England's Worldly King: The Foreign, the Global, and the Rise of Cultural Cosmopolitanism at the Court of Henry VIII

Emma R. Hinchliffe

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2021

Reading Committee:

Benjamin Schmidt, Chair

Raymond Jonas

Charity Urbanksi

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

History

University of Washington

Abstract

England's Worldly King: The Foreign, the Global, and the Rise of Cultural Cosmopolitanism at the Court of Henry VIII.

Emma R. Hinchliffe

Chair of the Supervisory Committee: Benjamin Schmidt, Department of History

It is the premise of this study that in the Tudor period there developed a new sense of being/feeling 'cosmopolitan' – i.e. a citizen of the world - that was distinct from the original, political, meaning of this term and was instead defined by cross cultural engagement, international trade, and interest in the peoples and places of the early modern world. This sense of cosmopolitanism would be explicitly articulated in Elizabeth I's reign but has its origins earlier, in the court and culture of her father Henry VIII. This cultural cosmopolitanism was not just a-political but actually came to prominence within the decidedly anti-cosmopolitan political arrangement of the sovereign nation state. This dissertation charts the development of this identity through an exploration into the material culture of Henry VIII's court and argues that it grew out from his rapacious desire to be seen as a worldly king in a newly globalized world. This subsequently led to a new appetite for, and place of, the foreign and the global at his court;

manifested principally in his consumption of foreign things, goods, and global knowledge, and in his positive relationships with 'strangers.' These cultural interests happened to come to maturity in a period when, politically, England was turning away from internationalism and developing a growing sense of national identity and sovereignty that would culminate in Henry's reformation in 1533. This dissertation argues that this coincidence of a multicultural court with a renewed sense of national politics enabled a culturally specific, and patriotic, form of cosmopolitanism to take root in England.

Acknowledgements

As with all dissertations this is a project not solely of my own creation. Whilst the prose, arguments, and ideas are my own, they have been shaped, sharpened, and bettered over many years of discussion with, and support from, a host of people, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude. Firstly, I'd like to thank my dissertation chair, Professor Benjamin Schmidt, whose years of guidance and constant pushing me to 'think bigger,' but also with more nuance, have made this project what it is. Professor Schmidt is one of those rare advisors who is both a mentor and a friend. He knew just when to push me and when to let the project (and myself) breathe. I'd also like to thank my other committee members, Professor Ray Jonas, whose thoughtful feedback and thirst for the discipline was a constant source of inspiration, and Professor Charity Urbanski, one of the most engaging educators I've ever known, who looked over my chapters with a fine tooth comb and made sure I was always putting my best work forward. I hope one day to be as inspiring and successful as these three! I'd also like to thank Professor Joel Walker who, whilst not a part of my reading committee, also took the time to read drafts of my chapters and to check in, always with sage advice, on my progress.

Next comes friends and family. Graduate school can often be a lonely business but I was always fortunate enough to have a robust and supportive network of friends around me. Sometimes we discussed my work and the stresses of graduate school, at other times we just enjoyed each other's company, either way they helped me relax and reminded me to enjoy life and the ride! In particular, I'd like to thank my friends and fellow graduate students Bradley Horst and Katie Blank. I'd also like to thank Amy Barber, one of my oldest friends who let me stay basically rent free at her flat in London for many months while I was researching at the British Library, and my

dear friend, Caroline McGuinness, whose home in the south of England became my place of calm and solace each research trip and who made me so many soothing cups of tea I've lost count! I'd also like to thank Robin Koerner, another dear friend and one of the smartest people I know, who for many years was on hand to bounce ideas off and who got me through several moments of crisis when I thought this would never be finished or when I began to question the strength of my argument or why anyone should/would care.

Moving on to family, I'd like to start by thanking my brother, Adam, who, whilst he would admit himself, isn't the slightest bit interested in history, was always on hand as a great source of laughter and a sounding board whenever I needed him. Of course I need to thank my parents. Dad, your unwavering belief in me and your support that came in many forms, whether that be emotionally or financially, have meant everything, especially during the last writing push when you opened up your home to me and have greeted me with a supportive smile each and every day. You've been my anchor in more ways than you probably know throughout my academic journey. Mum, whilst sadly you were not physically here for most of this journey, or to see me achieve this milestone, I know that it would not have been possible without you. In many ways, I see this dissertation as the fulfillment of the goals that you had for me and your belief that I could, and mum, I did!

Finally, although it may be cliché, I'd like to thank England, that not so sceptered isle! Though in many ways I see myself as a cosmopolitan, England is the country that made me who I am today and whose landscape and history has inspired and awed me since a young girl growing up within walking distance from Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight, where Henry VIII himself once roamed. At some of the hardest and most challenging times working on this project I

often found myself thinking of England and what I like to think of as the calm, reserved spirit - that resolve to keep going even when things get tough - that is so often a trait of its peoples. I kept calm and carried on, and here we are!

Introduction: England's Worldly King: The Foreign, the Global, and the Rise of Cultural Cosmopolitanism at the Court of Henry VIII.

"*Studying the state of earthly kingdoms generally the* ***whole world over****… (man would)* find *himself* ***cosmopolites:*** *a citizen and member of the whole and one mystical city universal."*

- John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials Pertaining to Perfect Art of Navigation*, 1577

*"****Cosmicus,*** *ca, cum -* ***Worldly****"*

- Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Dictionary of Sir Thomas Elyot Knight*, 1538

Ninety-five Ottoman carpets, a multitude of luxurious Spanish velvets, calico cloth and prized spices from the Indies, oriental pearls and porcelain - the inventory of King Henry VIII's possessions, taken shortly after his death in 1547, reads almost like a global shopping list full of worldly and exotic goods.[1] By the time of his death, Henry owned items that spanned the early modern world (fig. one). The final inventory also catalogs a host of objects associated with global knowledge and discovery – globes, compasses, atlases etc. - that mapped the earth from the old world to the new. This diverse material culture reflected the globalization of trade that had taken place in the sixteenth century and a new ability to 'think globally' that this had engendered. This dissertation is interested in Henry VIII's engagement with the world beyond his kingdom as manifested in his possession and engagement with objects like these and argues that through material engagement with the foreign and the global behaviors and sensibilities developed at the Henrician court, and in the king, that are best described as cosmopolitan. Moreover, when coupled with external events in this period, above all the English Reformation, these attitudes and practices made possible the conception and ascendancy of a s*pecific kind of*

[1] Sir. David Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII Vol 1. The Transcript* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998), British Library (BL): Harley MS 1419

cosmopolitanism in England that has echoes in how some Englishmen continue to frame themselves and their place in the wider world today.

This cosmopolitanism, which I call cultural cosmopolitanism, grew out from the circumstances of an increasingly worldly, outward looking, and culturally diverse court, and the ascendant nationalist politics of the English Reformation. It was reflected in the person of the king who orientated himself towards the world in a way that recognized the inter-connectedness of its peoples and places, and who appreciated cultural diversity, whilst at the same time, as head of the Church of England, embodying the political ideal of the sovereign nation state. This expression of cosmopolitanism differed from the original Greek idea of being 'a citizen of the world' which was formulated in direct negation of smaller, more localized, political arrangements, such as the nation and/or city state. For example, Diogenes the Cynic, who is accepted as the first person to use the term, is said to have called himself "a citizen of the world [*kosmopolitês*]" to argue that he did not owe loyalty, or anything else, to his place of birth.[2] Socrates was also reported to have identified himself in this way. His fellow Stoic, Epictetus, explained how when asked where he was from, he would never reply with "'I am Athenian,' or 'I am from Corinth,' but always, 'I am a citizen of the world."[3]

In England, cultural cosmopolitanism (broadly meaning a cosmopolitan identity that is not tied to a larger political project – usually one of supra-national and/or universal governance), was first articulated some thirty years after Henry VIII's death by the Elizabethan

[2] Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, translated by C.D Yonge (London: G. Bell and Son's, 1915), vol. VI, 241
[3] Epictetus, *The Discourses*, vol1, 9.1e

polymath John Dee, but as this dissertation will argue, it has its origins in the court and culture of England's most famous king. Dee first expressed this culturally cosmopolitan identity in his work, *General and Rare Memorials Pertaining to the Perfect Art of Navigation*, in which he equates his being 'cosmopolite' with the study of "earthly kingdoms generally the whole world over."[4] Rather than stemming from a rejection of local political arrangements like the Greeks, Dee's cosmopolitanism is instead grounded in his acquisition of, and interest in, worldly knowledge. This is something that Dee was renowned for. He was a cosmographer, astrologer, astronomer, and mapmaker. He also travelled extensively in Europe and was friends with two of the most influential cartographers of the Renaissance, Geradus Mercator and Abraham Ortelius.[5]

Moreover, opposed to being a declaration of anti-national sentiment, Dee's self-identification as 'cosmopolite' actually appears in a work that was written and designed to aggrandize and strengthen the sovereign English nation that was at that time increasingly under attack from the supra-national institution of the papacy. *General and Rare Memorials* was written seven years after Elizabeth I had been excommunicated from the Catholic Church for her assertion of royal national supremacy. Dee wrote it as an argument for the establishment of a standing petty royal navy that he believed was necessary to deter anyone who might seek to overthrow Elizabeth who Pope Pius V had branded "the pretended Queen of England."[6] Dee, a

---

[4] John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials Pertaining to the Perfect Art of Navigation*, 1577 in Gerald Schuster (ed.), *John Dee: Essential Readings*, (Berkley: North Atlantic Books, 2003), 58

[5] See "Letter from John Dee, Mortlake, to Abraham Ortelius," January 16th 1577, *The Morgan and Library Museum*, *Unbound English Dee, John MA 2337* and E. G. R. Taylor, and Mercator, "A Letter Dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee," *Imago Mundi*, 13 (1956), 56-68

[6] Pope Pius V, *Regnans in Excelsis*, 1570

protestant, was a patriotic and ardent supporter of the Queen and the royal supremacy. He was even employed as Elizabeth's court astronomer and scientific advisor on her accession in 1588.[7]

Dee's articulation of cosmopolitanism is therefore shorn of its original political connotations. In his case, it also operates within, rather than against, the ideal of the sovereign nation state. At the heart of his understanding of what it means to be cosmopolite is the notion of worldliness, meaning a positive engagement with, and knowledge of, the different peoples, places, and cultures, of the early modern world. Dee is able to imagine and see himself as a member and citizen of "the whole and one mystical city universal" in light of his knowledge and study of its kingdoms, peoples, and places, on a global scale. Dee's cosmopolitanism is thus signaled by his intellectual interest in the global, and the resulting connection he feels to the world, rather than being a declaration of universalist political sensibilities.

Dee's usage is the first time that cosmopolite appears in the English language thus marking this understanding as the first type of cosmopolitanism to be explicated in England. Nevertheless, whilst Dee's is the first recorded use of the word, earlier lexicon from Henry VIII's reign can be seen as a forerunner to his later culturally cosmopolitan self-fashioning. In 1538 Sir Thomas Elyot wrote one of the first English dictionaries.[8] In this he included an entry for "Cosmicus" which he describes as meaning "Worldly," in an earlier echo of Dee's conflation of worldliness and cosmopolitanism.[9] Like all neologisms, Dee's articulation of cosmopolitanism,

[7] György E Szönyi, "John Dee and Early Modern Occult Philosophy", *Literature Compass*, Vol 1 (December 2005), 1-13, 1. Dee's patriotism is addressed in more detail in chapter four on pages 230-231.
[8] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyt*, Londini: In ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impress. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, [Anno .M. D. XXXVIII. [1538]]
[9] Ibid

with its links to worldliness, put a name to sensibilities and behaviors that had developed earlier. In this case in the court of Henry VIII. Thomas Elyot was a knight, humanist, courtier, and close acquaintance of Henry. The select words he chose to include in his dictionary would have been reflective of the world and culture in which he lived. Elyot's decision to include cosmicus in his work reveals the existence of this worldly self-fashioning in the court and culture of Henrician England as well as its connection to later articulations of cosmopolitanism that have this quality at their center. Henrician worldliness therefore holds the seeds of Elizabethan cosmopolitanism, and one that is cultural rather than political.

In addition to this worldliness, there is further reason to locate the roots of Dee's culturally cosmopolitan self-fashioning in the reign of Henry VIII. As previously argued, Dee's cosmopolitanism operates within, as opposed to against, a national political paradigm. A large reason for this is because Dee is writing from the position of an independent sovereign nation. The Elizabethan period is widely accepted as the moment when the English began to imagine themselves as a distinct people, and England as an imagined community, defined above all by their Protestantism, state church, vernacular bible, and separation from Catholic Europe.[10] This articulation of England was only made possible because of actions taken in Henry VIII's reign, specifically the Reformation. This unprecedented event promoted the sovereignty and

[10] This is perhaps best illustrated by the speech that Elizabeth I gave at Tilbury on the eve of the Spanish Armada, which in itself was an attack on sovereign, Protestant England, and an attempt to return the country back to Catholicism and the orbit of the papacy. Elizabeth declared "I know I have the body of a weak, feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm…" "…we shall shortly have a famous victory over these enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people." *BL Harley MS 6798*. For some studies on nation building in Elizabethan England see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1995), Ralf Hertel, *Staging England in the Elizabethan History Play: Performing National Identity. Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

distinctiveness of the country and legally gave the monarch absolute power in all spheres, whereas previously all English monarchs had been under the authority of the pope in ecclesiastical matters. With this event, Henry VIII severed himself and his realm from the supra-national entity of the papacy, declared England "an empire in and of itself," and gave the crown complete power "in all causes, manners, debates and contentions happening to occur (within the realm)…without restraint or provocation to any foreign princes or potentates of the world."[11] In doing so he also heralded a new era of national politics and nation building that would reach an apogee under Elizabeth I. Politically, therefore, the Reformation set Henry VIII (and England) on a new, separatist and more isolated path, with kingdoms outside his realm, and one that differed significantly from that of his closest rivals, Charles V, The Holy Roman Emperor, and Francis I of France, who remained tied, at least in theory, to the ideal of a united and universal Catholic Christendom that operated under the over-arching authority of the pope. However, despite this isolationist political move, culturally, Henry VIII continued to express worldliness after the Reformation. Is it this coincidence of a worldly, outward looking king, and culturally diverse court, mixed with the nationalist politics of the Reformation, that created the necessary conditions in which a culturally specific expression of cosmopolitanism could, and did, grow in England. England's first truly sovereign and independent monarch was also the first cultural cosmopolitan to sit on the throne, even though he would not yet refer to himself in these terms.

[11] The legislation that did this was *The Act in Restraint of Appeals* (1533). In this act empire means imperium (absolute power) rather than the more common meaning of an aggregate of states or countries under a single supreme authority. The impact of *The Act in Restraint of Appeals* on Henry's conception of his place in the word and its connections to cultural cosmopolitanism are discussed in more detail in chapter four pages 194-207.

Contested Cosmopolitanisms.

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."
"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

-Lewis Carroll*, Alice Through the Looking Glass,* 1871

Like all 'isms' cosmopolitanism is a word that teems with diverse meanings, today and historically. This study hopes to add to our historical understanding of this term and also to enrich a small but growing historiography that sees the sixteenth century as a key period for the development of some of the cosmopolitan labels that we might use and understand today. When a person declares themselves 'a citizen of the world,' today or in the past, that 'citizenship' can mean many things.[12] Indeed, as one prominent philosopher has declared, "someone's cosmopolitanism, is someone else's provincialism."[13] There are however several traits that all self-proclaimed cosmopolitans have in common. At its heart cosmopolitan describes an orientation towards the world. A cosmopolite is someone who is able to think and act beyond the local and who expresses a sense of connection to a broader universal community of human beings. This connection promotes certain sensibilities such as tolerance towards others and an interest in cultural difference. A cosmopolite will always be identified by "an interest in, a familiarity with, or appreciation of many parts and peoples of the world."[14]

[12] Philosopher Eduardo Mendieta talks of a 'Babelian tower of discourse about cosmopolitanism' and lists the following types "imperial; post-modern; patriotic; discrepant; multicultural; rooted; elite; non-elite; left; consumerist; soft; attenuated; comparative; and actually existing." See Eduardo Mendieta, "From Imperial to Dialogical Cosmopolitanism", *Ethics & Global Politics*, 2:3, 2009, 241-258
[13] Ibid. A contemporary echo of the differing conceptions of cosmopolitanism that first appeared in Tudor England, and specifically the debate over how these identities relate to national ones, can be seen in the discourse surrounding Brexit and is discussed in more detail in footnote 45.
[14] Thomas J. Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought* (London: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), xi

Cosmopolitans also tend to promote ideals of peace and encourage positive cross-cultural contact.[15] In all cosmopolitanisms there is thus a tension between the universal and particular, between the acknowledgement of both the collective connections of mankind and the recognition of the world's diversities.

The major variations in cosmopolitanisms tend to be determined by the implications of this identity. This comes down to how a cosmopolitan understands the results of their 'world citizenship' or, to put it another way, what does/should 'being cosmopolitan' lead people to do? Using this rubric we tend to find two dominant types of cosmopolitans: those who view this identity as part of a broader ideology with measurable results (usually political ones that relate to supra-national projects), and those that view it more as a sensibility that will affect how they move personally within the world but not much else.[16] On the one hand, then, there are cosmopolitanisms grounded in a political and literal ideal of world citizenship, and on the other, more cultural and figurative ones.[17] These differences also tend to correlate to the respective

[15] Because of these features to be a cosmopolitan is in the main aspirational although there are some instances where it has been used as pejorative, especially when it is tied to the idea of elitism. For an example of this in the sixteenth century see Alan B. Farmer, "Cosmopolitanism and Foreign Books in Early Modern England," *Shakespeare Studies*, 2007, vol. 35, 58-65. This attitude has also been expressed in modern day political rhetoric, again in the Brexit debate from some leavers against remain voters. For a modern take on this attitude see Irene Skovgaard-Smith, "To be Cosmopolitan you don't have to be rootless or a member of the global elite," *The Conversation*, November 9, 2017, https://theconversation.com/to-be-cosmopolitan-you-dont-have-to-be-rootless-or-a-member-of-the-global-elite-85636 accessed on 12/22/2020

[16] Vertovec and Cohen have identified six major ways of understanding cosmopolitanism that generally fall into these two categories of ideology vs. identity. Cosmopolitan "as a socio-cultural condition, a worldview, a political project to build transnational institutions, a political project based on the recognition of multiple identities, a mode of orientation to the world and a set of specific capabilities allowing to adapt to other people and cultures." S. Vertovec and R. Cohen, R. (eds.) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (Oxford: OUP, 2002). 1-22

[17] Political cosmopolitanisms are the original sort and as already argued were first formulated by the Greeks. Political cosmopolitanisms were also a hallmark of Enlightenment thought and reached an apogee with the works of Emmanuel Kant who argued for the institution of a universal cosmopolitan law that would supersede those of nation states. See, Emmanuel Kant, *Eternal peace, and Other International Essays* (Boston, The World peace Foundation, 1914). The origins of cultural cosmopolitanism are harder to pinpoint but much scholarship, including this dissertation, points to the early modern period and to Dee's use of the term (and his understanding) as a point

weights that a cosmopolitan gives to the universal vs. the particular in their proclaimed identity. For example, a political cosmopolitan is more likely to foreground the universal as the foundation for their projects, whereas a cultural cosmopolitan is more likely to be defined by their worldliness and interaction with cultural difference. Because of these differences, self-proclaimed cosmopolitans might find themselves disagreeing more than they agree, especially when it comes to questions of politics.[18]

When scholars talk about cosmopolitanism in early modern Europe, they tend to be referring to the cultural type in their definitions, which is also the case with this study. For example, in her book *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe*, Margaret C. Jacob takes cosmopolitanism to mean "the ability to experience

---

of origin. For examples see, Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), Margaret Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: The Material World Remade c.1500–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), Brian Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford: Taylor and Francis, 2016) and *Shakespeare Studies*, 2007, vol. 35 (a special edition on cosmopolitanism(s)in Early Modern England).

[18] In recent years Kwame Anthony Appiah has tried to square these differences by highlighting and exploring the phenomenon of what he calls 'cosmopolitan patriots' or 'rooted cosmopolitans,' meaning those cosmopolitans who feel a primary attachment to their national homeland "with its own cultural particularities, but take pleasure from the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people." This articulation of cosmopolitanism was framed in response to the work of Martha Nussbaum who argued that patriotism and cosmopolitanism are fundamentally opposed because, in her view, to be cosmopolitan was to have "a primary allegiance…to the community of human beings in the entire world." Nussbaum's reading however assumes cosmopolitan means only one thing – the original Greek conception - whereas countless philosophers, political scientists and historians have shown this to be untrue (this work included). Appiah instead posits that cosmopolitan is best understood as a "sentiment(s) more than (an) ideology(s)" and thus "we cosmopolitans can be patriots, loving our homelands," and can vote for national political arrangements (although they might not always do so). The story of the rise of culturally cosmopolitan attitudes at the Henrician court is a history that supports Appiahs statement as men like John Dee, Thomas Elyot, and Henry VIII concurrently expressed cosmopolitan behaviors whilst at the same time being unquestionably patriotic. See Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 23, No. 3, Front Lines/Border Posts (Spring, 1997), 617-639 and Martha C. Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," *The Boston Review*, October, 1994, http://bostonreview.net/martha-nussbaum-patriotism-and-cosmopolitanism (accessed 12/22/2020). Brian Lockey also talks about Dee's patriotic brand of cosmopolitanism in *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford: Taylor and Francis, 2016)

people of different nations, creeds and colors with pleasure, interest and curiosity, and not with suspicion, disdain, or simply disinterest that could occasionally turn to loathing," which resulted in man's ability to feel comfortable anywhere in the world.[19] Alison Games uses a similar definition in her work, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660*, where she describes her cosmopolitans as having an "interest in the world beyond England's shores" and "an ability to encounter those unlike (oneself) with enthusiasm and curiosity."[20] A recent forum on cosmopolitanism in Tudor England in the *Shakespeare Studies* journal also took cosmopolitan to mean practices and attitudes that showed an interest and pleasure in those things and people perceived as foreign or alien.[21] As will be shown in this project, Henry VIII comfortably fits these definitions of cosmopolitanism, even though he did not yet have the vocabulary to call himself cosmopolite.[22]

It is not surprising that historians have highlighted, and even pinpointed the origin of, culturally cosmopolitan behaviors in early modernity. Being able to think of oneself as a citizen of the world is contingent on knowledge of and interaction with that world. The sixteenth century has been widely accepted as the first age of globalization.[23] This was the age of discovery and the period in which Europeans were first able to think 'globally' in a modern

---

[19]Margaret Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 1

[20]Alison Games, *The Web of Empire*, 9

[21] Jean E. Howard, "Introduction," *Shakespeare Studies*, 2007, vol. 35, 19-23

[22] This was not always consistent, at times Henry would also show xenophobic traits. Nevertheless, this does not, and should not, obscure the more cosmopolitan elements of the king's persona.

[23] The literature here is extensive but for a short overview see Jerry Brotton, 'A Global Renaissance,' in Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 19-20. Also see Jyotsna G. Singh (ed.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion* (Chichester: Wiley and Blackwell, 2009) and Dennis Cosgrove, *Apollos Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 79-102

sense; a fact that was at once reflective and resultant of a new ability to map and conceive of the earth as a spherical whole. The discoveries of Christopher Columbus (1492) and Vasco de Gama (1499) at the turn of the century also helped to establish the first truly global trading community. Coupled with advances in navigation and seafaring this led to increased levels of international trade in the west, both amongst the countries of Christendom and further afield, and a flooding of foreign imports into the European market.[24] This unprecedented trade in worldly goods is another essential reason for the location of cosmopolitan qualities in the Renaissance and, in England, during the reign of Henry VIII. It was these commercial interactions that were the main loci of heightened engagement and familiarity with 'the foreign.' Jean E. Howard makes this point in her introductory essay to the forum on cosmopolitism in Tudor England, explaining how the English principally "lived their engagement with aliens through their habits of consumption."[25] Games and Jacobs also see the development of cosmopolitan qualities as a necessary device to facilitate trade between strangers and Beverly Lemire has recently argued that the Renaissance heralded a new era of cosmopolitan consumption where "men and women acquired cosmopolitan sensibilities through knowledge of global commodities, adoption and adaptation of foreign goods and creative amendment to their material lives."[26] It is around commercial interactions and

[24] In her canonical study of the Renaissance, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996, Lisa Jardine highlights a new consumerist impulse and a fascination with worldly goods as the defining ethos of the age.

