

August 1536.⁸⁷ Even more intriguingly, Rodolfo Pio da Carpi—bishop of Faenza and papal nuncio at the court of Francis I from 1535 to 1537—recorded that it was James’s own preference ‘to be treated like a son’ rather than as an equal king, as Francis had intended, and that as a consequence ‘little more ceremonies are used towards him than the Dauphin’.⁸⁸ This evidence, alongside the use of emulation in the fashioning of garments, implies a degree of deference on James’s part, or that of his advisors, to the older and more established male within the homosocial monarchical hierarchy.⁸⁹ Thus, while James V mounted on a journey to exhibit his unquestioned position within the domestic male hierarchy and to prove his own renown—by taking a sea voyage for his bride and jousting—and was offered numerous honours by the French, it appears that he accepted and respected the complexities of the homosocial hierarchy on the wider European stage.⁹⁰

Royal marriages were opportunities to create political unions. However, marriage was also a personal life stage for men and women, and in the case of men it was an essential occasion on which to display various critical aspects of secular manhood: maturity, stability, self-control, the prospect of legitimate heirs, independence and a position in the homosocial hierarchy at home and abroad.

⁸⁷ *Cronique du Roy Francoys, premier de ce nom. Publiée pour la première fois d’après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, ed. Georges Guiffrey (Paris, 1860), 205; *LPHVIII*, xi. no. 916.

⁸⁸ *LPHVIII*, xi. no. 848. Note that, as papal nuncio in a period of Franco-papal friendship, Pio de Carpi was a pre-eminent ambassadorial figure at the French court with access to the king. For more on the role of the papal nuncio in the mid-sixteenth-century French court, see Elizabeth Bonner, ‘Vatican secrets: some unpublished correspondence of sixteenth-century papal nuncios at the French court’, *Innes Review*, 53:1 (2002) 60–78, at 61–3.

⁸⁹ For further on the idea of complicit masculinity, see Phillips, ‘Masculinities’, 22–42.

⁹⁰ For further detail on the wider activities of James V and his search for renown in France, see Dean, ‘Crowns, Wedding Rings and Processions’, 278–83; Dean, *Death and the Royal Succession*; Dean, ‘Reaching the estate of manhood’.

‘Clothing maketh man’ and, while clothing was not the only thing that made a man in sixteenth-century Europe, Scottish kings strove to use this form of material culture when making statements about their manhood and royal status at the time of their marriages.⁹¹ The extent of their investment—financial and otherwise—in the dress and décor of their own bodies, and of those under their protection, emphasises the value of this form of display. Clothing was not, however, just glamour and luxury; it was an essential part of the complex language of display and ritual. It was particularly important at the critical juncture of marriage. Marriage was essential to establishing hereditary stability and for achieving the patriarchal ideal of manhood. It offered an opportunity to make a statement about positioning in the homosocial hierarchies within and beyond the realm. At the pivotal moment of marriage, the sartorial representation of sixteenth-century kings—whether at home or on foreign soil—was a matter of national and international importance, designed to ensure that the king, both as an individual man and as royal head of a kingdom, and ‘his countre war the mare prisit, lovit lufit and honourit’.⁹²

⁹¹ Phillips, ‘Masculinities’, 22.

⁹² *Gilbert of the Heye’s Prose Manuscript*, ii. 92.