[25] Howard, Introduction, *Shakespeare Studies*, 21. It is also for this reason that the primary source base for this dissertation is material culture mainly consisting of inventories and eyewitness accounts of Henrician pageantry and display.

[26] Games, *The Web of Empire*, Chapter Three, 81-116, Jacobs, *Strangers Nowhere in the World*, Chapter Three, 66-95 and Lemire*, Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures*, 11. Lisa Jardine too alludes to similar processes with her statement that in the commercial life and worlds of the Renaissance "we find the seed of our own exuberant multiculturalism (34)." The argument about trade and cosmopolitanism has also been made by sociologists such as Jane Jacobs who in her work, *Systems of Survival*, talks about the origins of cultural

amongst commercial people that we therefore see the rise of cosmopolitan behaviors in early modernity. This is also why cultural cosmopolitanism is, in the main, an identity expressed by the things that a cosmopolitan person owns or consumes, then and now.[27] In the case of Henry VIII, international trade opened the door for the development of culturally cosmopolitan behaviors, practices, and attitudes, to develop within himself and at his worldly court. Henry's unprecedented desire for worldly goods would lead him to express practices and attitudes towards "strangers" that would later come to define the culturally cosmopolitan ethos.[28] This desire would also lead to the creation of culturally diverse royal spaces that reflected the king's knowledge about the world and its peoples. Behaviors that started in Henry's reign as functional necessities to ensure his access to foreign things would therefore become consciously held cosmopolitan traits when his daughter, Elizabeth I, was queen.

Brian Lockey is another historian who has located cosmopolitan identities in Tudor England and whose work this study builds on. In his *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth,* Lockey traces two strands of cosmopolitanism in this period, one political and ideological, the other more cultural

---

cosmopolitanism as a "device to facilitate trust among strangers." See Jane Jacobs, *Systems of Survival: A Dialogue on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 36

[27] To be culturally cosmopolitan is essentially to revel in one's worldly knowledge which enables you to feel at home anywhere in the world – as a 'citizen of the world.' A cosmopolitan person will probably be well-traveled (or at the very least know a lot about different cultures); they might speak several languages; their house is probably decorated with an eclectic mix of design styles and objects - an eastern looking rug, some African pottery, the best continental coffee set; they enjoy eating a variety of national cuisines; they might also watch foreign films and follow foreign fashions. Cosmopolitanism expressed culturally is all about contrast and variety (traits we see dominate in the material culture of Henry VIII's court).

[28] Stranger(s) is the common term for who we today would call a foreigner(s) in Henrician England and in sources from the period. "Stranger(s)" and foreigner(s) are used interchangeably throughout the dissertation.

and figurative.[29] The first, which he calls "Christian cosmopolitanism" was "rooted in the transnational imperium of the roman curia."[30] Its proponents articulated their cosmopolitanism as a political identity to argue *against* the rising power and full sovereignty of the nation state in favor of a Christian Commonwealth headed by the papacy.[31] The second type, which Lockey calls 'secular cosmopolitanism' – but which I call cultural cosmopolitanism - was instead "the result of intensive study of the temporal kingdoms of the world," of which he too highlights John Dee as the archetype.[32] Lockey also looks to Henry VIII's reign to explain the character and formulation of early modern cosmopolitanisms. He argues that a renewed ideal of the Christian Commonwealth, and the cosmopolitics and cosmopolitan identity implicit in that project, developed in sixteenth century Europe as a "response to the Statute in Restraint of Appeals of 1533" and the subsequent loss of papal authority that "made the cosmopolitan (or rather cosmopolitical) ideal even more pressing."[33] Lockey also shows how the transnational cosmopolitanism girding the ideal of the Christian Commonwealth differed from Dee's use of the term, who, he argues, invoked his 'citizenship of the world' to almost opposite ends; to, in Lockey's words, "simultaneously (and paradoxically) defend and justify an increased centralization of English state power."[34] My project supports the argument that Henry VIII's reign is a formative period for the growth of cosmopolitan identities in England. It builds on Lockey by agreeing that the expression of cosmopolitanism embedded within the notion of the

[29] Brian Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics Royalists and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth* (London: Routledge, 2015), 7-8
[30] Ibid
[31] Ibid
[32] Ibid
[33] Ibid, 7
[34] Ibid. These C16 competing cosmopolitanisms are discussed in more detail in chapter four of this dissertation on pages 230-236.

Christian Commonwealth was a reaction to the nationalistic politics of the Reformation and therefore would not have been formulated so strongly without Henry's break from Rome. I argue however that the secular and/or cultural forms of cosmopolitanism, which Lockey locates in the reign of Henry's daughter, Elizabeth I, also have their origins in the Henrician period and specifically in the worldly court and persona that Henry cultivated. In doing so, this study challenges Lockey's argument that Dee's use of his cosmopolitanism is somehow paradoxical by showing that it was instead a unique articulation of 'world citizenship,' which looking back to the time of Henry VIII can help us explain.[35] Dee is what one might call a 'cosmopolitan patriot,' an identity that only makes sense as an outgrowth of the confluence of a worldly culture and national politics that marked the latter years of Henry VIII's reign.

Locating the seeds of cultural cosmopolitanism in the court of Henry VIII is important because it moves the story of England's engagement with, and participation in, the global moment back some fifty years. Existing studies that focus on the global, and indeed cosmopolitan, elements of Tudor England tend to focus on the reign of Henry's daughter Elizabeth I (r.1558-1603).[36] This is not surprising as this is the period when the English became successful participants in the age of discovery and started to trade more directly in global

[35] In her introduction to the Shakespeare Studies forum on cosmopolitanism in Early Modern England Jean E. Howard also suggests that patriotic cosmopolitanism is somehow paradoxical. See Jean E. Hoard, Introduction, *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007) 19-23. In fact, in the case of the different cosmopolitanisms that Lockey is interested in the 'paradox' may be the other way around in that the cultural orthodoxy that the catholic church would have demanded and created in the realms under its orbit would have been to the detriment of what we today would take to be a cosmopolitan culture. Which might beg the question of how and if cosmopolitics (rather than national politics) are, or can be made consistent with, cultural cosmopolitanism?

[36]See Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2009,) Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London: Penguin, 2017) and Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

networks. However, by focusing on discovery, exploration, and direct encounter, as the rubric by which to judge a country's engagement with the early modern world, these readings often attach a parochialism to earlier periods that is not borne out in the sources. Games' *Web of Empire* provides a good example of this. She argues that the cosmopolitan attitudes and behaviors which she sees as "central to English success overseas in the first age of expansion," manifested in individuals only when they went overseas and that "cosmopolitans in this new era of global interaction were made not born."[37] In doing so, she paints an insular image of earlier periods even describing pre-Elizabethan England as "a remote sovereign kingdom in an old trading world centered around the Mediterranean."[38] This dissertation contends that

[37] Games, *Web of Empire*, 9

[38] For a long time, the idea that early Tudor England was somewhat isolated and provincial, until the reign of Elizabeth I, and in Henry's time headed by a king who was disengaged from the global moment, was the accepted image. This reading came to popularity in the 1960s due to the work of J.J Scarisbrick. In his canonical biography of Henry (which continues to be the standard biography on him) Scarisbrick stressed Henry's aversion to discovery and also argued that any interests or attempts to engage in these processes had been the doing of Cardinal Wolsey and were a glimmer of worldly interest in an otherwise inward-looking monarch. See J.J Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven Yale University Press, 2011[first edition 1968]), 123. Moreover, for many years there was little scholarly interest in the international elements of Henry's reign and court, other than on his foreign policy. This was largely due instead to an interest in the Reformation, no doubt the defining moment of Henry's reign. This unprecedented event, which promoted the sovereignty and distinctiveness of the country, has led many scholars to identify the sixteenth century as the period in which the English began to define themselves as an imagined nation through the paradigm of a state church and vernacular bible. In the nineteen eighties and nineteen nineties numerous works explored the roots of 'Englishness' and English national identity in the Tudor period, with several pointing to Henry and his reformation as the point of origin. For some of these see: David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), John A. Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1995), Liah Greenfield, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1993,) and Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). These trends in scholarship have resulted in the overlook of other burgeoning identities that came to fruition concurrently in Henry's time – such as the cosmopolitan ones revealed in this study (this is a point that Brian Lockey also makes as a rationale for his work on early modern cosmopolitanisms). More recently, with the cultural turn and with the publication of Henry VIII's final inventories in 1998 (a document over four hundred pages in length that logs all of the king's possession over his many households – a major source for this dissertation) there have been more works on Henry's royal image and the material worlds of the court which all stress worldly and international elements. For some examples see Tatiana C. String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII*, (London: Routledge, 2008), Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) and Sir. David Starkey, *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (London: Abbeville Press, 1991). However, these studies tend to either be focused more heavily on the national

Games's cosmopolitans were not in fact made overnight. Rather, the cosmopolitan attitudes and impulses that she rightly highlights as central to understanding the success and growth of the British Empire have deeper roots that can be traced back to Henrician England, the first age of economic globalization, a king desperate to be seen as a major player on the world stage, and a court fervently consuming foreign goods as a result. It is in Henry's court, and specifically in his worldliness, where we find the first impacts of early modern globalization and an earlier flourishing of cultural openness and cosmopolitan impulses. As will be shown in this project, encounters with foreign places and peoples were, and are, as much cultural as they are political. They can also be conceptual as well as literal. The ability to see oneself as a citizen of world is not dependent on international travel and, as Jean E. Howard has argued, "cosmographers and even armchair travelers might be cosmopolites…" – in the cultural sense – "…. if their worldly interests led them to explore in maps and books the customs of alien peoples and the contours of a globe that stretched far beyond the English Channel."[39] This is another fitting description for Henry VIII.

---

and domestic aspects of the royal persona or look at the internationalism of the court as a copy of other European centers rather than reading Henry's worldliness within the broader context of early modern globalization. For example, in his *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, Sir. David Starkey describes Henry's households as a slavish copy of the French. The global horizons of the English do figure in this work but only as an epilogue. Like Alison Games Starkey argues that by the end of Elizabeth's I's reign England had grown from "a little country in a corner of Europe" to become a global powerhouse. He believes that the seeds for this were sown by Henry who, by successfully building the country's reputation in Europe, set the stage for later ascendency. This study agrees with this important work but suggests that the seeds were more diffuse than Starkey acknowledges. It was not simply Henry's success in Europe, but his ability to act and project himself beyond the local, that forged the cosmopolitan behaviors and attitudes key to later English expansion, and it was in his court where the development of a global imagination and England's subsequent era of expansion were first conceived. There are a small number of studies that look at England's relationships with the wider world pre-Elizabeth, but the specific attention paid to Henry remains small. See Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (eds.), *Tudor England and its Neighbors* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education UK, 2005) and Helen Ostovich (ed.), *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008).

[39] Jean E. Howard, Introduction, *Shakespeare Studies*, 21

By foregrounding the cosmopolitan elements of Henry's court and person this project also seeks to add to ongoing debates about the history of England's engagement with foreignness and more specifically the question: to what extent was Tudor England a xenophobic place to live?[40] Whilst some, such as Lara Hunt Yungblunt, suggest that Tudor England was at its core a xenophobic culture in the main suspicious and unwelcoming of "strangers," other works, like Miranda Kaufman's, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story*, stress the surprising incidences of tolerance and progressive treatment of foreigners at moments in Tudor history, especially when compared to some other European states.[41] This study unearths the very real presence and ascendancy of cosmopolitan interests and behaviors at the Henrician court and in the person of Henry VIII. Whilst my project does suggest that these traits were more dominant and better representative of the king's attitude to foreigners than xenophobic ones, it nevertheless also reveals the equally real and pernicious presence of xenophobia in Henry VIII's England, that sometimes manifested in the king, but was more often seen in the common people, usually during times of economic crisis. As with all studies that touch on the complex theme of xenophobia this one must be read as part of a bigger patchwork on these issues rather than as an authoritative take on the topic. The current historical consensus is that English encounters with human diversity in the sixteenth century generated "a volatile mixture of xenophobia and openness," and that these responses were not mutually exclusive; of which this study provides

[40] For some studies that also take on this question see Lara Hunt-Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London: Routledge, 1996), Miranda Kaufman, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story* (London: Oneworld, 2017), Scott Oldenburg, *Alien Albion: Literature and Immigration in Early Modern England* (Toronton: University of Toronto Press, 2014) and *Shakespeare Studies*, Vol.35, 2007

[41] Lara Hunt-Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London: Routledge, 1996), Miranda Kaufman, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story* (London: Oneworld, 2017).

a case in point.[42] This does not mean however that Henry VIII was in any way a progressive. Henry's cosmopolitanism is best understood as an unintended result of his desire to be seen as a worldly king in a newly globalized environment; a fact that caused him to treat "strangers" well and to show an interest and curiosity in the peoples and places of the early modern globe.

This dissertation tells the story of the rise of cultural cosmopolitanism at the court of Henry VIII over four chapters. Chapters one through three chart the evolution of England's worldly king and his worldly court. These chapters reveal how Henry turned the court from a somewhat dour backwater into an internationally renowned center of beauty full of material goods that spanned the early modern world, and how, under Henry, the reputation of the English elite went from being seen as small minded and generally suspicious of foreigners, to being deeply engaged with the world beyond their shores, and the court and the surrounding city of London, into a place where "strangers" were visible and thriving. Chapter one, *Worldly Displays and Diverse Tastes: The Roots of Cultural Cosmopolitanism in the Early Tudor Court 1509-1520*, begins in 1508 with Henry's accession and his immediate desire to make a name for himself internationally. The idea of 'opening up' and looking outward accompanied Henry to the throne. This chapter begins by exploring why this was the case and details the conditions that led to the manifestation of proto-cosmopolitan behaviors and practices at the Henrician court focusing on the effects of early modern globalization in England, increased international trade, and a drive to display magnificence that was fueling the king's rapacious consumption of worldly goods. The bulk of the chapter looks at court pageantry, Henry VIII's dress, and royal

[42] Christopher Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire: Protestant Colonialism and Conscience in British Literature* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 2002), 114

displays, in his formative years and how they were designed to express a sense of worldliness. These culturally diverse displays were a central component of the rise of cultural cosmopolitanism at the court because they attached a prestige to the foreign not seen before in England and reflected an interest in cultural diversity. The chapter also looks at Henry's conspicuous patronage of "stranger" merchants as another example of how a desire for worldly goods acted as a mechanism that promoted cosmopolitan behaviors. The chapter ends with a case study of Evil May Day, an anti-alien riot that took place in London in 1517. It is argued that this is best read as a parochial reaction to the increased place and prestige of 'the foreign' at the court and is therefore indicative of this shift.

Chapter two, *Cosmopolitan Spaces: Foreigners and Their Things at the Henrician Court*, focuses on the material worlds of the permanent court and physical household. In addition to his pageantry and dress, the permanent court was furnished and decorated in a way that expressed Henry's worldliness. This chapters details how Henry's choices in material consumption and display brought together an eclectic mix of objects that spanned the early modern world and, as with his pageantry, reveal an appreciation for the foreign and the king's desire to show off his access to, and diverse knowledge of, the peoples and places of the early modern world. "Strangers" were highly visible in the day-to-day life of the court, especially "stranger" merchants and artisans. These relationships and how they added to Henry's worldly persona are also explored in more detail. Henry VIII's (and subsequently England's) relationship with Venice is explored in some depth as Venice has traditionally been labelled one of the most cosmopolitan cultures in the sixteenth century. Moreover, much of Henry's worldly self-fashioning seems to have occurred in imitation of the Serene Republic. This chapter also shows

how Henry VIII was uniquely reliant on foreigners, and their things, to create the worldly and magnificent image he so desperately craved. Unlike most of the principal courts of the period, in England, there were little to no domestic markets of luxury production that Henry could draw on to furnish his court, this led to a primacy of foreign things there that is not replicated to the same level in other Renaissance courts. By exploring Henry VIII's day to day engagement with international goods, and the stranger merchants and craftsmen dealing in them, this chapter reveals how the foreign became something to be embraced rather than feared and rejected at Henry's court, a central part of his self-fashioning, and the court a major crucible for the development of culturally cosmopolitan behaviors.

Chapter three – *Material Expressions of Global Knowledge and the Cosmopolitan Persona at the Court of Henry VIII* – focuses on those objects in Henry's possession that expressed 'global knowledge' – such as atlases, globes, and world maps. This knowledge was essential to being able to conceive of the earth and its peoples as a connected whole and thus the very ideal of 'world citizenship' as a cultural category. A close study of Henry's material expressions of global knowledge reveals high levels of cultural engagement with learning about the world and the latest discoveries. It also reveals a king keen to show off his ability to think globally, or with what one historian has called, an "Apollonian point of view."[43] The pleasure taken in the pursuit of global knowledge became a key theme in the intellectual culture of sixteenth century Europe, and Henry a major figure, and his court a major center, for this type of learning that encompassed worldly arts such as cartography and cosmography. This chapter

[43] This term comes from Dennis Cosgrove's *Apollo's Eye* and refers to the image of the god Apollo looking down on the spherical globe. See Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination*, (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2001) 2.

also argues how ideas and ideals expressed by important intellectuals at Henry's court were proto cosmopolitan in nature, being akin to the sentiments that John Dee would later claim made him 'cosmopolite.' In Henry's case it also appears that displays of global knowledge were more associated with these attitudes and ideas rather than imperial ones. Reading and contextualizing the worldly displays explored in chapters one and two within the broader global framing examined in chapter three is imperative. It was not just the case that Henry VIII liked to consume a Turkish carpet or a German clock, which he did, but that the conspicuous consumption of these objects formed part of a broader representational scheme that presented him as outward looking and interested in other cultures – a nascent cosmopolitan.

Chapter four places the worldly culture of the court within the political context of the Reformation and argues how it was this event, and the confluence of these two factors, that enabled the rise of Dee's patriotic cosmopolitanism. Whilst politically, Henry VIII turned inward following the *Act in Restraint of Appeals* in 1533, culturally, he continued to maintain his worldly persona and present England as a realm welcoming to foreigners and their things. This chapter looks at the political shift that occurred with the Reformation and how, in this sphere, England actually moved away from cosmopolitical arrangements to embrace national sovereignty. It also explores how this new political arrangement may have affected Henry's orientation towards the wider world and argues that he was likely influenced by the thoughts of Cicero on this topic. Cicero privileged the nation state as man's primary group of allegiance whilst at the same time expressing culturally cosmopolitan attitudes about the connected

nature of man and the broader fellowship of humanity.[44] The Reformation, whilst being a clear rejection of cosmopolitics, was not a repudiation of cosmopolitan ways of thinking, like those expressed by Cicero, which we know were read widely and likely influential in the culture of Henry's court. It was also not a repudiation of the cosmopolitan practices and behaviors that had been a hallmark of these spaces since Henry's first years on the throne. The chapter moves on to show how Henry continued to present himself as outward looking, and England as open, post-Reformation. This includes a case study of Anne Boleyn's coronation. This was the first event in which Henry presented his newly sovereign nation to the watching world. Next, Henry's trade legislation post-Reformation is explored and it is argued that this was in the main aimed at encouraging strangers to continue to trade in his dominions. This chapter therefore challenges the view of the Reformation as an isolationist move and moment beyond politics. The national rhetoric that supported this unprecedented event was not representative of a parochial culture or turning inwards and should therefore not obscure the worldly, and indeed proto-cosmopolitan, identities that continued to have purchase in the culture of Henry's court as manifested by the king's own behaviors and practices. This period in Henry's reign is also imperative for understanding how Dee's specific articulation of a cultural cosmopolitanism came to be, since it was underwritten by, and drew on, the coincidence of a worldly and/or "cosmicus" culture, and nationalist politics that are both legacies of this period in Henry's reign.

Like all good histories this one is in many ways a story of unintended consequences. Henry VIII did not exhibit cosmopolitan behaviors and practices because of some high-minded

[44] Cicero's works are often referred to as examples of stoic cosmopolitanism. However, he never actually used this word to describe himself.

desire to be seen as tolerant or interested in and respectful of cultural diversity, which would be the case for any modern-day cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitan behaviors manifested in Henry because he wanted to be revered and powerful, and in the times in which he lived, this meant he had to be worldly and to show an interest in people and places beyond his realm. As a result, he rapaciously consumed international goods and organized his dress, court pageantry, and permanent household in ways that reflected his worldliness. He also used material culture to show off his expansive repertoire of global knowledge. This gave the foreign a new place of importance at the court, where it was embraced rather than feared, and also led to the creation of a culture that looked outward to reveal the connected nature of mankind. Moreover, whilst not the intention, Henry's drive to worldliness did lead in many instances to the promotion of tolerant attitudes and respectful behaviors towards "strangers." It is these expressions of Henry's worldliness that would provide the foundation for cultural cosmopolitanism, that was first expressed in England in the Elizabethan period.

This is also a history that reminds us of the enduring importance of the past, and how events many years ago, can still reverberate in the present, often in transformative and surprising ways. In today's globalized and connected world, more than ever, it is desirable to be seen as cosmopolitan, and this identity is still built around the notions of worldliness, and expressed through practices and behaviors, that first became dominant at Henry's court (such as the conspicuous consumption of diverse foreign goods or the expression of global knowledge). The questions that Henry VIII had about his place in the world and the relationship between the domestic and the foreign, the local and the global, are also in many ways still ours, especially in a time when the majority of people live in nation states but with borders that seem

more permeable than ever before, whether that be physically or electronically. The specificity of Elizabethan cosmopolitanism, which drew its uniqueness from events in Henry VIII's reign that led to the confluence of a worldly culture and nationalist politics, is also something that has been echoed in modern day debates about cosmopolitanism, nationalism, and globalism. This is especially the case in the political sphere where the debate about national vs. cosmopolitan political arrangements, and the sense in which these political structures may or may not correlate with cosmopolitan cultural and social attitudes, has been brought to the center of daily life, particularly in the west.[45] This is a history of how practices and behaviors

[45] This is especially true for the case of Brexit in the United Kingdom. As the country navigated its exit from the EU both Leavers and Remainers toted varying forms of cosmopolitanism as a motivation for their vote that correlate to the two dominant types that crystallized in the Tudor period (i.e. political vs. cultural). For many, and in the dominant public discourse, remaining in the union has been seen as the obvious cosmopolitan choice and expression of cosmopolitanism. As a political act, a vote in the 2016 British referendum to retain membership of the EU - a supra-national legal and governmental structure – is uncontestably cosmopolitan. A "remain" voter's political identity goes beyond the national and their vote reflects this. Where this identity has been more contested is in the realm of cultural cosmopolitanism. "Remain" has also in the main come to be associated with cultural cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitans. The city of London – unarguably the most multicultural and ethnically diverse area of the country, where many self-identified cosmopolitans' work and live - overwhelmingly voted to remain. This association is most clear however in the image attached to leave voters and more specifically in the accusation that those who voted to leave are in fact anti-cosmopolitan – "Little Englander" being an often-used label. Brexit has been painted by many as a battle between a cosmopolitan and educated urban elite (remain) who welcome foreigners, and a parochial, narrow-minded working class (leave) who want to protect themselves from outsiders (see: Issac Chotiner, "From Little Englanders to Brexiteers," *The New Yorker*, www.newyorker.com, November 11th, 2009 and Clive Irving, "The Rise of Hateful Little England," *www.thedailybeast.com*, October 15th, 2016). However, rejecting the parochial label many Britons who voted to leave the EU have argued that *they* are the real cultural cosmopolitans, not despite their vote but in fact proved by it. For example, during the pre-referendum campaign, now Prime Minister Boris Johnson gave a speech - 'The Cosmopolitan Liberal Case for Brexit' - in which he argued this point. He stated that he had gotten the idea after he was told that he could not possibly be in favor of leaving the EU because he was 'a liberal cosmopolitan,' stating how it was assumed that "you can't really want to leave the EU without being in some way anti-European…" effectively giving the Remain camp "…a monopoly on liberal cosmopolitanism." This speech challenged the conflation of political and cultural cosmopolitanism and reveals the multifaceted understandings of the term that still exist in Britain today. Johnson argued that Brexit would actually result in a more culturally cosmopolitan, global, and outward-looking Britain, at the same time as returning the country to a national political jurisdiction. He argued this was because, among other reasons, the European Union stopped the UK from being able to trade freely with the wider world. Johnson's speech drew a line between political and cultural cosmopolitanisms, and he presented himself as the embodiment of the worldliness that is at the heart of the latter. In it he thoroughly rejected the label of little-Englander and talked of "the joy of discovering different cultures and languages," of reading novels in French and singing songs in German – albeit it while politically separate from those nations. For Johnsons speech see '*The Liberal Cosmopolitan Case to Vote Leave*'

that first came to prominence in the court and culture of Henry VIII's England began a dialogue between a small realm in northern Europe and the rest of the world. This is the story of the roots and rise of cultural cosmopolitanism in the court of Henry VIII, England's worldly king.

http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/boris_johnson_the_liberal_cosmopolitan_case_to_vote_leave.html (accessed October 10th, 2019).

Chapter One: Worldly Displays and Diverse Tastes: The Roots of Cultural Cosmopolitanism in the Early Tudor Court 1509-1520.

'What wonder, then, if England rejoices in a fashion heretofore unknown, since she has such a king as she never had before?'

– Sir Thomas More speaking at Henry VIII's coronation in 1509.[46]

"For the future, the whole world will talk of him…"

- *The* Venetian Ambassador to England, 1509.[47]

The belief that Henry VIII would herald an era of English kingship unlike any other was felt as soon as he came to the throne. One area in which this would prove particularly true was in the life and atmosphere of the court. Unlike his father, who had a reputation for miserliness, secrecy and sobriety, the young new king was an ostentatious and verifiable Renaissance prince who delighted in the arts, culture, and luxury. On his ascension to the throne, Henry promised a new level of courtly magnificence and royal spaces filled with a multitude of exquisite and expensive worldly goods. In the year of his accession, Lord Mountjoy, in a letter to Erasmus of Rotterdam, expected and rightly foreshadowed this when he declared tightfistedness "well and truly banished. Generosity scatters wealth with unstinting hand."[48] This 'generosity' and Henry's expensive tastes would transform both the look and reputation of his court which went from being seen as a provincial and isolated backwater to a center of worldliness and civilization. Two comments from foreign visitors to England in 1500 and 1515 illustrate this

[46] Thomas More, *Coronation Ode of Henry VIII*, 1509, in *Latin Poems of The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, eds. C. H. Miller, L. Bradner, C. A.Lynch, and R. P. Oliver, Volume 3.2 (Connecticut: Yale University press, 1984), 113
[47] Calendar State Papers, Venetian.
[48] "William Blount Lord Mountjoy to Desiderius Erasmus", 1509, in *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters, 142 to 297 Volume 2 of Collected Works of Erasmus,* ed. D.F.S Thomson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), letter 215, 147

point. Eight years before Henry came to the throne, a Venetian visitor to England gave this rather stinging appraisal of English culture: "…(The English) are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men but themselves, and no other world but England."[49] By 1515, six years after Henry's accession, the papal nuncio Francesco Chieregato would invert this notion and present an opposite image arguing that "the wealth and civilization of the world are here, and those who call the English barbarians appear to me to render themselves as such."[50] It is in the worldly and outward looking culture described by Chieregato that we find the seeds of cultural cosmopolitanism in England. In a period when the realm had little to no domestic luxury industries building a magnificent court like Henry's meant more international trade, increased cross cultural contact, and the mass importation of foreign things. The result was a court that embraced the foreign, that invited international artists and merchants into the center of its life, that thrived on culturally diverse displays, and that presented the king as deeply engaged with the world beyond his shores: a nascent cosmopolitan.

Proto-cosmopolitan behaviors and practices developed at the Henrician court for several reasons. A major factor was magnificence. In the Renaissance, the ideal of magnificence was derived from Aristotle and described the virtue of "liberality of expenditure combined with good taste."[51] Magnificence was thus tied to wealth and material display. It relied on access to,

---

[49] Charlotte Augusta Sneyd, *A relation, or rather a true account, of the island of England: with sundry particulars of the customs of these people, and of the royal revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the year 1500* (London: The Camden Society, 1857), 23-4

[50] "Venice: July 1517," in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 2, 1509-1519*, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1867), 396-410. *British History Online*, accessed June 5, 2019, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol2/pp396-410.

[51] Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, (London: Maney Mane Publications, 2012), 9

and the conspicuous consumption of, beautiful and impressive things. Rich and sumptuous objects, then as now, signaled power and status. Magnificence therefore became a particularly desirable quality for kings who used it to help secure their position. In Henrician England to be magnificent would also equate to worldliness, as the beautiful things that Henry so desired were overwhelmingly imports.[52] Henry also came to the throne at a time when the market for luxury goods had gone global, following Columbus's 'discovery' of America in 1492 and Vasco De Gama's charting of a direct route to Calicut in 1498, both of which led to the establishment of the first global trading community. In this culture of exploration and discovery the more exotic the commodity the more magnificent the monarch.

Spending on worldly goods was an important way for monarchs to gain cultural capital. It also enabled them to distinguish and identify themselves to one another since only the extraordinarily rich could afford to conspicuously consume international luxuries in such high numbers. This is a major reason why Henry was so keen to be seen as worldly. This desire was fueled not by some high-minded intellectual yearning to know about the intricacies of the early modern world and its peoples, but by a much more brash and visceral want to be respected, admired, and above all magnificent.[53] Nevertheless, because the magnificence that Henry craved was contingent on the conspicuous consumption of worldly goods, he organized his dress and court pageantry in ways that showed of his access to, and knowledge of, diverse

---

[52] Lisa Jardine makes a similar argument in her canonical study, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996). She concludes that the Renaissance "kindled the desire to purchase the rare and the beautiful as a sign of individual (or family) success" whilst at the same time opening up "international and cosmopolitan horizons," see Jardine, Worldly Goods, 436.

[53] Pierre Bourdieu explores a similar phenomenon in the bourgeois of twentieth century France in his, *Distinction; A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984). In this work he argues that bourgeois Europeans acquired cultural knowledge not for any intrinsic value but rather to identify themselves to one another and as a mark of status and taste.

international styles and cultures. This resulted in 'the foreign' gaining a new visibility and value in these circles and the creation of a space and culture in which positive and tolerant attitudes towards foreignness could, and did, germinate.[54]

This chapter begins with an exploration into Henry VIII's drive to display magnificence and how it was closely tied to international trade and worldly self-fashioning. Next, the chapter looks at Henry's worldly displays and the kinds of images of king and court they were designed to present. These displays are early manifestations of practices and behaviors that lie at the heart of culturally cosmopolitan identities today, most notably an appreciation for, and knowledge of, cultural difference. The chapter ends with a case study of Evil May Day. This was a large-scale xenophobic riot that broke out in London in 1517 amongst English subjects in reaction to the perceived 'foreignness' that had taken hold at the Tudor court and Henry's supposed privileging of foreign economic interests over domestic ones. Evil May Day reveals much about the growing value attributed to 'foreign' displays by Henry and his courtiers and the transformations that had taken place at the court regarding England's, and the king's, orientation towards the world.

Materialism, Magnificence, and a New Appreciation for 'The Foreign' at the Early Tudor Court.

It is important to underscore just how much a desire to be magnificent drove Henry VIII. Magnificence was a fundamental value in Renaissance theories of good rule and governance

[54] This is the kind of phenomena that Ulinka Rublack explores in her work, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), when she argues how "humans create a sense of being……through creative exchange with the material world" (Rublack, 3), and that "new consumer and visual worlds conditioned new emotional cultures." (Rublack xx).

and Renaissance courts stand out for their splendor, richness, and ostentation.[55] Rulers took inspiration from the classical past and looking back found many sources that expressed the value of magnificence. One illustrative example is *The Secretum Secretorum*, or 'The Secret of Secrets,' a highly influential document on early modern kingship, and one of the most read texts of the Middle Ages.[56] This pseudo-Aristotelian work was said to be a series of letters from Aristotle, to his student Alexander the Great, full of princely advice. In actuality, it is an Arabic work dating from the tenth century. In these letters "Aristotle" explains the relationship of a magnificent royal image to good rule. He also touts the value of 'rich' and 'strange' wares for the value they can bestow on a monarch. The text reads:

> It sitteth to his (the rulers) dignitie honourably to be clothed, and ever in faire garnementis and robes passing other in fairnesse. And he shold were dere, ***rich*** and ***straunge*** ornamente. Fittyng also it is for a king to have a prerogative in his array above all others, wherby his dignitie is worshiped and made faire, his power or might not hurt, and due reverene to hym at all tyme yeve.[57]

Contemporary works also touted the importance of magnificence. Advice manuals for princes and the elite often counseled for the social and political power of this trait and the 'expansive generosity' at its center. In perhaps the most important example of this genre, *The Courtier*,

---

[55] This trend began with the Dukes of Burgundy but soon spread to all the major courts of the early modern world. There is an extensive historiography on the importance of magnificence to rule in the early modern period and beyond. For some classic examples see Jonathan Brown and J.H Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retrio and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XVI* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) and Joseph Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy: The Magnificent Dukes and their Courts* (Phoenix: London, 2001).

[56] Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian text in the Latin Middle Ages*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 2

[57] *Secretum Secretorum* quoted in Hayward, *Dress*, 21. Italics my own.

Baldassare Castiglione describes his ideal ruler as "strong, wise, full of liberality, munificence, religion and clemency,[58]" and the perfect prince as a man of both "splendor and generosity."[59] The value attributed to this virtue is also illustrated by the fact that it was often given as an honorable title to many influential and respected men of the period - from Lorenzo to Sulieman 'the Magnificent.'[60] Magnificence was also an important element of another central cultural influence on early sixteenth century monarchy: chivalry. In the chivalric tradition it was linked to the virtue of largesse, which was one of the most respected traits. Largesse is defined as an act of generosity where an individual bestows money or gifts upon others.[61] A good king would show largess by sharing some of his material wealth with his closest and most important subjects in order to bolster his reputation, therefore linking this quality to magnificence.

From the outset Henry VIII projected a magnificent royal image. He came to the throne determined to shake off the miserly reputation of his father. One major way to do this was by spending lavishly on worldly goods (somewhat ironically it was actually due to his father's careful financial management that Henry had the means to do so). One of his first acts as king was to make it easier to trade in the county and subsequently to get hold of this precious cargo. This is revealed by an ode that Sir Thomas More, who would become an extremely influential figure in Henry's life and court, gave at the new king's coronation. He regaled how Henry had already "…. opened the sea for trade, if any overharsh duties were required of the merchants,

[58] Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 1528. Reprint (London, Penguin Classics, 2003), 299
[59] Ibid, 24
[60] In his seminal work on early modern courts, *The Court Society* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), Norbert Elias also talks about the centrality of magnificence, performance, and spectacle in court life and argues how over time this led to the court becoming a 'gilded cage' where monarchs found themselves bound to an ever-expanding list of conventions and performative actions that relied on magnificent conspicuous consumption.
[61] For a classical study on chivalry see Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005)

he lightened their load…. (and) the merchant, heretofore deterred by numerous taxes, now once again plows seas grown unfamiliar."[62] Over the course of his reign Henry VIII would build and accumulate more than any previous English king.[63] He also spent lavishly on his personal wardrobe and appearance. At his death, in his private wardrobe alone, he had forty-one gowns, twenty-five doublets, twenty-five hose, twenty coats, eight cloaks, fifteen Spanish capes, eight walking staves and forty girdles (the majority of which were made using imported materials).[64] For the time, this was extremely numerous. In comparison, Walter Forward, a fairly wealthy tallow chandler, who died a year after Henry, is recorded as owning only nine items of clothing at his death.[65] All of this has led Kevin Sharpe to conclude that Henry VIII "accumulated possessions as a matter of public policy, the items in his inventory of goods were essential props of the theatre of magnificence and through them he created a new politics of ornament.[66]"

Almost as soon as Henry VII had taken his last breath his son's unprecedented material displays began. At Henry VIII's coronation in 1509, Edward Hall, the official chronicler of the reign, remarked that "for a suretie, more riche, nor more ***straunge***, nor more ***curious*** workes, hath not been seen, then were perepared against this coronaction.[67]' Two years later, another chronicler remarked on this shift and some of its social repercussions. Discussing a procession of noblemen on the streets of London in January 1511, he remarked how they appeared in

[62] More, "Coronation Ode," in Miller et all, *Latin Poems*, 101
[63] Starkey, *A European Court in England*, 8
[64] Ibid
[65] "Walter Forward," in Edward Roberts and Karen Parker (ed.), *Southampton Probate Inventories 1447-1575*, (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1992), 18
[66] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 15
[67] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 1548, (London: J.Johnson, F.C and J. Rivington, T. Payne, Wilkie and Robinson. Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, Cadell and Davies and J. Mawman, 1809) 586. Italics my own.

cloth of gold of "the newe makyng wheryn is moost substance of goold and lytyll silk," and how that "of old tyme they were usid to buy of the best and rychesst tyssu ffor v li a yerd, now they paye x li and xx mark ffor the rycchest.[68]" Foreign visitors coming to see the new king were equally struck by his magnificence and marveled at the novelty of what they were seeing at Henry's court. In addition to Chieregato's resounding appraisal in 1515, Nicolo Sagudino, who was part of a Venetian embassy at the court from 1515-1519, argued that "the like of two such courts, and two such kings as those of France and England, have, I fancy, not been witnessed by any ambassadors who have gone out of Venice for these fifty years.[69]'

Sagudino's mention of France and England in the same breath would have been especially pleasing to Henry because, in addition to wanting to distance himself from his father, another major reason he spent so much effort and money cultivating a magnificent image was to make up for the reality that his realm was in fact much weaker and had less political clout than those of his rival kings, such as Francis I. As David Starkey has argued, Henry VIII behaved and spent like a great power in the hopes that he would be accepted as one.[70] For Henry, magnificence was an accessible and achievable way of gaining cultural capital when his other options were more limited. The magnificence and bravado that so defines this king of England were thus in many ways symptoms of anxiety, rather than of confidence, that reveal his rapacious desire to be respected in the world. These anxieties were another factor fueling his

[68] A.H Thomas and I.D Thornley (ed.), *The Great Chronicle of London*, 1540 (London: Printed by G. W. Jones at the sign of the Dolphin, 1938.) Original, *Guildhall Library. MS. 3313*. These men were participating in festivities to mark the birth of Henry and Queen Katherine of Aragon's ill-fated son - who died just a month later.
[69] Sebastian Giustinian, *Four Years at The Court of Henry VIII*, 1515-1519, Rawdon Brown (ed.) (London: Smith and Elder and co., 1854.) 76, 8
[70] David Starkey, *A European Court in England* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 11

fervent consumption of worldly goods. Despites his concerns, the appraisals of Chieregato and Sagudino reveal that all this increased spending and display worked as Henry had intended. Already by the end of his first year he was recognized as a monarch who could hold his own amongst the most magnificent kings of Europe.[71] In fact, one pageant from the early years was so well received by ambassadors from Aragon and Castile that "they desired to have some of the badges or devices, which were on the king's trapper…'[72] At Henry's behest they "….took all or the more part: for in the beginning they thought they had been counterfeit, and not of golde.[73]"

Henry's magnificent displays became so ostentatious that they actually stirred a lively debate around the limits of largesse and conspicuous consumption in England. Prominent intellectual figures at the court, such as John Skelton, reacted to these changes in court culture by arguing against too much luxury. They insisted that a balance had to be struck between material displays of wealth and humility, so that kings did not appear to be wasting riches that could be spent improving conditions for their countrymen. In his play *Magnificence,* written between 1515 and 1523, Skelton suggested that when it came to this virtue 'measure is treasure' and that elite displays of wealth should always be considered and appropriate.[74] This work is widely believed to be a comment on the over the top revelry that marked Henry's court in his first decade as king.[75] Henry responded to these early criticisms in his own words and used them to reaffirm his commitment to conspicuous consumption. In 1513 he wrote the

[71] Guistinian, *Four Years*, 87
[72] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 514
[73] Ibid
[74] John Skelton, *Magnificence*, 1515-1523, Paula Mass (ed.), (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980), 23
[75] Mass, *Introduction*, in Skelton, *Magnificence,* 20

musical piece, *Pastime with good company.* This was an ode to the revelry of the court and a thinly veiled message to his distractors that magnificence and festivity were here to stay. Henry took aim at his critics and argued how:

> Paſtyme wt good 9panye, I loue & ſchall vntyll I dye, gruche who luſt but none denye, ſo god be pleſyd þus leve wyll I, for my paſtāce for my pastance….
>
> (Pastime with good company, I love and shall until I die, grudge who lust but none deny, so God be pleased thus live will I, for my pastance….")
>
> "….company methinks then best, all thoughtſ & fanſys to deieſt, ffor Idillnes Iis cheff maſtres, of vices all of vices all, then who can ſay, but myrth and play, is beſt of all.
>
> (Company me thinks then best, all thoughts and fancies to digest for idleness is chief mistress, of vices all, then who can say, but mirth and play, is best of all.)[76]

Later criticisms of Henry VIII's magnificence further illustrate how defining a feature of his kingship it was. Thomas Elyot made this point explicitly in his book *The Governor*, written as an advice manual for the king in the 1530's. In this work he recognized that costly "apparel may be wel a part of majestie,[77]" but, like Skelton, argued that it should be worn in a measured way (Henry had clearly not got the memo!) Although he was lamenting the fact, Elyot's work recognized just how deeply material magnificence had become imbedded in Henry's court. However, unlike Skelton, Elyot made an important exception when it came to conspicuous consumption. For him, extravagant displays of wealth and dress "may be suffered, where there

[76] *BL MS 31922*, 1v.
[77] Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, 1531, (Menston: The Scholar Press Limited, 1970.) fol 110r.

is a great assembly of strangers, that then some time it is expedient that a nobleman in his apparel to be so abundant…. riche and honorable."[78] Henry often employed magnificent dress to impress diverse international audiences.[79] In 1515 the Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Guistinian, reflected on how Henry used material magnificence in this way. Talking about a joust and tournament he explained that "I never should have expected to find such pomp; and on this occasion his majesty exerted himself to the upmost for the sake of the ambassadors, and more particularly on account of Pasqualigo (who is returning to France today) that he may be able to tell king Francis what he has seen in England….[80]"

The unprecedented levels of conspicuous consumption, and the value attached to magnificent display in Henrician England, is further reflected by the fact that Henry's reign witnessed the most intense period of sumptuary legislation in English history.[81] In total, he passed four acts of apparel, three in his first six years as king.[82] Sumptuary laws were typically a reaction to an increased availability of consumable luxuries across the social spectrum, something that had occurred in England with the freeing of taxes and the expansion of international trade on Henry's accession to the throne.[83] The explosion in conspicuous consumption at the court initiated by Henry did not exist in a vacuum. In his reign, English subjects were also buying luxury items in larger numbers than ever before. This was especially

[78] Ibid
[79] Hall mentions contingents from Germany, Scotland, Venice, The Papacy, The Holy Roman Empire, Spain, France, Switzerland, Hungary, Denmark, and 'diverse other strangers,' in attendance at the court between 1509-1517.
[80] Guistinian, *Four Years,* 81
[81] See Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996)
[82] The acts were in 1509, 1514, 1515 and 1532. Acts of Apparel were the most detailed and common type of sumptuary legislation in this period, but Henry also passed other laws relating to specific items of dress, such as his 'Act Concerning Hats and Caps' in 1511.
[83] Hunt, *Governance of*, 3

true for the growing bureaucratic classes who had been making themselves rich through service to the king. Henry's sumptuary laws were the result of anxieties caused by this shift. Sumptuary legislation was a reactionary measure aimed at regulating a specific socio-economic group's access to wearable luxuries. The kinds of items people were wearing and buying was a matter of concern for monarchs precisely because of the wealth and status such luxury goods bestowed. An ostentatious display from a member of the 'wrong group' threatened to blur existing social hierarchies.[84] This was a real concern for Henry since it was not uncommon in this period for a middle-class merchant to be able to amass more disposable capital, and thus buy better quality items, than a member of the nobility. Sumptuary legislation was Henry's attempt to control his and his subjects' relationships with consumable goods in order to fix their status and position in the social order. He used this legislation to ensure that only members of the royal family could wear the most impressive goods. For example, purple cloth of gold, purple velvet, and black furs were marked out as uniquely royal items.[85]

Henry's sumptuary laws are also important for what they can reveal about the value he attached to foreign wares as particularly impressive expressions of magnificence. In the first statute of 1509 it is stated that no one below the rank of Lord or a Knight of the Garter was to wear foreign woolen cloth.[86] This same group was singled out in 1511 in an *Act Concerning Hats and Capps* where they were named as the only people who could legally purchase foreign

---

[84] Ibid, 13

[85] Parliament Archives, London, King Henry VIII of England, *The Act of Apparel 1509 and 1514*, *Statutes of the Realm Henry VIII*. The official rationale behind these efforts was to stop conspicuous consumption amongst Englishmen for their own benefit. The argument went that by desiring and purchasing goods above their station people were making themselves poor, and thus more inclined to lawlessness, to maintain their lavish lifestyles. In truth, sumptuary law grew out of anxiety as much as it did compassion.

[86] King Henry VIII of England, *The Act of Apparel*, 1509, *PA: STR Henry VIII*

headwear.[87] Restricting access to foreign items marked them out as impressive signifiers of wealth and magnificence. Henry's sumptuary laws made certain foreign luxuries the preserve of the elite. Sumptuary legislation also points to the monarch's interest in international fashions as an expression of magnificence in another way. Each act ends with the clause "that this act be not prejudicial or hurtful….to any merchant stranger…or ambassadors.[88]" With this provision, Henry made sure that his laws were not restricting visiting and resident "strangers" in their clothing. This meant that the hierarchy of dress imposed by sumptuary laws on the English did not close the country off to new international fashions, fabrics, and designs. This was important since clothing was often valued for its' strangeness and novelty as much as its' richness.[89] It was therefore imperative that merchant strangers, foreign visitors, and ambassadors remained able to express themselves through their clothing without restriction, so that they could bring new fashions and trends into the court. This would have contributed to a growing mix of diverse international styles and aesthetics in royal spaces. Henry's sumptuary laws also ensured that the performative space of the court remained materially diverse. Another group to which sumptuary legislation did not apply were minstrels and court performers. This was necessary since pageantry was one of the biggest ways that Henry VIII showed off worldliness through the display of foreign wares and fashions in many performances. The legislation also explicitly mandated that if at any time Henry wanted to dress his subjects in a way that defied legislation,

[87] Ibid and King Henry VIII of England, *An Act Concerning Hats and Capps*, 1511, *PA: STR Henry VIII*
[88] Ibid
[89] A point that was made clear in the *The Secretum Secretorum*. Many of Edward Hall's descriptions of court pageantry also make a point to note the strangeness of the material displays he witnessed. For example, at the coronation in 1509 when he had remarked how "for a suretie, more riche, nor more straunge, nor more curious workes, hath not been seen, then were perepared against this coronaction," 586

as part of a court occasion, that was his prerogative. As explored in the next section of this chapter, he often reserved this right to dress people in ornate foreign costumes.

Crafting Cosmopolitanism: Henry's Material Expressions of Worldliness 1509-1517

"The Kyng caused the Quene, to kepe the estate, and satte the Ambassadours and Ladyes as they were marshalled by the kyng, who would not sit …. sodaynly the kyng was gone. And shortly after, his grace with the Erle of Essex, came in apparelled after Turkey fashion……"[90]

- Edward Hall, *Halls Chronicle.*

Primary sources reveal both a centrality and celebration of foreignness and international fashions in Henry's dress and court pageantry.[91] For the period of 1509-1517, the majority of luxury goods used in these displays would have come from the Mediterranean world and the Ottoman east, principally via Henry's relationships with Venetian and other Italian merchants. He also had good connections with the Hanseatic League which allowed him to bring in wares from Russia and Eurasia. What is most striking is not that Henry had foreign things but the pleasure he appeared to take in them and specifically his desire to incorporate them into his dress and pageantry in a way that highlighted and acknowledged their 'foreignness,' and subsequently, his worldliness. This trend started early. One of his most impressive worldly displays was during his first year as king. On Shrove Tuesday 1510, Henry put on a sumptuous entertainment for the court, which Edward Hall described as at the time being filled with ambassadors from "diverse realms and countries.[92]" What these men witnessed was a carefully constructed performance designed to express Henry's wealth and power and to show off his

[90] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 513
[91] The majority of evidence for this chapter comes from eye-witness accounts, chronicles and correspondence related to the court and court pageantry.
[92] Hall, *Halls Chronicle*, 513

diverse cultural literacy. The king entered the court alongside some of his leading nobles dressed in clothes of the 'Turkey fashion,' "in long robes of Bawdkin, powdered with gold, hates on their heddes of crimosyn velvet, with greate rolles of Gold,[93]" in the style of turbans. He was followed by a procession of courtiers dressed in the attire of Prussia, Russia, and the Middle East. "Next came the lorde Henry, Erele of Wilshire …. in two long gounes of yellowe satin … after the fashion of Russia…and after them, came syr Edward Haward and Thomas Parre …. they were apparlyed after the fashion of Prussia … the torchbearers were apparyled in crymsoyn satyne and grne, lyke Moreskoes…[94]" This parade of material and visual splendor underscored Henry's access to, and interest in, cultures beyond 'the sceptered Isle' of England. It was a conspicuous display of worldly goods and foreign styles performed for an international audience.

The exotic flavor of this Easter season continued three days later. During a banquet on Shrove Sunday, a pageant featuring men in "white Damaske and grene bonettes; and hoset," and women in both Egyptian and classical dress, was performed.[95] This was followed by more revelry which included a performance from a group of women who appeared, "their faces, neckes, aremes and handes, covered with fyne pleasuance blaace….so that thesame ladies semed to be nygrost or blacke mores.[96]" In this period, moor generally designated an individual of North or Sub-Saharan African origin but it was also used as a generic for a Muslim or a

[93] Ibid
[94] Ibid
[95] Ibid
[96] Ibid, 514

resident of India.[97] It was revealed at the end of this display that one of the 'blacke mores' was in fact Princess Mary, Henry's sister. An example of what this *"fyne pleasuance blaace"* may have looked like can be seen in the *Freydal*, or 'book of jousts,' made for the Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian I, who was emperor during Henry VIII's early years as king.[98] This tournament book, made sometime between 1512-1515, was a visual celebration and representation of Maximillian's magnificence and martial prowess (Freydal being the name of Maximillian's literary alter-ego). The Freydal consists of some two hundred and twenty-eight miniature paintings. These images are predominantly scenes of combat and jousting, but several depict the court revelry that traditionally accompanied a medieval tournament or tourney. In several examples the performers are depicted with dark netting covering their faces similar to that described by Hall (fig. two).

The appeal of the continental and the exotic to Henry is evident in these examples from 1510. They also reveal his astute knowledge of different cultural styles and the king's preference for juxtaposing a diversity of them in any one pageant or display. It was common for three to four national fashions to be invoked in one outfit or pageant, as they had been in 1510. Another example of this kind of display came during a Christmas pageant at Eltham in 1516. This performance featured ladies and knights in "which the ladies were richly and strangely disguised, for all their apparell was in braids of gold, fret with moving spangles, silver and gilt,

---

[97] Linda McJannet, 'Pirates, Merchants and Kings: Oriental Motifs in English Court and Civic Entertainments 1510 – 1659' in Helen Ostovich, Mary V. Silcox and Graham Roebuck (ed.), *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 254

[98] Quirin Von. Leitner*, Freydal. Des Kaisers Maximilian I. Turniere Und Mummereien, Herausgegeben ... Von Quirin Von Leitner, Mit Einer Geschichtlichen Einleitung Einem Facsimilirten Namensverzeichnisse Und 255 Heliogravuren.* 1880

and set on crimson satil loose and not fasteend, the mens apparell of the same suit made like julys of *Hungary*, and the ladies heads and bodies were after the fasshion of *Amsterdam*."[99] Displays like these were important as "evidence of England's participation in global trade."[100] The result was that in the drama of the court foreign lands and peoples were in the main presented in a positive light and the foreign became something to be embraced rather than rejected or feared in these spaces.

It is also significant that in many of Henry's courtly displays it was members of the royal family dressed in the most exotic costumes – whether that be Henry as a Turk, or Mary as a moor. This indicates a sense of the thrill attached to this process and how dressing up in consciously foreign styles was appealing to the king. Dressing up as a Turk and in the 'Turkish fashion' seems to have been particularly pleasing. In addition to the display of 1510, Henry VIII owned several gowns in the Turkish style, including a particularly beautiful "turquey gowne of crimson velvet of a new making embroidered with Venice gold and silver like unto clouds lined with crimson taffeta faced with crimson satin."[101] From the 1540's onwards Henry also developed a penchant for cassocks: a design that borrowed heavily from Turkish kaftans.[102] In this instance this may have been more the result of the English king's expanding waistline rather than a penchant for oriental styles. Nevertheless, by making these a central feature of his wardrobe a foreign style became highly visible in the king's clothing. It is not surprising to

[99] Hall, *Halls Chronicle*, 540. Italics my own.
[100] McJannet, 'Pirates, Merchants and Kings,' in Helen Ostovich et al, *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England,* 249
[101] David Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: Society of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1419* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers for the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1998), no.14194, 356
[102] Hayward, *Dress at Court of Henry VIII*, 17

find a penchant for eastern styles and aesthetics in Henry's pageantry and wardrobe. In this period the Ottoman Empire was one of the most magnificent and powerful monarchies in the world.[103] Dressing up in Ottoman fashions not only showed Henry's access to their goods but was also a way for him to harness the splendor of the east to his own majesty.[104] As Linda McJannet has argued, when discussing the Easter pageant of 1510, "while Henry might have valued the picturesque effect of his Turkish dress, he was surely even more interested in the great Turk as a symbol of power and imperial grandeur, qualities which Henry sought to appropriate himself."[105] This was especially important for Henry since he could not match the power and prestige of the Ottoman Sultan by other means. Nevertheless, by "basking in the reflected wealth and symbolic power of eastern others" he could downplay his "relative marginality" in areas such as global politics.[106]

Exhibiting a range of foreign styles and fashions was something that Henry also often did in his personal wardrobe, as well as when 'performing' in pageants.[107] This further presented him as a worldly king. German, Spanish, Turkish, French, Dutch, Greek, Italian, Hungarian, Prussian, Russian, Moorish, and Swiss styles are all mentioned in the existing inventories of

---

[103] Henry's interest in these styles also extended to his furnishings. He had a large collection of oriental carpets that were some of his favorite worldly goods to display. This is explored in more detail in chapter two pages 80-83.
[104]McJannet, 'Pirates, Merchants and Kings,' in Helen Ostovich et al, *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England,* 251. There is a long tradition in English theatre and pageantry of dressing in Turkish styles and mimicking eastern culture for some studies on this see Nabil Matar, *Turks Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), Daniel Viktus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)
[105] Ibid
[106] Ibid
[107] Margaret Hayward, an expert on dress at Henry's court, explains why this was important. She argues that "the ability to replace and renew your wardrobe to reflect trends (short and longer term) was the mark of the very wealthy" Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, 12. This drive for newness further encouraged cultural diversity in Henry's wardrobe and pageantry as king's looked to a variety of places for the latest trends.

Henry's clothing.[108] In 1515, Sebastian Guistinian, offered this illustrative description of his first encounter with Henry:

> We at length reached the king, who was under a canopy of cloth of gold, embroidered in ***Florence***, the most costly thing I ever witnessed…he wore a cap of crimson velvet in the ***French*** fashion…his doublet was in the ***Swiss*** fashion, striped alternatively with white and crimson satin, and his hose were scarlet, and all slashed from the knee upward…[109]"

In this comment, we find Guistinian reveling in the internationalism of Henry's dress, taking time to note the geographic origins of each costly item. This is further evidence of the value attached to displays of cultural diversity as expressions of magnificence in this period. Guistinian's description also shows how recognizable different styles had become in an elite culture that attached importance to these kinds of displays. Specific foreign items and styles appear to have been popular with Henry at different times. As a young man, he had a particular penchant for German fashions, whilst he favored Spanish and Turkish gowns as he aged.[110]

Another popular material in the king's wardrobe, that would have been instantly recognizable as foreign, were sables and furs. These would have been imported into the English court from Prussia and Russia. Furs were mainly used as trimmings for royal coats and gowns and they adorned some of the most rich and precious items in Henry's wardrobe, including gowns of purple velvet and cloth of gold that were exclusively the preserve of royalty. Henry's

---

[108] Maria Hayward, 'Dressed to Rule: Henry VIII's Wardrobe and His Equipment for Horse, Hawk and Hound,' in Maria Hayward and Philip Ward (ed.), *The Inventory of Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2012), 77. Sometimes Henry would buy his foreign apparel directly from stranger merchants, but it was more common to have his clothes made by his personal tailors.
[109] Guistinian, *Four Years*, 85. Italics my own.
[110] Hayward, 'Dressed to Rule,' in Hayward and Ward (ed.), *The Inventory of Henry VII*, 78

Wardrobe Accounts illustrate this in the record of "a tymber of sable for the performing of capes and forfronts of v gowns - a gown of cloth of gold tissue, a gown of purple cloth of gold baldekin, a gown of purple velvet pirled, a gown of crimson satin cut, a cloth of gold lozenge wyze and a gown of purple velvet.[111]" Henry's sumptuary laws also tell us something about the appeal of foreign furs. In later acts of apparel, these were added to the list of restricted international items, and, from 1514, no one under the degree of gentlemen was to wear them.[112] Instead, it was legislated that they were to trim their garments using only "lambs fur of the growing of this realm of England.[113]" The high status of furs is also revealed by the fact that they were often strewn with precious pearls and gemstones, like Henry's "sable skynne with a hedd of golde musled garnished and sett with foure Emeraldes, foure turquesses vj rubies two dyamountes and v peerless….[114]

This introduces another exotic element of Henry's dress: pearls and gemstones. Pearls and gemstones were essential props in the theatre of royal magnificence and the knowledge of them was said to be an 'ornament of princes.'[115] At their first meeting in 1515, Guistinian had also remarked on Henry's startlingly impressive jewelry. He described how "around round his neck he had a gold collar, from which there hung a round cut diamond, the size of the largest walnut I ever saw, and to this was suspended a most beautiful and very large round pearl…[116]' Pearls like these would have been immediately recognizable as coveted foreign luxuries, and

[111] The British Library, London, *Harley MS 2286*, item no A367
[112] The Parliamentary Archives, London, King Henry VIII, *The Act of Apparel*, 1514, *Statutes of the Realm Henry VIII*
[113] Ibid
[114] Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.11536, 256
[115] Thomas Nicols, *A Lapidary: or, the History of Pretious Stones, with Cautions for the Undeceiving of All Those That Deal with Pretious Stones* (London: T.Buck, 1652), 6
[116] Ibid

the most iridescent and large, like the one Guistinian mentioned, would have most likely come from the Orient.[117] In 1509, the eastern origins of these jewels had been referenced during Henry's coronation procession when Queen Katherine of Aragon's pearl tiara was described as "a coronall, set with many riche orient stones.[118]" In the eighteenth century, the Eastern pedigree of pearls was remarked on again by the art historian Horace Walpole who described Henry's daughter, Elizabeth I's, penchant for them. He talked of how she appeared "like an Indian idol, totally composed of pearls and necklaces.[119]" Other pearls in Henry's final inventory are described as Damask Pearls, noting a Middle Eastern origin.[120] Elizabeth I's fondness for pearls appears to have been something she inherited from her father. They were ubiquitous in Henry's dress and jewelry. The king's crown, which he had specially made, and which was so heavy that none of his offspring could ever wear it, included nineteen pearls.[121] In fact, these foreign objects had become so prevalent in European courts by the end of the sixteenth century "that only the new, very great purchases and the pearls from America caused any excitement.[122]" The geographical marking of these items in sources from the period further shows the value attached to foreign luxuries in the Henrician court. From the sixteenth century onwards, it was common to label all gemstones via their geographical origin, with the most impressive and sought-after examples usually coming from the east. A 1565 compendium of works on gems and jewels differentiates and orders them in this way and designates eastern

[117] Joan Younger Dickenson, *The Book of Pearls*, (London: Bonanza Books, 1968), 2
[118] Hall, *Halls Chronicle,* 509
[119] Dickenson, *The Book of Pearls*, 59
[120] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.13179, 310
[121] Dickenson, *The Book of Pearls*, 53
[122] Ibid, 56

wares as the 'purest' and best examples of many types.[123] Henry adorned himself with a plethora of exotic gemstones that included topazes from the Mughal Empire, Jasper from North Africa, and Jacinth's from Calicut.[124]

Guistinian's description of Henry's jewelry at his first meeting with the king is also important for the light it sheds on another important facet of Henry VIII's self-fashioning – the national elements of his dress and pageantry – and specifically how these related to foreign ones. In addition to the many continental items and oriental gemstones he was wearing that day, Guistinian mentions that Henry had "a very handsome gold collar with a pendant of St George entirely of diamonds.[125]" In this outfit, Henry therefore blended national and international emblems and styles – the Florentine canopy, the Swiss style doublet, the French velvet cap, and the English St. George. The result was a representation of monarchy that was both patriotic and worldly. Henry did this again in 1514, when he set sail for war with the French. Hall describes how at this event "he was apparelled in *almayne* ryuet crested and his vabrance of the same and on his head a chapeau motabyn with a riche coronal, the fols of the cahpeau was lined with crimson satin and a riche broach with the image of St. George, over his rivtett he had a garment of white cog with a red cross….[126]' These descriptions show how

[123] See Conrad Gesner, *De Omne Rerum Fossilium* (London: British Museum Department of Printed Books, 1565)
[124] "Pearls and Gold Delivered by the King to Cornelius Hayes, 13th February 1535," *BL: MS 7C.XVI,* f 48 r. The exotic origins of these stones are recorded in several early modern books on pearls and gemstones books such as Fanciscus Rueus, *De Gemmis Aliquot, 1547*, Conrad Gesner, *De Omne Rerum Fossilium* (London: British Museum Department of Printed Books, 1565) and Thomas Nicols, *A Lapidary: or, the History of Pretious Stones, with Cautions for the Undeceiving of All Those That Deal with Pretious Stones*, 1652.
[125] Guistinian, *Four Years*, 85
[126]Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 539

national emblems and foreign styles were not mutually exclusive categories in the dress and culture of Henry's court.

Foreign garments and objects were a popular choice in Henry's dress and court pageantry for several reasons. In addition to the status and magnificence they afforded him, Henry could also adopt them to make overtures of friendship and show affinity to specific groups of "strangers."[127] This happened in 1511 when he personally invited ambassadors from The Holy Roman Empire and Spain to an intimate performance in the queen's chamber. There, they were encouraged to partake in the revelry "with the king and 15 other, apparelled in ***almayne*** jackets of crimson and purple satin, with log quartered sleve, with hosen the same set up, their bonnets of white velvet, wrapped in flat gold of damask, with visers and white plumes…' and 'ladies apparlled in garments of crimson satin embroidered and trauessed with cloth of gold, cut in pomregranates and yokes, strynged after the fashion of ***Spain***."[128] At this time Henry was pursuing alliances with both parties in light of his desire to go to war with France, so he had good reason to show an affinity with the ambassadors through luxurious material displays that incorporated Spanish and German styles. Again, Henry appears to have succeeded in his goal of impressing the ambassadors who were said to have 'much praised the king' for this performance.[129]

Expensive foreign goods also proved politically useful in another way. Because luxury was a language spoken the world over, Henry VIII often gifted imported clothing and dress

[127] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 12
[128]Hall, Hall's Chronicle, 520
[129] Ibid

accessories to "strangers" as part of his international diplomacy.[130] The 1516 *Wardrobe Book of The Wardrobe of the Robes* provides a glimpse into these offerings.[131] It was common for Henry to bestow "strangers" with geographically distinct items, which again indicates the prestige afforded to international luxuries in elite culture at this time. For example, in 1516 a lord admiral of France was given "a doblet and hosez of purpull veluete and blake tinslet paned and cutt after ***thalmaync facion***," and the French king, Francis I, was delivered "a sword of the ***Spanish facion***, the pomel hafte and chape of gold with a blew girdle wll wrought upon with gold and the bokelle pendant and other garnishing of gold and enameled.[132]" With these gifts, Henry was using foreign objects to impress and to show off his magnificence. In turn, they showed off the geographically diverse nature of his possessions and tastes.

In addition to the international costumes and dress that were a central part of Henry VIII's courtly entertainments, entertainments themselves were also often recognizably, and consciously, 'foreign.' This was a shift from earlier court pageantry that tended to be organized around biblical or national themes (these themes were still present in many of Henry's displays but were no longer the sole focus).[133] For example, Henry is well known for bringing the mask, an Italian dance, to England. The mask was first performed during the epiphany celebrations of 1512. Hall described the entertainment: "the king with XI other were disguised, after the

[130] There is an extensive historiography of gift-giving and the power of the gift in early modern diplomacy. For some examples see Natalie Zemon Davies, *The Gift in Sixteenth Century France* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000). Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (ed.), *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
[131] *BL: Harley 2284*
[132] *BL: Harley 2284* items A19, A196, A309
[133] McJannet, 'Pirates, Merchants and Kings,' in Helen Ostovich et al, *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*, 249

mannaer of Italy, called a mask, a thing no seen afore in England."[134] Perhaps lesser known is Henry's interest in the 'Morris,' or 'Morisk,' meaning the Moorish dance or dance of the moors.[135] This was an extremely popular entertainment in the Tudor court. It has been described as an energetic 'fighting' dance, full of noise, leaping, and rhythmic stepping. The signature feature of the Morris were bells, which would be worn at the ankles of the performers and/or attached to implements for beating in time with music.[136] The origins of the Morris in England are not known for certain, but it is commonly accepted to be a Moroccan dance which found its way to the courts of England via Spain. The first record of a Morris being performed in the English court is in 1458 and it became a popular dance throughout the courts of Europe in the early sixteenth century.

The Morris became a common entertainment in Henry's court, especially during his first decade as king (perhaps in light of the close relationship he had with Spain at this time through his marriage to Katherine of Aragon). *The Annals of Early Morris*, a database which records incidences of the dance in England, shows that the number of performances reached a high point between 1494 and 1522 (under Henry VIII and his father).[137] The database also shows that, at this time, the dance was almost exclusively performed in elite/courtly circles.[138] John

---

[134] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 527

[135]There are cognate forms of the word 'Morris' in most European languages in the C16 and they all appear to mean Moorish. John Forest, *The History of Morris Dancing 1458-1750*, (James Clarke and Co Ltd: Cambridge, 1999), 6

[136] The modern-day version of Morris dancing still incorporates the elements of bells but has lost the foreignness and 'exoticism' which the early dance was meant to portray. In comparison modern day Morris dancing has become a symbol of rural England and traditional English culture. For more on the history of Morris Dancing see Forest, *The History of Morris Dancing,* 1999.

[137] Michael Heaney and John Forrest, *Annals of Morris*, (Sheffield: Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, University of Sheffield in Association with the Morris Ring, 1991)

[138] Later in the Early Modern Period Morris dancing became more of an urban phenomenon that was performed by guilds during their parades.

Forrest, who has written extensively on the history of Morris dancing, describes "a venerable Tudor tradition of kings, queens and nobles feasting in glittering halls and enjoying Morris dancing as part of their midwinters sport."[139] Eyewitness accounts mention several Morris dances that took place in Henry's court. Household records also reveal examples of Henry personally commissioning them. The records of the *Department of Revels* are especially valuable in this respect. For example, in 1514, Richard Gibson, the master of the revels, recorded that he was commissioned to make costumes for "an interluit, in the wheche conteyned a moresks of vi persons and ij ladies [called beauty and venus]; wherefor by hys commandement, of our soveraine lord the Kyng, and appointment of Sir Harry Gylforth was prepared, had and wrought dyvers and sundry garments…"[140] The garments in question were composed of white and green satin, with yellow saracent and 'xxiiij dozyn bells, the dosyn 12d spent for the said morysks."[141] A set of sixteen German carvings from 1480, called the "Moriskentanzer," gives an idea of what this group of dancers may have looked like (fig. three). Maximillian's *Freydal* also includes a miniature of a Morris (fig. two). Henry's interest in the Morris is further indicated by his possession of several material representations of the dance. *The Inventory of Whitehall*, taken in 1543, lists three terracottas of 'morian boys,' dressed in green, white, and blue and white.[142] The fact that the costumes of these models are mentioned, and that they appear to be dressed in ways similar to the Morris dancers in Gibson's revels accounts, indicates that these terracottas were representations of the Morris dance that may

[139] Forrest, *History of Morris Dancing*, 51
[140] Accounts of Richard Gibson for revels etc: stuff purchased, workmanship, wages, *PRO E36/217*, ff.74-6.
[141] Ibid
[142]Maria Hayward, *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall: The Palace and its Keeper Vol 2: The Manuscript* (London: Illuminata Publishers, 2004), nos. 829, 2384, 2385

well have been similar to the existing German carvings. 'Morian boys' and dancers are also represented across other precious media. Records from the Jewelhouse record two salts where they feature, one "salt of gold with a cover borne up by a morean having rubies and pearls about his neck, and diamonds and other stones on the cover" and "a gold salt, called the Moresdaunce, with 5 Moresdauncers and a tabrett, and a lady holding the salt, set with diamond and pearls."[143]

In the Moriskentanzer carvings one figure appears to be of Moorish origin (fig. three). In the *Freydal*, the dancer's faces are also covered with black netting to indicate a Moorish ethnicity (fig. two). Despite these two examples, it was not always, or even typically the case, that moors, or rather people dressed as moors - which we have already seen was a popular thing to do in the early Tudor court - would feature in the dance. Nevertheless, when performed at Henry's court the Morris would have been a clear expression and example of Moorish culture and thus a further evocation of the king's worldliness. Moreover, whilst moors did not tend to be central characters in the dance, typically the characters that did make up the Morris were non-Europeans, such as Jews, Turks, and barbarians.[144] This point is raised by Forrest who argues that in a general sense these dances would have been "symbolic of the remote and exotic worlds at the fringes of Europe," and subsequently, when performed at the court of Henry's interest and curiosity about them.[145]

---

[143] The Jewel House 1532, *PRO: E36/85*

[144] Forest, *History of Morris Dancing*, 102

[145] Ibid. The association of the Morris dance and Morris dancers with foreign peoples is also revealed by the engravings of Theodore De Bry. In 1595 he contributed a set of plates to illustrate Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. In these engravings he pictures native peoples with bells around their feet akin to those seen in descriptions and representations of the Morris. Moorish aesthetics and design

As well as reveling in foreign dances and pageantry, Henry would also make his consumption of foreign goods a cause for spectacle. Guistinian mentions his almost frenzied excitement at the prospect of Venetian galleys, carrying a cargo of these luxuries, arriving at Hampton Court Palace. This was a tradition that had been established under Henry VII and that Henry VIII had made an annual occurrence in his first few years as king. Guistinian recalls many instances of Henry excitedly following up on the ships' estimated arrival describing how he "longs for their coming…saying that he will purchase many articles of luxury, usually brought by the said galleys."[146] When the flotillas arrived in 1519, Henry took the opportunity to publicly parade his access to the diverse goods on board. He arranged for the whole court to be presented with a meal on these ships, "which had readily been prepared royally, with a spacious platform decorated with every sort of tapestry and silk; on either side of which were four rows of tables, served with every sort of confection, for there we upwards of 300 persons present."[147]

As suggested in this example, the dining table was another performative space where Henry could show off his international connections and exotic tastes. When we think of Henry feasting, sophisticated dishes and foreign delicacies are probably not the first things that come to mind. Later images of the king, with an ever-expanding waistline, and depictions of him in popular culture, specifically Charles Laughton's memorable portrayal of the monarch gorging on lashings of heavy meats, are probably to blame. Nevertheless, hospitality and dining were a key

---

patterns were also popular across a plethora of media and luxury goods at Henry's court (the prevalence of this style in the aesthetic of the permanent household is discussed in detail in chapter two pages 106-111).

[146] Giustinian, *Four Years*, 139

[147] Ibid, 192. The silks would have likely been eastern and the tapestries Flemish. The international origins of much of Henry's furnishings is taken up in chapter two of this dissertation.

part of Henry's magnificence and like all other areas of royal display were meticulously curated to impress. George Cavendish, in his biography of his employer Cardinal Wolsey, provides a sense of how feasting and dining played a central role in the Henrician court, especially when it came to impressing foreign visitors. He offers the following description of a banquet, put on by Wolsey at Henry's behest, for an embassy of Frenchman, in 1527:

> My lord cardinal called for his principal officers of his house…to prepare for this banquet at Hampton court: and neither to spare for expenses or travail, to make them such triumphant cheer, as they may not only wonder at it here but that they may also make a glorious report in their country to the king's honor and that of his realm.[148]

Securing rare gastronomical imports and exotic ingredients to fill the courtiers' stomachs and delight their senses was of paramount importance. Cavendish describes how at this banquet alone there were produced "so many dishes, subtleties and curious devices which were above a hundred in number, of so goodly proportion and costly, that I suppose the Frenchmen never saw the like."[149] To whip up his important gastronomical displays Henry also hired a French chef, Peroo Doulx, who was officially tasked with cooking for 'the kings mouth.'[150] This was an esteemed position and as a personal servant of the king, Peroo was paid separately out of the royal coffers.[151]

---

[148] George Cavendish, 'The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey,' in Richard S. Sylvester and Davis P. Harding (ed.), *Two Early Tudor Lives: The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish; The Life of Sir Thomas More by William Roper* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 192

[149] Ibid, 197

[150] David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (Gwynedd: Headstart History, 1992), 65

[151] "Henry VIII: Miscellaneous 1540," in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 16, 1540-1541, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898), 178-210. British History Online, accessed December 15, 2020, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol16/pp178-210. Henry VII had also had a French chef, but it appears that this tradition ended with Henry VIII.

The description of the 1527 feast, other eyewitness accounts of Tudor dining, and records from the Tudor Kitchens, give an example of the kinds of foods you could expect to see at a royal table - a multitude of beasts, birds, fish, and fowls (at a banquet in 1520 Henry had produced six thousand four hundred and seventy-five species of bird alone!)[152] These were served up alongside breads, pastries, cheeses, and fresh and dried fruits. Sources also indicate the value attached to foreign produce. 'Greek birds,' for example, appear to have been Henry's most highly prized and most expensive meat.[153] Probably the most sought-after exotic items however were spices. The most common spices found in Henry's court were ginger, pepper, nutmeg, mace, cloves, cinnamon, saffron, anise (used to make liquorish), and grains of paradise (the seeds of a West African ginger plant).[154] These were all imports and associated with international trade with distant lands. The majority came to England from the Indies usually via the crown's relationships with Venetian and other Italian merchants who were a central part of the international spice trade. Much as they would be used today, spices featured in Henrician dining as an accompaniment to main courses and were added to dishes, breads, and pastries for flavor. However, in the Tudor court spices were not simply something to physically digest, they were also luxury items in and of themselves. Spices were socially effective objects precisely because of their foreignness. They expressed Henry's wealth, his access to the goods of far of lands, and his civilized tastes. For these reasons, they were commonly displayed on platters of precious metal and in ways designed to be marveled at. At the feast of 1527, Wolsey

---

[152] Glenn Richardson, The Field of Cloth of Gold, *History Today*, Volume 70 Issue 7 July 2020, www.historytoday.com, accessed 12/1/2020 https://www.historytoday.com/archive/feature/field-cloth-gold
[153] PA: London, King Henry VIII of England, *Pricing Meats 12 May 1544*, *Statutes of the Realm Henry VIII*
[154] Peter Brears, *All the Kings Cooks: The Tudor Kitchens of King Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace* (London: Souvenir Press, 2011), 67

had made sure that the court's access to spices was noticed. Cavendish describes how he created a 'chess board' of them that was said to have so impressed the French visitors they requested one for themselves.[155]

The status of spices in Henry's court is further supported by the beauty of the spice plates on which they were commonly displayed. In the main, these were ornate and important objects, often made of gilt and adorned with fine jewels. Some of Henry's were so valuable that they were considered a part of his personal jewelry collection. An account of the king's jewels from 1521 records twenty-two beautifully enameled spice plates, made of either silver or gold.[156] Moreover, Henry had special cases made to store spices of particular value, such as pepper and ginger from the Indies.[157] He also had cases made to store sugar which by the end of the reign had started to be imported from the New World.[158] Sugar was another luxury food item that signaled Henry's worldly horizons and outward looking nature. Queen Elizabeth's penchant for the sweet stuff is well known but the sugar 'craze' first took root under her father. Sugar had been found in Madeira in the Late Middle Ages but the finest and most sought after crop in Henry's time was slave made sugar from the New World (which would have been the type of sugar he commissioned cases for). In 1516, the Spanish began importing this sugar into Europe for the first time.[159] By the end of Henry's reign, sugar was an immensely popular rarity, so much so that the king enacted legislation to ensure his access to it. In 1544 he set the price

[155] George Cavendish, 'The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey,' in Richard S. Sylvester and Davis P. Harding (ed.), *Two Early Tudor Lives*, 198
[156] Edward Trollope, "Henry VIII's Jewell Book," *Architectural societies of Northampton, York and Lincoln etc, Reports and Papers*, Vol. 17, 1883, 195
[157] Brears, *All the Kings Cooks*, 65
[158] Ibid
[159] Ibid

of sugar to 9d or 10d by royal proclamation.[160] In the same year, the first sugar refinery opened in England.[161] By 1585, London replaced Antwerp as Europe's main refinery.[162] It was also common for the king and queen to take sugar coated spices after dinner, a cleverly designed moment of political theatre that expressed their access to these exotic commodities.[163] Since his accession to the throne, Henry VIII had therefore cultivated his dress and pageantry in ways that expressed his worldliness and that brought the 'foreign' into the heart of his court. These shifts had also encouraged him to exhibit behaviors and act in ways that are early manifestations of culturally cosmopolitan behaviors in England, namely of curiosity and interest in the 'foreign.' None of Henry's worldly self-fashioning would have been possible without increased engagement and positive relationships with "stranger" merchants, that were built on mutual respect and encouraged tolerance towards them.

Evil May Day.

One event in particular stands out as testament to the worldly shifts in court culture, pageantry, and royal display that occurred under Henry VIII. Evil May Day, an anti-foreigner riot that swept London in 1517. This event also reveals how Henry's positive attitudes towards "strangers" and cultural diversity had resulted in the strengthening of opposite, more nativist mores, in other populations. As a result of his demand for their goods, "stranger merchants" had become more visible, and more powerful, at the English court than ever before. The demand for international goods had also made London a popular choice for immigrant artisans and their visibility and

[160] Ibid
[161] Ibid
[162] Ibid, 67
[163] Ibid

numbers had also been increasing in the city since Henry's accession.[164] This had bred resentment in many English subjects who felt that the king's close relationships with foreigners and his consumption of imported luxuries was to the destruction of their interests and livelihoods.

These differing attitudes towards "strangers" would square off during Evil May Day and the events that followed that dark day in 1517.[165] Evil May Day was a clear and visceral response to a perceived change at the court, which suggests that the internationally minded and influenced space that Henry had built there did not resonate with a significant number of the common people. Many of the rioters felt left behind and unable to participate in an elite culture that was increasingly international. The events of this day illustrate the cultural gap that had opened up under Henry between an increasingly worldly and outward looking court and elite, that embraced the foreign, and a more inward looking, protectionist, native population, who were suspicious of, and at times openly hostile, to foreigners. Henry's, some would say overly violent, reaction to the riot would also confirm just how important being seen as worldly

---

[164] *England's Immigrants 1330 – 1550* (www.englandsimmigrants.com, version 1.0, 15 December 2020), http://www.englandsimmigrants.com/. By 1517 Tudor London could be convincingly described as a culturally diverse trading center. Altogether strangers made up around six percent of the capital's population, but in some areas these figures were much higher. The highest numbers lived in the west end wards of Blackfriars and St. Martin Le Grand. They were a somewhat mixed group, of artisans, merchants, and diplomats, coming principally from continental Europe (Spain, The Netherlands, the German Lowlands, France, and Italy). The Italians and French tended to circle around the court, either as merchants or ambassadors, whilst most foreign artisans who worked in the city were from Northern Europe. For more information see Steven Lee Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life Within Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 43-45

[165] The main sources for this riot are English chronicles and foreign correspondence. Edward Hall's chronicle provides the most detailed account but must be read against the grain as he does not hide the fact that he is sympathetic to the English rioters. The main sources are as followed: Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*. Guistinian, *Four Years*. Richard Arnold, *The Customs of London, Otherwise Called Arnold's Chronicle*, 1521, Francis Douce (ed.) (London: Printed for F.C and J. Rivington, 1811). A.H Thomas and I.D Thornley (ed.), *The Great Chronicle of London*, 1530 (London: Printed by G. W. Jones at the sign of the Dolphin, 1938.) Original Guildhall library. Ms. 3313. *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, Camden Society Old Series: Volume 53, ed. J G Nichols (London, 1852), 29-53. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol53/pp29-53 [accessed 24 June 2018].

was to him and how much he valued his relationships with "stranger" merchants. The riot would have to be stopped, but this would not be at the expense of Henry VIII's increasingly worldly court and exotic tastes. The result was a doubling down on the culturally cosmopolitan behaviors that had manifested around the king's consumption of foreign things rather than the rejection of them that the rioters had sued for.

In Tudor England, May 1st marked the public Holiday of May Day – a traditional festival that celebrated the coming of spring and a new harvest. May Day 1517, however, was unlike any other. There would be little dancing or revelry. Instead, a stillness could be felt over the city of London, which was under royal armed guard. The night before, a vicious riot had broken out against the many "strangers" occupying and working in the capital. No one had been killed, but many had been attacked or had their houses and property looted by the two thousand plus participants. The ring leaders would soon be dealt with swiftly and brutally - hung, drawn, and quartered - in a move that many contemporaries found shocking. The first signs of trouble and of the widening gap between elite and common attitudes towards "strangers" came in 1516. In May of that year, a man named Thomas Allen, wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury about a paper he had found nailed to the door of St. Paul's Cathedral.[166] This paper complained that "strangers" were being enriched by the king and were being allowed to dominate the wool trade to the detriment of the English.[167] Henry reacted to this accusation swiftly and concisely.

[166] St. Paul's cathedral was a center for much public activity in London in the late middle ages and Tudor period so posting the letter in this location would have been a deliberate choice to guarantee the attention of the authorities and the king. The outdoor covered pulpit at St. Paul's cross was also often a site of controversy and it was common to find preachers here expounding on controversial points of theology and politics. It was also here that royal proclamations were made.

[167] No. 1832, "Henry VIII: April 1516, 21-30," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 2, 1515-1518*, ed. J S Brewer (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1864), 510-527. British History Online, accessed March 5, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol2/pp510-527.

He ordered that a member of his council should be sent to every ward in London and there, alongside the alderman of the area, was to track down every man that could write and take possession of their books in order to find the author of the letter - but to no avail.[168]

In the weeks and months leading to the riot tensions continued to build as several native inhabitants, especially tradesman, merchants, and artisans, grew increasingly jealous and agitated by what they saw as the foreign merchants' monopolization of luxury trade with the court and Henry's attendant dismissal of English commercial interests. Primary sources present a vivid image of these growing hostilities. Stories abound of "strangers" being abused by the English and of the "strangers'" behaviors that had 'caused' their anger. In his chronicle, Edward Hall makes the riot seem almost inevitable, stating that till that point "there had increased such malice in the Englishman's hearts that at last it burst out."[169] On April 28th, he mentions that two "strangers" (he does not mention their nationality) were ambushed from behind and pushed into a canal.[170] To frame the riot, and no doubt to promote some empathy for the English, Hall also describes several examples of unfair conduct by "strangers." One instance is the story of an infamous Italian merchant Francesco De'Bardi, who he presents as an example of the "strangers'" disregard of English interests and of Henry's clear and unfair favoritism towards them. Hall explains how the year of the riot De'Bardi had been called to court by an Englishman accused of stealing his plate (and his wife!). Hall claims that despite the Italian being clearly guilty of the crime, he was able to persuade the authorities otherwise, and actually ended up successfully countersuing the Englishman for failing to pay his wife's lodgings

[168] Ibid
[169] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 586
[170] Ibid, 598

after she had left him for De'Bardi![171] De'Bardi and other "strangers" were said to have been heard openly talking and laughing about this in the presence of King Henry with no repercussions.[172] Hall also claimed that Henry's favoritism and support had caused other "strangers" to antagonize the English. He explains how their reception at court had affected their behavior in the city stating that, "the Genowayes, Frenchemen and other straunggiers sayde and boasted them selfes to be in suche fauour with the kyng and his counsaylll, that they set naughte by the rulers of the citie."[173]

Tensions in the city approached breaking point the Tuesday of Easter week, when one Dr. Bell gave a sermon outside St. Paul's cathedral with the explicit intention of inciting violence against the "strangers" dwelling there, and to send a clear message to the king about his support of them and their interests. The sermon had been initiated and scripted by John Lincoln, a London broker, an individual who would have felt the economic repercussions of Henry's international dealings. Lincoln had all but written the text, in the form of a bill of grievances, for Bell to deliver.[174] Lincoln railed for the priest to speak out against the "strangers, ruiners, and destroyers of your country."[175] He argued that "Englishe merchants could have no utterance, for the merchant strangers bring in all silks, clothe of gold, wine, oil, iron and such other merchandises, that no man almost buys of an Englishman."[176] To a modern reader, Bell's sermon is full of familiar protestations about foreigners taking natives jobs and reducing them to poverty. The preacher began by reading Lincoln's hyperbolic bill contending that "aliens and

[171] Ibid, 586
[172] Ibid, 587
[173] Ibid, 586
[174] Drawing up a list of grievances for the crown to address was common for most rebellions in this period.
[175] Hall, Halls Chronicle, 587
[176] Ibid, 596-7

strangers eate the bread from the poore fatherless children, and take the living from all the [artisans], and the entercourse [business] from all the merchants."[177] The message was clear. Enough was enough. He railed that since these individuals "hurt and damage grieveth all men, so muste all men set to their willing power for remedy, and not to suffer the said aliens so highly in their wealth.[178] He concluded, God gave this land to Englishmen, "and as birds would defend their nest, so ought Englishmen to cherish and defend themselves, and to hurt and grieve aliens for the common weale."[179]

In this sermon, Bell spun Lincoln's specific economic grievances, against a particular group of "strangers," into a xenophobic attack against them writ large. He did this by painting the "strangers" not simply as economic competition, but as an 'alien' presence in the body politic that did not belong. This was opposite to the welcome reception that had been coming from Henry and the court. The nature of the sermon explains how the ring leaders were able to persuade a large multitude to take up arms against "strangers," and the elites who supported them, even if they were not in trades directly affected by foreign competition. Bell did this by his careful use of language. He was sure to refer to the strangers as 'aliens' at multiple times in the sermon. This use of language to describe foreigners is markedly different from that of the crown in this period. "Stranger/s" is the term used in any official documents referring to foreign born individuals in contact with, or at, the court, never alien. Unlike alien, "stranger" was not a pejorative term. It referred to someone who was currently working or residing in the country but who was not born there. Legally, "strangers" were guests in England (although clearly

[177] Ibid, 586
[178] Ibid
[179] Ibid, 587

welcomed more by some than others). Their presence was also seen as temporary. If a foreign-born individual did want to take up permanent residency they had to apply to the king and council for denizenship. Once granted, denizens had the same rights as native-born citizens but were still marked out by this title (the modern-day equivalent would be a legal permanent resident). By choosing to describe the "strangers" as aliens, Bell was consciously highlighting their difference and pitching it as something that should be feared and stamped out as opposed to welcomed and reveled in, which was more akin to the messages coming from king and court. Guistinian, who had been present at the time of the sermon, confirms Bell's negative portrayal of foreigners and their alienness. Writing to his bosses in Venice, he recalled how the preacher had "commenced abusing the strangers in the town, and ***their mode of life and customs***, alleging that they not only deprived them of their industry, and of the emoluments derivable thence, but disgraced their dwellings, taking their wives and daughters; adding much other exasperating language, persuading and exhorting them not to suffer or permit ***this sort of persons*** to inhabit their town."[180] This resonated with the audience, who the Venetian ambassador reported were whipped into a rage.[181]

Following the sermon, rumors swirled that a large and coordinated attack was being planned for the next public holiday of the year, May Day. Guistinian seems to have been especially concerned. He left London shortly after the sermon and headed to Richmond to meet with the king and warn him of the possible impending troubles. In Henry, he found a sympathetic ear. He described how "his majesty listened to me graciously, promising to take

[180] Giustinian, *Four Years*, 69
[181] Ibid

every precaution…." and was able to reassure the ambassador of his utmost concern for the "strangers" and their safety.[182] True to his word, the night before the holiday, Henry ordered a curfew for nine in the evening for the city of London, in the hopes that this would quell any unrest. However, this did not deter the rioters. Shortly after nightfall on March 31st an armed mob, numbering approximately two hundred and mainly consisting of young men, gathered at Cheapside. They soon began moving through the city attacking and looting "stranger's" persons and residences as they went. As they moved, their numbers swelled. Hall estimates that at its high point there were some one thousand participants, but modern estimates put the number at around double that.[183] Chronicles paint a panicked scene of Englishmen smashing up whatever, and whomever, they could get their hands on. *The Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* records how "yong men and prentes of London rose in the nyght, and wolde have had James Mottas an owte-landych mane [a stranger]… slayne …, but he hyde hym in hys gotters in hys howse; and from thence they wente un to sent Martyns, and there spoyled the…shoppes; and thane rose the mayer and shreffes and wolde have cessyd them, but they cowed not.[184]" Hall recalls similar violence; "all the misruled persons ranne to the dores and wyndowes of saynct Martyn, and spoyled all that they found, and cast it into the strete, and lefte few houses unspoyled…. the water men, & certain young priestes that were there fell to riflynge: some ranne to Blanchechapelton, & brake the straungers houses, & threwe shooes and bootes into

[182] Giustinian, *Four Years*, 70
[183] Hall, *Halls Chronicle*, 588. Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1991), 130
[184] *The Chronicle of the Grey Friars: Henry VIII*, in *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* Camden Society Old Series: Volume 53, ed. J G Nichols (London, 1852), pp. 29-53. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol53/pp29-53 [accessed 24 June 2018]. St. Martins was an area of the city that was densely populated by strangers.

the street.'[185] General disorder ensued for around five hours before the London authorities, under the Duke of Norfolk and with the help of Sir Thomas More - who had previously been undersheriff of the city - were able to take control of the city gates. After taking back control, Norfolk's son, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, led some one thousand three hundred armed retainers onto the streets to restore order.[186]

Native hostility in England towards foreigners was by no means a new phenomenon but the scale and viciousness of Evil May Day was unprecedented. What also made it especially dramatic and caused things to erupt and play out as they did, was the specific and pointed connection to Henry and his court. Unlike other Tudor rebellions, the instigators of Evil May Day clearly and squarely blamed their grievances on the king. One even proclaimed that it was the duty of the people to break the king's peace in the name of God as their prior grievances had not been heard.[187] This was markedly different to the established discourse of early modern uprisings where it was customary to blame an evil advisor for the woes of the protestors, who was usually said to have misled a virtuous and well-meaning monarch.[188] In this instance, the rioters were in no doubt that it was the king's behavior, and his privileging of foreigners and their economic interests, that had provoked the unrest. The English were not wholly unfounded in these claims. Records leading up to 1517 reveal several instances when Englishmen had unsuccessfully attempted to enforce royal action against foreign commercial interests. The most significant occurred in early 1517 when London's most important merchant guild, the

[185] Hall, *Halls Chronicle,* 590
[186] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 131
[187] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* 587
[188] Anthony Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, (London: Pearson Longman, 2004), 2. For example, this was the case during the Pilgrimage of the Grace probably the most famous rebellion of Henry's reign.

Mercers' Company, asked the Earl of Surrey to help them 'subdue' "stranger" traders who they believed broke the rules that governed the city.[189] Nothing came of this. Hall may be referring to this case when he writes that the "injustices" of the "strangers" "hathe bene shewed to the counsayll and cannot be heard."[190] There was also the infamous case of Francesco De'Bardi the head of an important Italian merchant family trading in England.

De'Bardi's relationship with Henry is a good example of how his desire for a diverse range of luxurious international goods fueled his patronage of foreign merchants (especially Italian ones), and his favorable treatment of them. De'Bardi was a Florentine merchant who specialized in selling luxurious silks and velvets, often directly to the king. The two had a fruitful relationship and De'Bardi did receive preferential treatment. For example, in 1512, he was granted a royal license to export 10,000 Kersery's (a type of course woolen cloth made in England.)[191] This shows how foreign merchants were also trading in domestic products, another point of contention at Evil May Day**.** In 1514, De'Bardi got an even better deal. This year, Henry gave him license to "retain in his hands for five years the customs on goods exported and imported by him within eighteen months."[192] With this, he was essentially given a license to trade free of any customs in England. The De'Bardi also had a highly visible presence in the city, and along with another Italian merchant family, owned a luxurious property in Throngmorton

[189] Brigden, *London and the Reformation,* 128
[190] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 587
[191]No. 24, "Henry VIII: June 1512," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 1, 1509-1514*, ed. J S Brewer (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), 567-583. British History Online, accessed March 5, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol1/pp567-583.
[192]No. 44 "Henry VIII: July 1514," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 1, 1509-1514*, ed. J S Brewer (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), 1312-1331. British History Online, accessed March 5, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol1/pp1312-1331.

street in London which was an unignorable testament to their power and influence at the court.[193]

On the other hand, there are examples of Henry passing protectionist legislation designed to appease and aid English commercial interests. English primary sources for Evil May Day do not record these, probably due to the fact that they are in the main written to invoke sympathy for the rioters. In 1515, Henry VIII passed his first navigation act which was specifically aimed at helping English shipping and trade. This act re-affirmed his father's legislation that had made it illegal for Gascon Wines and "Tolowys Wood" to be imported or exported from the country in non-English ships as this would be – and in fact had been due to the relaxing of these laws - to "the detriment of the English."[194] Another example of protectionist legislation was the 1511 *Act Concerning Hats and Caps* which made it illegal to import foreign hats.[195] However, this piece of sumptuary legislation did allow for some members of the elite to purchase foreign headwear, so it may well have been more about protecting their position in the social hierarchy than the livelihoods of English hatmakers. Despite these examples, in the main, Henry and his council did ensure that it was fairly easy for foreigners to trade in England, and he personally cultivated close, and highly visible relationships, with many foreign merchants like De Bardi.[196]

---

[193] This, and the kinds of luxurious imports that they were supplying Henry with, are discussed in more detail in chapter two pages 124-127.

[194] Parliament Archives, London, King Henry VIII, 'The Mayntenance of the Kings Navye,' 1515, *Statues of The Realm Henry VIII*. It is interesting that here Henry is perhaps conceding some previous favoritism to foreign interests.

[195] PA, King Henry VIII, 'An Act Concerning Hats and Capps', 1511, *Statutes of the realm Henry VIII*

[196] These are explored in more detail in chapter two. The common practice was to offer foreign traders a choice between paying the tax of aliens or becoming an English denizen, which meant they enjoyed the same rights and privileges of the natives.

Henry's reaction to the riot would further prove just how important these international connections, and the worldliness they bestowed, had become to him. The king would use Evil May Day not as a chance to appease his subjects, or even to address their concerns, but rather as an opportunity to chide them on their treatment of strangers and to re-state and re-establish his authority on these matters. Justice was swift. After calming down the riot at least fifteen ringleaders, including Lincoln and Bell, were hung, drawn, and quartered - for the charge of high treason. Gallows were hung up in six different areas of the capital and the traitors' body parts were displayed on "dyuers gates of the cyte."[197] Their heads were set on London bridge as a stark and visceral warning against further protest.[198] The severity of this shocked many witnesses, especially English ones, in consideration of the fact that no one had been killed during the riot. Hall recalls how the city suffered at this sight and how the guilty were "shewed no mercey, but extreme cruelty to the poore yogelinges in their execution.[199]" It is fair to assume that the London authorities were acting with the king's blessing, and in his name, when they so forcefully and brutally put down the ringleaders. The Venetian ambassador also records the "severe example" made of the delinquents as an expression of "the king's rigorous justice."[200] We will never know for sure how Henry reacted when news of the riot reached him. Hall paints an image of a calm and collected monarch who immediately, but without panic, sent for news and was satisfied to hear that the riot had been quelled.[201] The Venetian sources paint a stronger and more emotional reaction. According to Guistinian, on hearing what had

[197] Arnold, *Arnolds Chronicle*, 1521, 56
[198] Ibid.
[199] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 590
[200] Guistinian, *Four Years*, 74
[201] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 589

happened, at around midnight, the king had jumped out of bed and "quickly took to the field with a good number of persons," asking that "messengers be sent to London announcing his personal coming with a large army to deal with the riot."[202] This of course never came to be.

It could be argued that Henry reacted so strongly to the riot simply because he needed to make it clear that his behaviors and intentions would not be questioned, but his actions went beyond this. Henry used Evil May Day to send a clear message about how "strangers" should be treated in his country. After the riot, he ordered "four to five thousand men in armour" to watch over the city "so that these ribalds will not be able to vent their ill will," and he followed up with a proclamation on May 9th "threatening the lives and property of those who shall molest strangers."[203] This is in tune with the similarly swift and decisive action he had taken following the xenophobic letter found by Thomas Allen in 1516. The king deliberately, and pointedly, also chose to execute the ringleaders of the riot for high treason instead of for rioting. The officially stated reason for this was because "the king was at peace with all Christian princes, and any deliberate assault on aliens was a breach of truce and might be taken as an act of war."[204] Regardless of whether this stance was taken as a way to protect himself from invasion, the image Henry presented after Evil May Day with all this legislation was of a king who advocated for "strangers."

The king's justice did not end after the ringleaders had been dealt with. The question remained over what should be done with the four hundred or so individuals who had also been rounded up the night of the riot. Here again, Henry took the opportunity to promote tolerance

[202] Guistinian, *Four Years*, 70
[203] Ibid, 76
[204] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 648. Note this is Hall using the word alien.

towards "strangers." At Westminster, on May 22nd, the remaining offenders were hauled before the king and a large crowd.[205] They were a sorry sight, shackled together with nooses around their necks, some being women and children. They implored the king to show them mercy. At first, it appeared that none would be had, and that Henry was adamant to give them the same treatment as the other traitors. However, things took a turn when a heartfelt protestation from another member of the court (some record it as Wolsey, others as Queen Katherine of Aragon) persuaded the king to clemency.[206] The Venetian sources record Wolsey "urging them (the freed rioters) to lead good lives, and comply with the royal will, which was, that strangers should be treated well in this country."[207] Following this, the king offered a general pardon.

This carefully stage-managed response allowed Henry to appear somewhat sympathetic towards his subjects – but not their cause – whilst at the same time re-affirming his position towards "stranger" merchants and artisans and their being welcome in his court and country. Reflecting on the legacy of Evil May day some eighty years later, in an unpublished manuscript, William Shakespeare would also present this event as a moment to think about the treatment of "strangers" in England and would represent members of the Henrician court as sympathetic towards them. In one scene, Sir Thomas More gives a rousing speech on the evening of the riot. He asks the English to put themselves in the shoes of foreigners stating:

Say now the king
Should so much come too short of your great trespass

[205] All the major sources remark on the fact that members of the public were encouraged to attend this hearing which would have added to the power of the messages portrayed that day.
[206] Hall and Guistinian say it was Wolsey whereas the Great Chronicle of London records Katherine.
[207] Guistinian, *Four Years*, 75

As but to banish you, whither would you go?
What country, by the nature of your error,
Should give you harbour? go you to France or Flanders,
To any German province, to Spain or Portugal,
Nay, any where that not adheres to England,
Why, you must needs be strangers: would you be pleased
To find a nation of such barbarous temper,
That, breaking out in hideous violence,
Would not afford you an abode on earth,
Whet their detested knives against your throats,
Spurn you like dogs, and like as if that God
Owed not nor made not you, nor that the claimants
Were not all appropriate to your comforts,
But chartered unto them, what would you think
To be thus used? this is the strangers case;
And this your mountainish inhumanity.[208]

The events of Evil May Day bring into focus the worldly shifts in royal display and self-fashioning that took place under Henry VIII which are essential for understanding the roots of cultural cosmopolitanism in England. The young new king's desire to be magnificent and his drive to be accepted as a major player on the international stage led to a rapacious conspicuous consumption of luxury goods. These were almost entirely imports and, in the first period of global trade, came from a broad swathe of places and cultures. This consumption successfully rehabilitated the image of the early Tudor court from a somewhat dour backwater to an exemplar of Renaissance civilization. In turn, these worldly displays gave the foreign a new presence and importance in Henrician pageantry, foreign clothing, foreign design styles and foreign entertainments. "Stranger" merchants also became more visible and powerful at the court as a result of the king's desire for their things. This was to the ire of some native

[208] The manuscript is BL Harley MS 7638. These words come from the play known as 'The Book of Sir Thomas More.' Only a few pages from this work, including the scene on Evil May Day, include Shakespeare handwriting. The play was written by Anthony Munday between 1596 and 1601. Shakespeare was brought in to revise the script at some point after 1603. His additions humanized the foreigners in ways similar to much of his other work.

populations who remained cut adrift from these shifts in royal representation and the positive attitudes towards strangers that they engendered. In his first few decades as king, through his clothing, court pageantry, feasting and spectacle, Henry VIII showed himself to be curious and interested in the peoples and places of the early modern world and expressed an impressive knowledge of cultural diversity. He also encouraged tolerance towards “strangers” and fought to present his country and court as a place where they were welcome. In this, he embodied qualities that today lay at the heart of cultural cosmopolitanism.

Chapter Two: Cosmopolitan Spaces: Foreigners and Their Things at the Henrician Court.

This chapter explores the material culture of Henry's permanent household and the physical space of the court; and it argues that, as with his pageantry and dress, culturally diverse displays were ubiquitous. The king's everyday household was bursting with a variety of foreign objects, material culture, aesthetics, and artisans. This worldly household is another essential element for the rise of culturally cosmopolitan behaviors, predicated on familiarity with, and appreciation for, cultural difference. Proto-cosmopolitan behaviors were a cultural consequence of Henry VIII's consumption of worldly goods that was on full display at the court. Increased interaction with geographically diverse things (and people) in royal spaces generated comfort with foreignness that would have been deepened by the domesticity of the setting. Through Henry's day-to-day engagement with international goods, and the "stranger" merchants and craftsmen dealing in them, the foreign was presented as something to be embraced rather than feared or rejected. This was manifested by the king's continued and conscious display of foreign furnishings and aesthetics and in his employment and advertisement of foreign merchants and craftsmen. The foreign infused Henry's royal spaces from the very walls of his buildings to the cushions he sat on. In consequence, the court became a crucible for cultural cosmopolitanism.

With his conspicuous consumption of non-English things, Henry VIII was participating in a Eurasian culture of worldly self-fashioning, and the same motors that fueled his worldly dress and pageantry, namely a desire to be seen as magnificent and powerful, were also at play here. What was unique about Henry's consumption, however, was that almost none of the luxury goods he used to furnish his many residences were made domestically or in lands annexed by

the crown. Whereas the French king, the Venetian Doge, the Ottoman Sultan, and the Holy Roman Emperor could furnish their royal spaces with a significant number of worldly goods from within their own dominions this option was negligible in Henry's case. The English king was therefore uniquely reliant on international trade and on the importation of foreign things to furnish his court in a way fitting of a Renaissance prince. Moreover, whilst Henry VIII may not have had the biggest, or the most diverse mix of these international goods, what he did have he was extremely desirous to show off and appears to have done so to a greater extent than many of his rival kings (especially with regards to using portraiture as a means to portray his worldliness). This would give 'the foreign' and foreign trade high levels of importance and visibility at the English court. Henry's need to ensure access to international luxuries further promoted proto-cosmopolitan behaviors, since treating "strangers" well was a necessary device to ensure that this trade remained consistent. Furthermore, Henry's close relationships with foreign merchants, artisans, and their things, was a reminder of the global trade networks that connected the people and places of the early modern world.

These processes are explored in this chapter through a discussion of the culturally diverse materiality of the Henrician court. The chapter opens by detailing the diverse mix of objects that were used in the construction and furnishing of royal spaces. It then turns to the presentation of these objects. Choices in presentation reveal Henry VIII's desire to be seen as worldly and outward looking. Henry's choices in display often visually linked varied foreign things to dynastic imagery by the common display of foreign objects alongside royal motifs and emblems. Subsequently, the embrace of international goods - and the cultures they represented - became a central feature of the court aesthetic and intimately associated with

the English crown. Part one of this chapter is organized around several case studies of Henry's goods: carpets, cups, and textiles, as examples of these practices. Particular attention is paid to the Holbein carpet, a type of knot pile carpet from Turkey (fig. four). Henry VIII conspicuously consumed these beautiful carpets at a level not matched by his rival European kings. As a result, over time, these recognizably and unashamedly Eastern items became symbolic of the English court by being such a prominent element of Henry VIII's furnishings. In addition to the focus on specific objects, the most dominant aesthetics and design schemes at the court are also explored. Part one closes with an argument as to why Henry relied on these foreign goods to aggrandize his majesty to a greater extent than his closest rivals. The second part of this chapter examines the key trading relationships that underwrote Henry's worldly court and his resulting promotion of foreign merchants (especially Italian ones) and foreign trade. Henry's relationships with Italian (and especially Venetian) merchants are explored in most detail as these led to a flood of eastern imports into the country which, as with his clothing, Henry seemed to be particularly fond of and desirous to show off. An exploration into the material culture and design aesthetics of Henry's court reveals him as somewhat of an Italophile, and his penchant for eastern aesthetics was in a sense a mirroring of similar interests in Italy, especially Venice. The chapter closes by looking at Henry's employment of "stranger" artists and artisans, another element of his conspicuous engagement with foreignness.

A Culturally Diverse Court: The Material World(s) of Henry VIII and his Household.

By the time of his death, Henry VIII's permanent court consisted of fifty-five palaces.[209] These ranged from small hunting lodges to elaborate architectural feats like Nonesuch, the king's 'pleasure palace' begun in 1538 and still not completed by his death in 1547.[210] In similar ways to his court pageantry and performances, Henry's interest in, and connection to, the world beyond his realm was on full display in the permanent household and emerged in an unprecedented manner under his watch. The prevalence of foreign goods as courtly furnishings is abundantly clear in royal inventories. These record a mix of European goods and more exotic luxuries from further away. In the 1547 list of the king's goods no less than twenty-five geographically distinct items are mentioned. These range from caffa cloth (from South-east Asia) to Almaine silverware (from the Holy Roman Empire). At the Tudor court, it was common practice to name objects after their place of origin. This labeling was pragmatic, as a record of where items came from, but also deliberate. When Henry was king, certain areas had developed a reputation for specific goods – for example calico (Calicut) cloth or Spanish silverware - and Henry would have wanted to make it clear that he owned the best of the best by labelling his possessions in this way. This is illustrated by the fact that it tends to only be desirable luxuries that are named after their place of origin; Venice Gold, Turkey Carpets and Genoan Velvet being but a few examples. In addition to geographically labeled luxuries, the inventories are also full of items with a known foreign pedigree, but which are not labeled as such, like oriental pearls (which were used to adorn all manner of household items, from

[209] David Starkey, *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, (Greenwich: Collins and Brown, 1991), 8
[210] Ibid

carpets to looking glasses) or topazes, which would have been recognizable as an exotic gemstone.[211] Looking at two groups of objects in the list of the king's possessions – carpets and cups – reveals the prevalence of foreign wares at the court and how they featured in this space.

Henry's Carpets.

Henry's carpet collection is one of the biggest groups of individual furnishings in his possession, numbering over three hundred by the time of the final inventory.[212] This list includes anything from basic small floor carpets to extremely lavish items. These numbers are not surprising as carpets were an easy and portable way of decorating a household. They could be laid down in a matter of minutes, hung upon a wall for extra decoration – which was common practice in Henry's court - and easily moved across palaces. In the cool climes of England, they also provided warmth and comfort. Carpets additionally operated as useful signifiers of wealth and status since they could be made of rich materials and adorned with the finest items like the "rich carpet of crimson and purple velvet, all over embroidered with damask pearl and Venice gold, garnished in sundry places with pearl…," recorded in the Guardrobe at Hampton Court Palace.[213] Moreover, as woven textile carpets are a figurative medium, this made them useful objects for presenting specific messages about the king and the court by way of motifs, heraldry, and symbolic imagery. It was common for Henry to use carpets in this way. Take for example a carpet emblazoned with H's and A's (for Henry and his then wife Anne Boleyn) and

[211] Thomas Nicols, *A Lapidary: or, the History of Pretious Stones, with Cautions for the Undeceiving of All Those That Deal with Pretious Stones* (London: T.Buck, 1652), 6
[212] David Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII Vol 1. The Transcript* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998)
[213] Ibid, no.12137, 278

decorated with red and white roses, the evocative symbol of the Tudor dynasty.[214] The value of carpets as prized possessions is revealed by the common practice of displaying them during royal events. Notably this was done not solely by royal participants but also by those who came out to witness their majesty. Rosamond E. Mack has argued that "throughout Europe, there was a long standing tradition for guilds and wealthy households to hang textiles, rugs and tapestries, from the windows and balconies of their city residences for the grandest secular and religious festivities.[215]" For example, in 1511 an eyewitness reporting on celebrations marking the creation of the Holy League in Venice – of which Henry was a part - described how carpets and tapestries were hung out from the houses that lined the procession route and were also used to completely cover the outside of the Doge's palace.[216] Closer to home, Edward Hall records streets hanged with riche arras, tapestry, and carpets, for Anne Boleyn's coronation procession through London in 1533.[217] A similar scene occurred during Edward VI's coronation shortly after his father's death in 1547. A print representation of the event records the presence of carpets and other rich textiles hung from balconies to greet the new monarch as he passed by (fig. five). Carpets were a portable example of the magnificence of the permanent household. Their attendant display at public events also appears to have been a way for wealthier members of the public to participate in the majesty of the court and show an affinity

[214] Maria Hayward, *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall: The Palace and Its Keeper: Vol 1: Commentary* (London: Illuminata publishers, 2004), no.421, 55
[215] Rosamond Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art 1300-1600* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2001), 116
[216] Marin Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanutio*, Venice, 1879-1903, cited in Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 78
[217] Hall, *Halls Chronicle*, 801

and respect for the monarch. They were therefore one of the most ubiquitous royal furnishings both within and outside the physical household.

The vast majority of Henry VIII's carpets were foreign. Of the carpets in the final inventory, four types are marked out by their geographical origin, those of "Turkey making," "Venice making," "English making," and "Spanish Matts." Of this group, the Turkey carpets are by far the most numerous (sixty-eight), followed by Venetian (eleven), English (nine), and finally Spanish (four). Of the other carpets recorded, another notable international ware is a calico – a rich woven fabric from India. This item is described as 'sore wourne' likely indicating its frequent display as a rare and desirable commodity.[218] In his work on carpets in the final inventory Donald King has argued that the Venetian carpets were probably also oriental and that they were labeled as Venetian likely in reference to whom Henry had gotten them from rather than where they were made.[219] This is supported by the fact that there is no evidence of domestic carpet production in Venice during this period.[220] Further, the descriptions of the Venetian carpets fit with surviving examples of carpets made in Cairo in the mid sixteenth century. Therefore, "it seems reasonable to conclude that the carpets attributed to Venice in the inventory were oriental carpets of knotted pile, woven in Cairo and probably elsewhere in North Africa and the near east."[221] In 1519 there is a record of sixty damascene (meaning of Damascus) and sixty Cairo carpets arriving from Venice into London, so we know that these

[218] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.14557, 365
[219] Donald King, 'From the Exotic to the Mundane: Carpets and Coverings for Tables, Cupboards, Window seats and Floors,' in Maria Hayward and Phillip Ward (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers: 2012), 131- 142, 137
[220] Ibid
[221] Ibid, 138

wares were circulating in the country at this time.[222] It is highly likely that many of them would have been intended for, and made their way to, the court and to Henry VIII via his many relationships with Venetian merchants.

The majority of Henry's carpets however were not from Cairo but from the Ottoman East. These 'Turkey' carpets (along with the other oriental ones that were likely in his possession) were prized because they were visual reminders of the king's access to the riches of the levant and another way that he could annex the splendor and magnificence of the east to his person.[223] They were also a valuable, and highly visible, symbol of Henry's worldly self-fashioning built on displaying an interest in cultural difference. The majority would have come into Henry's possession through trade with Italian (especially Venetian) merchants who for most of his reign dominated European trade with the Ottoman Empire.[224] Whilst they were admired as a luxury the world over, Henry VIII appears to have had a particularly impressive and large collection of Turkey carpets, or at the very least to have been especially keen to show them off. In addition to the high numbers found in the inventories, a significant number of important portraits from the period, including many commissioned by the king, feature these carpets (fig. six through nine). It is the prevalence of Turkey carpets in English paintings (many by Henry's court painter Hans Holbein) that led to their later naming as 'Holbein carpets' by art historians.[225] These eastern carpets were so conspicuously consumed by Henry VIII that they

---

[222] Ibid, 136

[223] This is a key argument of Lisa Jardine's, *Worldly Goods*. See pages 18-19.

[224] The fluctuating fortunes of Venice's trade in luxury eastern goods and the subsequent effects on England's trade with the republic is explored in more detail on pages 133-134. See also Maria Fusaro, *The Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

[225] The practice of naming oriental carpets by the names of European artists is believed to have started with the art historian Kurt Erdmann. See Kurt Erdmann, *Seven Hundred Years of Oriental Carpets* (Berkeley: University of

became a central feature of his courtly aesthetic (as is made clear in portraiture). Although comparative household inventories for his rival kings Charles V and Francis I do not exist, it is probable that they also had an abundance of these wares. However, there is no existing portraiture, or other visual sources, that suggests a similar interest in displaying eastern carpets, or concurrent levels of their conspicuous consumption, by either monarch.[226] It is only in Italian paintings and portraiture where we find a similar abundance of Eastern carpets.[227] This speaks to the influence of Italy on Henry and his courtly aesthetic and the role this played in stimulating his interest in Near Eastern/Levantine culture. Perhaps it was Henry's anxiety to be seen as engaged with the wider world, when in reality he had far less international influence and territory than either Francis or Charles, or his uniquely close relationship with Venetian merchants, that was behind his ubiquitous display of Holbein carpets.[228] Regardless of motive, Henry VIII's relationship with Anatolian carpets brought a foreign object into the heart of the everyday aesthetic of a different national court (the English court) in a way that is not seen for any object in the courts of either Francis, Charles, or the Ottoman Sultan.[229]

California Press, 1970) (translated from the German Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppich by May H. Beattie and Hildegard Herzog, 21

[226]It is only in Italian paintings and portraiture where we find a similar abundance of these carpets. This speaks to the influence of Italian culture on Henry and his court. The extent to which this was another contributing factor to the rise of cultural cosmopolitanism in England is argued on pages 126-129 of this chapter.

[227] So much so that in similar ways to the naming of the Holbein carpets a specific group of Eastern carpets, the 'Lotto' carpet, get their name from the Italian painter Lorenzo Lotto (1480-1557) because of their abundance in his paintings. See Erdmann, *Seven Hundred Years of Oriental Carpets*, 57-59

[228] Henry's close relationship with Venice is also explored on pages 126-129.

[229] Holbein carpets and their place of prominence in Henrician court culture appear to be the first example of a foreign object becoming intimately associated with English culture. This process would be seen in England again and again. For example, in emblems of national culture such as the cup of tea or chicken tikka masala that have a foreign origin but are also emblems of 'Britishness.'

The English king's fascination with Turkish carpets is further reflected by the existence of cheap imitations of these objects in some of his residences. In the Whitehall Inventory (1542), six carpets of "turkey making of dornix, painted with diverse colors" are recorded.[230] Historian of Tudor textiles and dress, Maria Hayward, has pointed out that these were not in fact another variation of carpet imported from the east but rather cheap copies of them.[231] Dornix is a course cloth made from a combination of wool and linen. This would then be painted to resemble eastern carpets. Dornix carpets were named after the Flemish town Doornijk (modern day Tournai) where they were first produced. The prevalence and visibility of Turkey Carpets in elite culture at this time had thus spawned a copy-cat market that Henry also traded in (though in a much more limited capacity).[232] The court would not have been the intended audience for these wares. Dornix 'Turkey carpets' would have been made with individuals outside of these spaces in mind, such as fairly wealthy merchants or craftsmen, who could not afford the genuine article but may have wanted to evoke the aesthetics of the courtly elite. The English had actually begun making dornix during the period that these objects appeared in Henry's court, again indicating how well-liked and dominant eastern design styles were in the realm. In the sixteenth century, Norwich became a major center for the manufacture of this material.[233] This was in large part due to an influx of Calvinist weavers from the Flemish low countries who arrived in England fleeing the persecution of Charles V. In the 1520's, the Holy Roman Emperor had set up an inquisition in the Spanish Netherlands to stamp out 'protestant heresy.' This led

[230] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, 428
[231] Ibid, 11
[232] There is no dornix recorded in the final inventory taken five years after the Whitehall one.
[233] Eric Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 22-23

hundreds to flee his dominions. Many came to England and a significant number brought over valuable weaving skills, which included the production of dornix, into the country. This is summed up by the contemporary rhyme, "Hops, Reformation, Bays (Flemish cloth), and beer/Came into England all in one year."[234] Domestic production of Turkey dornix was thus stimulated by both a demand for a foreign item and helped by way of foreign refugees. Although we cannot be sure, it is probable that the dornix carpets in the Whitehall inventory were made by the Norwich weavers as we know that as early as the 1520's the English were making knotted pile carpets with Turkish motifs.[235]

Other of Henry's carpets were without doubt made in England and appear to be the *only* domestic luxury produced for the court (or at the very least the only one designated as being of 'English making' in all the records and inventories). The six English carpets that are recorded in the final inventory are not dornix but instead more luxury furnishings. Most are recorded alongside coveted foreign carpets. Like those, they are probably marked out as geographically distinct because they were desirable goods. The domestic carpets appear to have been explicitly designed to aggrandize the monarchy by being woven with figurations of national imagery and symbolism. More than half feature imagery of this kind. For example, one of the largest English carpets in Henry's collection, a foot carpet, is described as having "the ground red with the king's arms" and a border of Tudor roses.[236] Several others feature the Tudor

[234] Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland* (Ontario: Global Heritage Press, 2006 [first edition 1868]), 94. It is believed that this rhyme refers to events in the mid 1520's after Charles's inquisition began.
[235] King, 'From the Exotic to the Mundane," in *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, 131- 135
[236] David Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.12156, 280

rose.[237] These domestic furnishings, with their visibly domestic imagery, occupied the same space as recognizably foreign wares at the court. This placement is significant as it shows how the foreign was annexed to the domestic in Henry's consciously and carefully designed royal spaces. We know this because the big inventories log items by both their building and room location; giving a snapshot into how these carpets were displayed in Henry's various palaces. For example, in the record of carpets kept in the Guarderobe at Hampton Court Palace, which held the furnishings for the principal rooms there, there are thirty-five Turkish carpets alongside three English – including those with the national imagery mentioned above. In addition to these, there is "a fair carpet of needlework, the ground wrought with carnation silk, and with roses, trailes and flowers of red and white silk in the border, fringed on both sides of the border with purple silk and gold lined with green satin."[238] Because they seem to have been marked out, we can assume with some certainty that this 'fair carpet' was not of either English or Turkey making. Looking at the materials used in its construction – rich vibrant silks - and the decorative scheme – intricate flora and fauna - it was most likely eastern.[239]

Despite not being made in England, in the space of Hampton court palace this conspicuously foreign carpet would have expressed messages of both worldliness and domestic dynastic power in its exotic silks and threads. In this setting, the 'flowers of red and white silk' in the border would have been instantly evocative of the Tudor roses that were woven into the

[237] Ibid, no.13954, 347
[238] Starkey, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.12160, 280
[239] Common eastern design styles, such as the arabesque are discussed in more detail on pp.31-35. For more on eastern carpets see Daniel S. Walker, *Flowers Underfoot: Indian Carpets of the Mughal Era*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997) and Jennifer Weardon, *Oriental Carpets and Their Structure: Highlights from the Victorian and Albert Museum* (London: The Victoria and Albert Museum, 2003)

borders of the English carpets that occupied the same space. Moreover, the purple and green silks of this carpet recalled the colors of Tudor livery. Perhaps it was these elements of its design that appealed to the king and led to the carpet's purchase and display in one of his principal residences. This carpet is a good example of how the foreign and domestic intertwined in the material culture of Henry's court. Other foreign carpets in Henry's collection would have evoked similar messages, such as the one of "crimson satin, densely embroidered all over in venetian gold and silver thread" with a "central roundel of green velvet, with arabesque ornament in gold and pearls; the border of green velvet likewise richly embroidered with gold and pearls" and "roundels of crimson satin containing a white and red rose, similarly embroidered."[240] The carpets arabesques and pearls evoked exotic cultures whereas the red and white rose recalled domestic power. The practice of displaying eastern and western carpets alongside each other at Hampton Court was common across several other royal buildings. In the Whitehall inventory, two carpets with domestic symbolism, one of "green satin embroidered with the king's beasts, antique heads and birds," are catalogued next to a vibrant one of Turkey making, "of golde, silver and silke wrought in the loom, one side red the other green…," several other turkey carpets, and the dornix imitations.[241] The rich western carpets recorded here are not of English making. They are probably from the Low Countries. This was the principal area for both the manufacture and trade of luxurious textiles in Northern Europe at this time, and an area where Henry had many merchants and agents.[242]

[240] Donald King, 'From the Exotic to the Mundane,' in *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, 136
[241] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, no.421-433, 54-55
[242] We know this because of correspondence that still exists between the court and these agents in Antwerp such as Henry's communications with Willian Lok, an important mercer from London. For these letters see Henry VIII:

Henry's Cups and Plate.

A similar story of the conspicuous consumption of foreign things and the mix of international objects and English motifs in Henry's court is revealed by looking at his cups. As with most of his material possessions, cups, plate, and silverware, were far more than banal items. They were actually one of the most frequently seen pieces at the court. They were a central part of Henrician hospitality and dining that was frequently mobilized to woo guests – many of them foreign. Rich examples were therefore an important apparatus of the theatre of majesty. Henry would often make a point to display his finest cups and plate. They were also commonly given away as impressive gifts. For example, in 1518, at the signing of the Treaty of London between England and France, Henry sent the French embassy back with fifty-two silver drinking cups and gifted their leader with especially ornate wares that included a "standing cup of gold garnished with a great pearl."[243] A 1536 sketch by Hans Holbein, of a cup to be made for Henry's third wife Jane Seymour, reveals just how ornate and impressive these items could be (fig. ten). This sketch was part of a series of designs that included luxurious jewelry for the king placing these wares in the same category of value as these precious items.

Cups were another medium through which Henry showed himself to be worldly and outward looking. Like his carpets, the majority were international imports, and the most ornate and impressive examples were marked out as such. Cups were geographically labelled according to either their place of manufacture or national style. Many were also branded with

August 1538 6-10," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 13 Part 2, August-December 1538, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893), 15-26

[243] Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 161

national marks.[244] Again, those marked out by their place of origin are typically ornate. On the other hand, most of Henry's more basic cups, traditionally made of earthenware, wood, or pewter, are not geographically labelled. Many of these may have been made domestically but, unlike the English carpets, are not labelled so, presumably because they were not luxury goods and their domestic origin thus not worth highlighting. By the fifteenth century, England had developed a reputation for high quality pewter – a gray alloy traditionally made of tin, copper, and lead. An Italian visitor in 1497 commented on how English metal workers "make these vessels as brilliant as if they were of fine silver, and these are held in great estimation.' [245] These 'brilliant vessels' of English making however do not appear to have been coveted by Henry. The only piece of pewter recorded in the final inventory, in the king's Secret Jewel House at Westminster, is a pewter cup of Morisco work.[246] This is revealing. The Secret Jewel house was a space where the king would keep prized possessions. Because of the lack of pewter elsewhere it can be inferred that the status of this cup had more to do with the fact that it was exotic – made by Moriscos (former Muslims forced to convert in Catholic Spain) – than having anything to do with the alloy it was made from. This further supports the argument that foreign goods were uniquely coveted at the Henrician court and explains why the geographic labelling of international luxuries is so prevalent in primary sources.

For *his* cups Henry VIII sourced the best foreign made silver and gilt rather than domestic imitations. The most ubiquitous international cups in his collection are 'Almaine

[244] David Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, 462
[245] C. A Sneyd (ed.), *A relation, or rather a true account, of the island of England: with sundry particulars of the customs of these people, and of the royal revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the year 1500* (London: Camden Society, 1847), 11
[246] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.10433, 232

Cups,' numbering forty-one in total by the time of his death. This is not surprising as the Germans were known in this period as Europe's best metal and instrument makers.[247] This included the production of exquisite dining ware. Also recorded are cups from Spain, Portugal, and Flanders. The Portuguese and Spanish cups are all gilt and garnished with intricate designs such as fruit, fauna, and pastoral scenes.[248] The Almaine cups are gilt, or double gilt, being especially precious. In the category of cups, we therefore find a diverse mix of foreign goods and styles on display. The mixing of international design styles could also be seen in specific items. Holbein's 'Seymour Cup' for example borrows from classical and eastern designs in its aesthetic – with etchings of classical antique figures alongside moresque and arabesque patterns and exotic pearls (fig. ten a and ten b).[249]

Of Henry's Almaine cups, two stand out as further examples of the English king using a markedly foreign item to promote himself, and subsequently his worldliness. The first is "an Almaine cup with a cover guilt…. the king's arms upon a plate in the cover," the second, a cup of "Almaine guilt, embossed with faces and garnished red, blue, and green with H and K knit together upon the cover."[250] The branding of the king's arms and the initials of royalty on these wares shows that they were commissioned by Henry (rather than just acquired by or for him). He would have wanted these items in light of the Germans reputation for making beautiful cups. These commissions showed that Henry had access to the best of the best when it came to these luxurious worldly goods. They also presented Henry's worldliness and interest in foreign

[247] David Starkey, *A European Court in England*, 13
[248] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, nos.485, 530, 531, 563, 564, 24-26
[249] The nature and mix of these design schemes are discussed in more detail on pages 105-115.
[250] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, nos. 530 and 536, 25

things by way of a literal branding.[251] Henry would have been able to personally request cups like these through his relationships with the merchants of the Hansa in London.[252]

Unfortunately, we do not know when these specific cups were commissioned but the K in the second example reveals that this cup must have been made when Henry was married to one of his three Katherines. Being such a clearly expensive object perhaps it was even produced to mark an occasion of marriage. Another intriguing cup in Henry's collection that would have further sold a message of worldly and outward looking kingship is described as a "a blue cup turkey (turquoise) color of a stone called porcelain unsett and ungarneshed" that was delivered to the king's Goldsmith (Everart Everdyes) "to be made for King Henry VIII."[253] After this porcelain cup are recorded the gold and jewels delivered for said garnishing. This is the only time that porcelain appears in an inventory from the reign. Henry VIII had far less of these eastern exotica than his rival kings. Nevertheless, the record of this cup is a further example of Henry's desire to leverage the exotic luxuries that he did have as symbols of his worldliness and magnificence. The fact that it was recorded as being made for the king, and that it was intended to be adorned with gold, shows it was a valued object intended for display.[254]

[251] Branding an international object with royal arms as an expression of worldliness was not uncommon in this period. For example, in 1520, not long after his ships had first arrived in China and his subjects became the first Europeans to trade there, King Manuel of Portugal had a piece of Chinese porcelain commissioned that bore his arms. See Robert Finlay, "The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History," *Journal of World History*, 9, no. 2 (1998): 141-187, 142.
[252] Henry's relationship with the Hansa is discussed in more detail on pages 129-131.
[253] David Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, nos.3674 3675, 98
[254] We cannot know for sure, but it is not unlikely that this cup was also intended to incorporate some form of royal insignia like the Almaine cups as it IS recorded as being 'made' for King Henry VIII.

A Cache of Foreign Textiles.

Where we see foreign items leveraged as symbols of Henry's magnificence most often, and where we also find Henry's most diverse collection of imported wares, is in his collection and display of textiles. Looking at textiles paints a vivid picture of how cultural cosmopolitanism was nascent in the material worlds of Henry's court. Textiles were commonly named by their place of origin. In total, there are sixteen different varieties recorded in the inventories. These come from all over the old world: from Caffa (a rich silk textile that took its name from the port town of Caffa on the black sea, which today is called Feodosia), to Florentine Velvet. In this case, it was not only luxury textiles that were marked geographically. More basic wares such as Holland and Brabant cloth also feature (both plain white linens named after their place of origin). Henry had more textiles than any other household item making them a major source for reconstructing the courtly aesthetic and its international elements. An abundance of textiles was essential to furnish royal spaces. They were used in a variety of ways, as wall hangings, as backdrops for pageants, to make items of clothing, as upholstery for furniture, for bedding, and even to decorate objects like books or looking glasses, such as the one "covered with purple satin embroidered with gold and garnished with pearls," in Henry's secret jewelhouse at Westminster.[255] It is not surprising to find that textiles are also the most geographically diverse category of goods in Henry's collections. Textiles are uniquely portable due both to their malleability and weight. They are thus one of the most easily traded items. Subsequently, they were passed between the courts and realms of the early modern world in significant quantities.

[255]David Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.3156, 86

For example, in the early sixteenth century the Venetian government would send out state galleys loaded with beautiful textiles – many from the east – to trade throughout Europe. They would head from Italy to Antwerp – where they would load up with more cloth – stopping at ports and trading their cargos on both legs of the journey.

Henry spent an exorbitant amount on imported textiles. For his coronation alone he expended 5,332 pounds on cloth.[256] For some comparison, the cost of a battleship in the same period only came in at 1,500.[257] During Henry VIII's reign the expenditure of the Great Wardrobe (the primary storehouse for the courts textiles) also increased exponentially from around 1,300 per annum under his father, to 8,000 per annuum by 1547.[258] Several sources give an impression of the kinds of textiles Henry owned and displayed (accounts of the great wardrobe, privy purse accounts, the treasurer of the chamber's accounts, revels accounts, eyewitness testimonies, and contemporary portraiture).[259] These records reveal the type of cloth most commonly displayed and the kinds of furnishings that Henry was most interested to get his hands on. Existing privy purse records and the treasurer of the chamber's accounts – which logged money going in and out of the king's personal chamber - are particularly useful indicators of Henry's tastes because they only record purchases made by him, whereas other

[256] Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (London: Routledge, 2017), 26
[257] Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and magnificence*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 4
[258] David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (London: Headstart History, 1992), 81. The Account of the Great Wardrobe is held at PRO E351/3027 STATUTES I. Henry VIII c.17.
[259] The Account of the Great Wardrobe, PRO E351/3027 STATUTES I. Henry VIII c.17., James Gairdner (ed.) *Henry VIII: Privy Purse 'Expences,'* in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531-1532* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1880) these exist for the years 1529-1532 only, James Gairdner (ed.), 'Henry VIII: Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531-1532*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1880) and Richard Gibson (master of the revels) accounts, PRO E 36/217, E 36/228, E 36/229

members of the court could purchase for the wardrobe and especially for the revels. Both of these sources record multiple entries of foreign textiles. The most common purchases are for luxury silk wares, such as the eighteen yards of white Caffa Henry purchased in 1531, or the two yards of white satin of Bruges he bought the following year.[260] Also recorded are many purchases of cloth of gold, arras, damask, and velvet. In her work on Whitehall Palace, Maria Hayward has argued for a similar hierarchy of textiles that places rich silks at the apex.[261] Unlike the 1547 inventory, the Whitehall lists are organized by type of object rather than location in the household. They are also ordered in terms of importance and value.[262] Henry's riche cache of silks are the first things to be recorded. Hayward also notes how these are in numbers and of a quality never seen before in a royal inventory.[263] None of these beautiful silk wares would have been made domestically.

Overall, Henry's textile collection is a varied mix of beautiful eastern and western imports weighted slightly towards eastern wares. Most of his silks would have been from the east; the Ottoman empire and the surrounding Safavid court. The Ottomans were the major producers of silk damask and other silk-based cloths in the sixteenth century. They were so well known for these products that the town of Bursa was reputed to have 1,000 silk looms.[264] The likelihood that many of these eastern silks made their way to Henry's court is made probable by the fact that he tends to be buying most of his luxury textiles directly from Italian - usually Venetian - merchants, who dominated the trade in Ottoman goods into Europe. Henry acquired

[260] James Gairdner (ed.), '*Privy Purse Expences*,' 134 and 223
[261] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, 12
[262] Ibid
[263] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, 7
[264] Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 74

his silks from men like Giovanni Cavalcanti, the head of an important Italian merchant family, who in 1522 was granted license to "import cloths of gold, silver, damask, gold cloths of tynsyl saten with gold, and all other cloths wrought with gold," into England. [265] The Venetian state also sent cargos to the realm laden with luxury silks in 1516, 1517, 1519, 1520, 1530 and 1533.[266] Venice in particular had a monopoly on trade with the levant and in the beautiful wares of the silk road. This was something they were keen to advertise as an expression of their wealth and worldliness. A major way to do this was through the display of beautiful textiles of the kind that Henry was purchasing from them. To this end, in 1501, the Doge of Venice began the tradition of making his official robes from eastern silk damask, as seen in the portrait he had commissioned that same year (fig. eleven).[267]

Damasks (fig. twelve), like those in the Doge's clothing, were the most prevalent silks at Henry's court and his parallel interest in their display would have expressed a similar message of worldliness. Damasks are a figured woven fabric traditionally made of rich silk, with a repetitive pattern visible on both sides. They were first brought to Europe with returning crusaders in the eleventh century, who had picked them up in Damascus, Syria, the city from which they get their name. Damask patterns are typically non-figurative and consist of flora and fauna – the Doge's robes being a classic example. The richness of these eastern wares made them especially coveted. By the thirteenth century they had become so popular in Europe that several areas (notably France and the Low Countries) had begun making their own versions

---

[265] Lisa Monnas, "'Plentie and Abundance' Henry III's Valuable Store of Textiles," In: *The Inventory of King Henry VIII. Volume 2: Textiles and Dress*. ed. Maria Hayward and Philip Ward (London: Harvey Miller for the Society of Antiquaries, 2011), 235-284, 245

[266] Maria Fusara, *Political Economies of Empire*, 38

[267] Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Verso, 1996) 18

using less expensive materials – usually linen.[268] In Italy, a domestic silk industry also developed to create fine imitations of these Islamic wares. By 1518 Venice had become the leading producer of fine silks in Europe.[269]

By Henry's time, damask could refer to any woven textile with a two-sided pattern. In the final inventory two types of damask textiles feature and are distinctly labeled; silk Damask and 'damask work.' Eastern silk damasks (and their Italian imitations) remained the most sought after. They were also the most numerous varieties at the Henrician court. At his death, Henry VIII owned over one hundred pieces of silk damask. Their placement in the inventories suggests that most of Henry's damasks had an eastern pedigree, or at the very least were associated with the east, even if they might have actually been Italian silk imitations. We know this because they are categorized with other notably eastern cloths, such as Caffa. These rich luxuries would have been displayed mainly as hangings but on rare occasions were also used in the production of important furnishings and clothing. For example, Henry's bed spread at Westminster is described as including "one damask of newmaking silk…red and yellow lined with red flannel...of the same silk."[270] Henry's lower quality damasks, not made of silk, which would have been made in western Europe, are recorded separately with linens and other cheaper cloth. These are labelled 'damask work.' There was thus a definite hierarchy when it came to these textiles. This was determined by the richness of the materials used in their

[268] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, edition, 32nd ed., s.v., "Damask." (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica), 2007
[269] Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 57
[270] David Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no. 9771, 212

construction and as a consequence their place of origin. The effect was to place a traditionally and recognizably eastern ware above western reproductions.

Henry's preference for eastern textiles extended to other cloth. Caffa – which was commonly recorded alongside damasks – seems to have been particularly popular. The term Caffa and/or 'Kaffa', was used to refer to a variety of rich silk cloths with printed or woven designs – all with an eastern pedigree. 'Kaffa silk' was most commonly used to designate items either made or traded in the port and market town of the same name in the Crimea (modern day Feodosia, a town on the Black Sea that lies between Russia and the Ukraine).[271] The city of Kaffa/Caffa is described by a visitor in the early fifteenth century as a diverse trading hub, a "meeting place for merchants from all over the world," where "all oriental" and at least "thirty five languages all together" were spoken.[272] Since 1475, Kaffa/Caffa had been under the control of the Ottoman Empire, whose hands it would remain in until 1615. Caffa (with a C) was also used to describe silks from the middle eastern town of Al Kufa, in modern day Iraq, which was then under Safavid rule.[273] In the final inventory, Caffa with a C is the most common spelling. As with Damasks, cheaper western imitations of Caffa also appeared in this period. These were typically produced in the Low Countries and were blends of "silk and linen union, combining a silk or silk and wool warp with a flax weft."[274] All the Caffas in the final inventory are recorded

[271] There is some debate as to whether Kaffa/Caffa silks were actually made in the town or just traded there. For more on this see, Zvezdana Dode, 'On the Issue of silk Weaving in Genoese Kaffa and Textiles from the Belorechenskaia Kurgans,' *The Silk* Road, vol.11, 2013, 113-123

[272] Johann de Galonifontibus, *Svedeniia o narodakh Kavkaza* (1404 g.) (Iz sochineniia 'Kniga poznaniia mira') [Information about the peoples of the Caucasus (1404) (From the work 'The book of the knowledge of the world')]. (Baku: Elm, 1980), 14

[273] "Caffa." *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, Merriam-Webster, https://www.meriam-webster.com/dictionary/caffa. Accessed 31 May 2020

[274] Lisa Monnas, "'Plentie and Abundance'", in *The Inventory of King Henry VIII,* 250-2

as silks. They first appear in the records in 1531 when Henry purchased "one quarter of white caffa" from his privy purse.[275] This is also the first known use of the word in English.[276] By 1547, Henry VIII had accumulated over sixty pieces for his court giving an indication of the desirability of this foreign luxury. The craze for beautiful Caffas seems to have extended to other members of the Tudor nobility. In 1535, Thomas Leygh wrote to Lady Lisle - a wealthy Cornish woman who was married to Arthur Plantegenout, Henry's uncle - from Antwerp. He stated that he could "find no damask caffa that you would like, but I hope there will be some here in eight or ten days. If it does not come, I will send the best here…."[277]

Other notable eastern silks in Henry's inventories are Turkey silks and satins, of which he had thirty-seven at the time of his death. These silks are recorded in a rainbow of colors - carnation, purple, white, orange, green, yellow, black, russet, tawny and blue. These, and the other eastern silks in his possession, were dazzling expressions of the king's wealth and magnificence. They were also another way by which Henry appropriated the glamor and richness associated with the Ottoman East.[278] Not all of Henry's silks were eastern but they were all imports. It is highly likely that some of his silk damasks were Italian as the quality of

---

[275] Gairdner (ed.), *Privy Purse*, 134

[276] "Caffa." *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*

[277] "Henry VIII: November 1535, 1-5," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 9, August-December 1535, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1886), 248-262

[278] There is a substantial historiography on the status of the ottoman east in the English imagination and its influence on English culture, but as with much else little attention is paid to the Henrician period and works tend to focus instead on the Elizabethan. This interest in Turkish culture therefore seems to be another example of Henry setting the groundwork for a more visible process in his daughter's reign. See: Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East 1576-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Nabal Matar, *Turks Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) and *Britain and Barbary 1589-1689* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005), Daniel J. Viktus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London: Penguin, 2017) and Daniel J. Viktus, Mary C. Fuller, Gerald Maclean and Rebecca Chung, 'Part One: Travelers to the Levant,' in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (ed.), *Travel Knowledge: European Discoveries in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 23-110.

these items had become so good by Henry's time that they were no longer easily distinguishable from those coming from the looms of Bursa. We know for certain that Henry had other beautiful silk wares from Italy, such as Lucca and Genoese Velvets and Florentine cloth of gold. Like many of his other worldly wares these were named geographically in reflection of the high reputation of these goods.

In terms of textiles, second only to rich embroidered silk hangings at the court were beautifully wrought tapestries, woven with gold and silver threads. These cloths were first woven in western Europe and then imported into England. This is indicated by the name 'arras' by which they are commonly recorded and were colloquially referred to. As with many other textiles in this period, this name comes from the area in the Low Countries where the industry started and where the highest-quality tapestries continued to be produced. In Henry's time, the best examples came from Flanders and Brussels. Tapestries were popular throughout the courts of western Europe, but Henry VIII may well have had the biggest collection of all. This was certainly the impression that Jan Mostinck, the man in charge of sourcing tapestries for Henry, wanted to give, when, in 1539, he declared that the English king had "more tapestries, or at least as many, as any Christian king."[279] At his death in 1547, Henry owned more than two thousand seven hundred tapestries – making them by far the most numerous single item in his possession.[280] Tapestries were essentially wall coverings and could range from small pieces, designed for windows, to huge cloths that covered the walls of the Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace (fig. thirteen). Henry's most expensive tapestries were truly breathtaking pieces of

[279] Mostinck quoted in Thomas P. Campbell*, Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court*, (London: Paul Mellon Centre for British Art, 2007), ix
[280] Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 4

foreign craftsmanship. One set consisted of ten pieces, all measuring four hundred and eighty-eight by seven hundred and ninety-two centimeters, woven with exquisite Venetian gold thread (another conspicuously consumed foreign luxury), and colored with the highest quality dyes.[281]

Tapestries were immensely popular at Henry's court for several reasons. First, they were an impressive and effective way of covering blank walls and spaces. They were also thick and heavy which provided comfort and warmth for large palaces – which was especially valuable in the cooler climes of England. Finally, the strength of the wool used in their construction made these items a good medium for figuration which made them uniquely valuable as tools for propaganda in a way that finer silk fabrics were not since tapestries could more easily and effectively be woven with dynastic motifs and/or narrative scenes. There are several records of Henry buying tapestry sets from his personal accounts – like the twelve pieces of the twelve months he brought in 1531.[282] Unlike his silks, Henry VIII did not just collect tapestries, he also commissioned them. Thomas P. Campbell, an expert on tapestry in the Early Modern period, has argued how the second Tudor king commissioned tapestries as an art of majesty and used them to impress specific messages about his kingship. Historical and biblical themes are dominant in Henry's tapestry collection. He had a particular penchant for using stories of

[281]Campbell, *Tapestry in the renaissance*, 416. These dyes would have also been evocative of international trade and cross-cultural connections. In the sixteenth century textile dyes were rarely indigenous to the areas in which they were being used. Dyestuffs tended to be sourced from all over the globe. The most sought-after were blue dyes that came from Indigo imported from India and brilliant reds from the New Word. The most prevalent and impressive of these was Cochineal red, a dye created by crushing up dried bugs of the same name, indigenous to Mexico. This dye source was being traded in Europe from 1523 and was recorded in the markets of Venice in 1543; just a short journey from the Ottoman Empire and the east, where analysis of many textiles found in these courts shows the dye used in large quantities. See Nurhan Atasoy, Walter B. Denny, Louise W.Mackie and HÜlya Tezchan, *Ipek: The Crescent and the Rose, Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*, (London: Azimuth Editions Limited, 2001), 190-195 and Elena Phipps, 'Global Colors: Dyes and the Dye Trade,' in Amelia Peck (ed.), *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade 1500-1800* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 120-135

[282] Gairdnier, *Henry VIII: Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts*, 303

biblical kings as parallels for his own majesty. The 1540 ten-piece set, '*The story of Abraham,*' made to order that year, provides an illustrative example of Henry using this medium as an intellectual form of royal propaganda. Abraham was the founder of the Hebrew nation who was said to have a special covenant with God. He was a particularly resonant figure for Henry VIII to associate with, especially in 1540. The English Reformation, six years earlier, had set Henry up as head of the church in England. This created an unprecedented test for his kingship and a new role for him to embody. As Campbell has argued, by invoking Abraham in tapestry, Henry was attempting to "substantiate this newly defined role as head of the English church and, in effect, prophet to his own people.[283]" This commission suggested that he too, like Abraham, had a special covenant with God. The date of this commission, after the birth of his only son and heir Edward in 1537, gave the comparison a further political edge. Abraham was said to have passed on his covenant and church to his son Isaac. With this tapestry commission, Henry was suggesting that he would be doing the same for Edward. The borders of this tapestry were further used to impart specific messages about Henry's kingship. In one piece, from the set, *'The sacrifice of Isaac'* (fig. fourteen), they are strewn with figures personifying different characteristics and themes, including steadfastness, faith, obedience, sacrifice, promise, and blessing.[284] The message expressed was that these were values possessed, and acts committed in service to God, by both Henry and Abraham, and Isaac and Edward. Because it promoted the English monarchy's covenant with God, '*The Story of Abraham*' remained a popular choice for courtly display even after Henry's passing. It was hung at major events in both the Tudor and

[283] Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 417
[284] Ibid

Stuart calendar. It is mentioned hung at several festivities in Elizabeth I's reign and was also used as a backdrop during the coronation of James II in 1699.[285] The continued efficacy of this set is testament both to the power of the images it invoked and the particular effectiveness of tapestry as a medium for figuration that saw it function as both a physical and intellectual expression of the ruler's power.

Whilst the majority of Henry's tapestries had design schemes that looked back to the historic, classical, and biblical past, many also invoked the life of the court in scenes such as banqueting, hawking, and hunting. Some even looked outward to the world beyond and invoked different cultures, peoples, and places. Tapestry was thus another medium that Henry VIII used to present himself as worldly.[286] For example, in the final inventory there are two tapestries of 'Morians' recorded – one a four-piece set, the other of five.[287] Unfortunately, there is no detailed description of these items. These tapestries may well have been figurations of Moorish dancers because we know that Morians were represented, and described, in this way in other of Henry's material possessions.[288] For example, he had a salt of gold called 'the Moores dance.'[289] Moreover, as the Morians (and their dance) were popular figures in courtly pageantry this kind of rendering would be in line with the other tapestries in Henry's collection

[285] Ibid, 416. Campbell also suggests that there may have been a longer precedent for this tapestry being used at the coronation ceremony. However, there are no primary sources that can conclusively confirm this.
[286] This is a fact that Campbell fails to address in detail in his work on Henry's tapestry collection. Instead, he is mainly focused on how Henry used tapestry in the service of a national identity, and particularly in support of the Reformation (with sets like The Story of Abraham). Whilst this is correct it provides a somewhat distorted view of the overall messages of courtly tapestry (and the material culture of the court more broadly) that expressed an interest in looking out to different cultures as much as looking inwards or back to the past.
[287] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, nos.12001 and 14045, 271, 350
[288] Ibid, nos. 69, 10738, 10745, 10746, 8 and 240
[289] Ibid, no. 69, 8

that depict courtly life.[290] This is further suggested by the fact that one of these sets is recorded alongside other tapestries that fall into this category, which were part of a collection of twenty two hangings that Henry owned as a young prince.[291] The second Morian set is recorded at Hampton Court and would have therefore been collected or commissioned when Henry was king.[292] If these tapestries are indeed representations of the Moorish dance they are further evidence of how Henry's exotic and outward looking pageantry was a celebrated hallmark of English court life – thought worthy of replicating in several mediums. Whatever the nature of the Morians presented in these tapestries, their presence in the royal collection is another reminder of the revelry that was taken in displays of cultural difference at Henry's court, this time in the material culture of the permanent household.

This delight in cultural difference is reflected in another of Henry's tapestry sets recorded as "six pieces of tapestry of turks (sic)."[293] Again, this item is unfortunately not described in any detail. However, it is likely that the set was '*The Customs and Fashions of the Turks'* based on designs by Peitier Coeck Va Aeslst (fig. fifteen through eighteen). Van Aeslt was a Flemish artist, tapestry designer, and cartoonist, based in Antwerp.[294] In the 1530's, he designed some of the finest tapestry sets in the world that were purchased by several monarchs including Henry, Francis I, and Charles V. It was also in this decade that he made the '*The Customs and Fashions of the Turks*' sketches. These are a set of ethnographical renderings of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman and the peoples and culture of his empire. They are almost

[290]See pages 49 through 52 for more on the Moorish dance, its popularity, and its worldly and exotic messaging.
[291] David Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.14045, 350
[292] Ibid, no.12001, 270
[293]Ibid, no.14134, 354
[294] For more on Van Aelst and this set see Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 379-385

certainly based on eye-witness accounts. Van Aelst visited Constantinople in 1533 on behalf of the Dermoyen tapestry company. He was part of a speculative visit to sell their work and/or get a commission from the sultan, who at the time was increasingly interested in Western art forms.[295]

Thomas P. Campbell has tentatively suggested that the 'Turks Tapestry' in Henry's 1547 inventory may well be this set.[296] He also argues that it is almost certain that Van Aelst's sketches were designs for a tapestry, even though no existing set exists, or any certain evidence that one was ever woven.[297] Nonetheless, the likelihood that Henry was in fact in possession of perhaps the only woven copy of this set - there are no other recordings of a set of Turks tapestries from the period or later - is high. Henry was certainly aware of Van Aelst's work. In fact, he owned all three of the other tapestry sets that have been attributed to the Flemish master from the 1530's (*The History of St. Paul*, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, and *The Story of Joshua*).[298] Moreover, we know that Henry VIII was proactive in sending agents to Antwerp to procure tapestries, which is where the major trade in Flemish wares like Van Aelst's took place. For example, in 1516 he sent an agent to Antwerp to procure arras for his palace at Beaulieu. The agent returned with 180 pieces![299] Furthermore, the nature of the tapestry industry and

---

[295] For more on this see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (Sep. 1989), 419. It is also possible that these sketches were made for the Sultan to woo him. Van Aelst was unsuccessful in getting a commission probably because of the Islamic decree against representations of people and animals, but his sketches did find an audience in western Europe.

[296] Thomas P. Campbell, *The English Royal Tapestry Collection, 1485–1547*. 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, Courtauld Institute, 1998

[297] Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 380

[298] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no. 9289, 9292 and 12039, 196 and 273 and Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 379-385

[299] Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, 280

tapestry production at this time makes it far more likely that Henry's Turks were Van Aelst's rather than tapestries based on the drawings of another cartoonist. Since large luxurious tapestries were extremely time and labor intensive to make, they were essentially made to order. This was a three step-process. Artists (like Van Aelst) would sketch designs; these sketches would then be acquired by merchants and merchant houses who were effectively the middlemen in deciding what wares got made. Then came the commission. Merchants would sometimes order speculative commissions themselves thinking they would be popular and easy to sell, or they would act on behalf of a patron who wanted a specific work. The tapestry would then be woven by a weaving house that was usually connected to the sketch artist. For example, Van Aelst's designs were typically woven by the workshop of William De Pannemaker.[300] This process meant that specific merchants tended to be attached to an artist and/or warehouse. We can say with certainty that Henry VIII was trading with merchants dealing in Van Aelst's wares in light of the other pieces in his collection. Therefore, it is most likely that the Turks tapestry was commissioned or brought from the same merchant who sold Henry his other Van Aelsts rather than being the sketches of a different artist of whom there is no existing historical record. Moreover, because of the expenses associated with big tapestry commissions the market was not overly saturated and at the top end there tended to be only a few artists selling their wares to royalty. This is why we see parallel tapestry sets across the courts of Europe rather than different variations in different areas. For example, Henry, Francis I and Margaret of Austria all had a copy of Van Aeslt's St. Paul Tapestry.

[300] Ibid, 279

There is one more piece of evidence that leads to the conclusion that Henry's Turks are most likely Van Aelst's: where they are recorded. The piece is found in Henry's removing guarderobe described as "the guarderobe attendaunt at the courte upon the kings most royal person."[301] This storehouse was for wares that accompanied the monarch when he was moving between his many palaces, for furnishing his rooms whilst in residence. This collection is full of extremely ornate and impressive pieces designed to show of Henry's wealth and magnificence; from rich cloths of estate, made of cloth of gold, to sumptuous cushions of the finest purple velvet and crushed satin.[302] The Turk tapestries must therefore have also been a rich and important possession in order for them to be included in this collection. This would fit with the quality of the other Van Aelts tapestries Henry owned. Moreover, the '*Customs and Fashions of the Turks*' sketches would have produced large and impressive pieces. Though we cannot be one hundred percent certain of what this set looked like, or if it was a Van Aelst, what is certain is that it was a prized piece in the king's collection and one that Henry liked to look at, and to be seen engaging with, when he moved between residences. The fact that Henry would have appreciated a tapestry like this also fits with his displays of Turkish culture seen elsewhere.

Henry further consumed cultural difference in one other notable tapestry set: "*The Voyage of Calicut*" (fig. nineteen and twenty). This six-piece set was first commissioned by the Portuguese King, Manuel I, in 1504 and was woven in Tournai. It recalls and celebrates Vasco De Gama's successful discovery of a direct sea route to the Indies on behalf of the Portuguese

[301] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, 354
[302] Ibid, 354-356

crown in 1498. It is a beautiful and detailed rendering of De Gama's voyage around the coast of Africa to reach Calicut and its famed goods and spices. The tapestries are full of images of the exotic animals, plants, and locations he encountered on the way. They also include scenes of friendly cross-cultural contact.[303] For example, the piece titled "*Cortege of the Giraffes*" (fig. twenty A) depicts de Gama arriving in the Indies with a train of different peoples on six giraffes. Africans, Indians, and Europeans feature. The impression is a marvelous mix of cultures and exotic things. Whilst it was commissioned as a piece of Portuguese propaganda, '*The Voyage of Calicut*' invoked the global horizons of the Renaissance and the wonders of exploration and discovery that brought new knowledge about the world and its peoples to Europe. This is why the set appealed beyond the Portuguese crown. Early in the 1500's, then Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian I, purchased a variation of 'the voyage' that showed the beasts and peoples from the Indies.[304] Henry got his hands on five pieces of '*The Voyage of Calicut*' (presumably not those featuring the Portuguese king) in 1513, when his councilor in Tournai, Robert Wytfel, purchased a set shortly after the English had successfully besieged and taken over the town (to which they had a historical claim).[305]

Design Styles and Aesthetics at the Henrician Court.

Looking at Henry's textile collection as a whole (his carpets, his tapestries, and his silks) a broader sense of the aesthetic of his Renaissance court is revealed. The material world of the Henrician court looked back towards a classical and biblical past and outwards to the world and

[303] Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton have also spoken about how this tapestry shows evidence of artistic exchange between western and eastern artists. See Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000) 117-118
[304] Jardine, Worldly Goods, 399
[305] Ibid

cultures beyond England. The message would have been one of dynastic pride and power, mixed with an interest in foreign things and worldliness. The aesthetic of Henry's removing wardrobe reveals this in microcosm. When the king traveled, his rooms were decorated with a dazzling mix of eastern and western wares and classic and exotic themes. In his rooms, alongside the impressive Turks Tapestry, hung those telling the stories of Hercules and Charlemagne (this might also suggest that the Turks were viewed as a great empire to be emulated). These were on the walls of spaces littered with twelve great carpets of 'Turkey making' (and fifty-one smaller ones), alongside verdures and clothes of gold wrought with the symbols of English monarchy – Tudor roses and the Beaufort portcullis - cushions of sumptuous velvet, bedspreads of the finest crimson damask, fringed with Venetian gold and embroidered with the king's arms, and others of white and green Turkey silk (the livery colors of the house of Tudor).[306]

This classic and outward, eastern and western, mix was also dominant in the broader design schemes of the court. Four distinct styles-- 'antiques,' 'arabesque,' 'damask' and 'moorish'-- come up again and again in the sources. In the final inventory, damask styles are the most common (mentioned one hundred and fifty-four times), followed by antique (one hundred and fourteen), arabesque (twenty-six) and moorish (twenty-two). These designs appear across a plethora of media from cups to bedding. Antique refers to patterns that mimicked the architecture of ancient Rome and Greece and/or included renderings of classical figures. Portions of Holbein's 'Seymour Cup,' (fig. ten) are classic examples of 'antique work,'

[306] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, 354-356

and the antique style, with their incorporation of cherubs at the top and bottom of the cup and other Romanesque figures, like those that face outwards on each side of the middle section of this beautiful object. Many of Henry's cups were in this style. Another of Holbein's sketches, this time for a fireplace, is a further example of antique design work in Henry's court (fig. twenty-one). Antique patterns and figures also featured heavily in salts, carved furniture, in tapestry borders, and even on clothing. For example, Henry had a set of "French sleeves of murray velvet richly embroidered with Venice gold…powdered full of small pearls set with a rich antique…"[307]

The rest of the ubiquitous design styles at Henry's court invoked and borrowed from the artistic traditions of the Islamic east. Damask or damascene work could refer both to a style and a technique from this region. As a style, it took its name from (and could also refer to) damask textiles and the repetitive scrolling patterns that were their distinctive feature. As has already been shown, much of Henry's furnishings were damasks and they were used in a number of ways at the court, as tablecloths, hangings, bedding, and upholstery. As a technique, "damascening" was a type of metal work that involved the interlay of mixed metals (gold, silver, and brass) onto a different base metal. This technique also originated in the middle eastern city of Damascus. Damascening became popular in Europe in the early sixteenth century and was introduced to western courts by Italians, most likely Venetians, who had close contact with traders from the near east.[308] Whilst damascening was adopted by European craftsmen, especially Italian ones, the eastern origins of this technique were not forgotten and were in fact

[307] Ibid, no.1711, 436
[308] Harold Osborne (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 291

emphasized. Most examples of damascening in Henry's court incorporated moorish and arabesque patterns. The effect was to create striking pieces (fig. twenty-two). Damascening was a common way to make beautiful pieces of armory, like Henry's "morispick heads without staves with damask work guilt."[309] Much of the king's tableware was also made using this technique, his "pair of gilt pots chased with damask work," being an example.[310] These specific pots also incorporated the antique style having 'borders about the feet' in that fashion. They are therefore another illustration of the common blend of eastern and western, backward and outward, looking styles that was dominant in the material culture of Henry's court. The high status of this damascening is also revealed by the recording of counterfeit 'damaskining' work in the final inventory. Two items in Henry's armory, a stirrup and a bite, are described in this way.[311]

The moorish and arabesque design styles seen in Henry's damascene work were popular and common aesthetics at the Henrician court. Although theses styles were similar, they are mentioned distinctly in the records. These designations refer to decorative schemes for flat surfaces that consist of interlacing and scrolling linear patterns.[312] As opposed to antique patterns, that tend to be based around a human or animal figuration (fig. twenty-one A), Moorish and arabesque designs are abstract in nature. The patterns usually consist of vines, branches, and foliage, and it is often impossible to locate their beginning or end.[313] Whilst

---

[309] Ibid, no. 3806, 103
[310] Ibid, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.942, 35
[311] Ibid, no.8180 and 8181, 158
[312] For more on the arabesque style see John Fleming and Hugh Honour, *Dictionary of the Decorative Arts* (London: Penguin, 1977) and Gordon Campbell (ed.), *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts*: *Volume I Aalto to Kyoto Pottery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 25-26
[313] Peter Fuhring, *Renaissance Ornament Prints; The French Contribution*, in Karen Jacobson (ed), *The French Renaissance in Prints* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center UCLA, 1994), 162

damasks and the damask style had been a feature of the English court long before Henry VIII came to the throne, the same cannot be said for the more exotic Moorish and arabesque work that came to be some of the most recognizable Henrician aesthetics. These styles became popular in the west only in the sixteenth century. The Venetians were the avant-garde in introducing these eastern styles to western Europe when Venetian craftsmen began imitating Islamic design schemes in their metal work, book binding, and architecture.[314] This was another way in which they expressed their worldliness and celebrated their knowledge of the exotic east. Arabesque was first mentioned as a design style in Italy in the sixteenth century - where it was called 'Rebeshi' (which means in the Arabic style) - as a style for decorating pillars and friezes.[315] These consciously eastern styles quickly spread to England, no doubt due in part to the close relationship with the Serene Republic that Henry established during his formative years on the throne. Arabesque is first recorded as a design style in England in the 1543 Inventory of Whitehall.[316] Here, 'rabaske' work comes up several times. An example being a cushion of blue velvet "embroidered all over with damaske and Venice gold rabaskeworke, the backside purple velvet upon velvet fringed with Venice gold," recorded in the lists of furnishings.[317] The use of Venice gold to weave these designs points to the fact that this was almost certainly a Venetian import. There is also earlier evidence of the existence of the arabesque style in other sources from the reign. For example, in the arabesque and Moorish designs that make up portions of the Seymour cup sketched in 1536 (fig. ten A). Holbein's

[314] Ibid. and Campbell, *Grove Encyclopedia*, 25
[315] Osborne (ed.), *Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts*, 34
[316] These designs likely spread to other European courts at a similar time but owing to the lack of inventories for these palaces there is no concurrent record of this fact. According to the Larousse Dictionary, the first record of arabesque designs in France is in 1546.
[317] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, no.3320, 190

portrait, *Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons* (fig. eight), painted at Whitehall a few years before the inventory was taken, also shows eastern aesthetics in the cloth of estate behind the king (as well as in the borders of the Turkish carpet).

By the time of the final inventory in 1547, the popularity of these conspicuously eastern styles was clear. They appear in abundance across a variety of items like four "….spice plates of silver with a brim plated on of silver and gilt and white rabaske worke," "two flasks of gold and steel morisco work garnished with stone," "a fair carving knife and a meat knife, the haftes wrought with morisco work," and a gilt basin "the border rabaske worke and four antiques that are Venus, Mercury, Jupiter and Juno.[318] Arabesques were also commonly woven into carpets and on the bindings of several books in Henry's libraries. Maria Hayward has likewise argued that "arabesque and moresque designs, derived from Islamic sources," were popular in Henry's dress and clothing.[319] Henry's doublet in the Thyssen Portrait (c.1537) is an example of what this might have looked like (fig. twenty-three). An English pattern book, published one year after Henry's death, gives a further indication of how the popularity of eastern design styles had risen in England under him, as well as a sense of what some of the major patterns were and what the objects described in the inventories may have looked like (fig. twenty-four). The book, *Morysse and Damashin renewed and encreased very profitable for Goldsmythes and Embroiderars,* was a manual for goldsmiths and embroiderers to teach them how to incorporate these popular and 'very profitable' styles in their work. It was put together by Thomas Geminus, a Flemish Refugee who came to England after escaping Charles V's

[318] Starkey, *The Inventory of Henry VIII*, nos. 1119, 2955, 16055 and 1529, 40, 83, 400 and 51
[319] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 17

persecution in the Low Countries and who was living and working in London in the 1540's. Geminus was a prolific engraver. He also had close ties to the court. In 1546 he appears as an engraver in a list of the king's payments receiving an annuity.[320] No doubt many of the designs in his book would have been based off things he had seen at, and made for, the court.

Another group of primary sources that give an idea of the overall look of the court, and of the mix of classical and exotic designs revealed in the inventories, is portraiture. The best example here is probably *The Family of King Henry VIII* (fig. nine) painted at Whitehall Palace c.1545-1546. This portrait is in part a fictional rendering of the family (for example it features Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour, who had died shortly after childbirth in 1537). Nonetheless, leading historians of Tudor art and architecture have argued that the remaining figures appear to have been painted from life and that the portrait is thus "a topographical record rare at this period" and "a crucial document in the study of early Tudor style and interiors."[321] In this portrait, there are lots of classical styles. The pillars that frame the portrait harken to the architecture of the classical world and are embellished with antique work. The front of the molded ceiling is similarly wrought. The wood panels behind Henry VIII are also in this style. Images of dynastic pride are also prevalent. The ceiling is studded with Tudor roses. Henry's royal arms, beautifully wrought into a baldachin cloth of estate, take center stage directly above the king's head. They call out to the viewer and lead the eye to Henry with his hand

[320] "Henry VIII: May 1546, 26-31," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 1, January-August 1546*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908), 454-489

[321] Roy Strong, *Gloriana* (London: Pimlico, 2003) 85. Simon Thurley, who has done a lot of work on the king's palaces makes a similar argument suggesting that "The setting for *The Family of Henry VIII* is on the ground floor of the king's lodgings at Whitehall Palace, and very probably represents a real interior set up for the portrait." Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 214. Other historians disagree but regardless of whether this image was indeed an exact representation of Whitehall's interior it was certainly a representation of kingship and of the palace that Henry wanted to express.

placed on the young Prince Edward's shoulder invoking the continuation of his dynasty and national strength. This message is made all the more pointed by the fact that the portrait was painted after the Reformation. International and more exotic styles are also ubiquitous in this painting. Most striking is the beautiful eastern carpet that Henry's throne sits atop which, as we have seen, is a hallmark of most portraits of the king. The baldachin is also wrought with rabesk work of close scrolling vines, similar to the designs found in the Germinus's pattern book. The cushion at Henry's feet features similar rabasks. In fact, it may well be the cushion of purple velvet and Venetian gold rabask work that is recorded in the Whitehall inventory, which was taken around the same time this portrait was made.[322] We see a similar example of rabask embroidery in *Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons*, where the border pattern on the cloth of estate bears a striking resemblance to another of Germinus's designs (see fig. twenty-five). In *The Family of King Henry VIII*, there are also nods to the foreign in the clothing of the sitters. Princesses Mary and Elizabeth both wear fine damask. Perhaps the most exotic thing in the portrait however is the monkey that sits on the shoulder of Henry VIII's fool, Will Somers. Monkeys were a popular curiosity that showed of an owner's worldliness. They tended to be brought to Europe from the New World. It was fairly common for royalty and wealthy nobles to own monkeys as pets. We know that Henry was given several monkeys from a foreign merchant in 1533.[323] A miniature portrait of Catherine of Aragon, painted at the English court in 1525, shows her with a pet monkey. In 1534, Lady Lisle was also gifted a marmoset "from

[322] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, no.3320, 190
[323] Henry VIII: September 1533, 1-10," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, Volume 6, 1533, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882), 449-466

France, which came from Brazil (Brossil)."[324] This monkey was initially intended for the court before she decided to take it instead.[325]

The backward and outward aesthetic seen in *The Family of King Henry VIII*, and which reveals itself through an exploration into the material culture of Henry's court, was not unique to England. In many ways, it was the visual manifestation of the two major pillars of Renaissance culture: a renewed interest in looking back to the classical past and the kindling of man's ability in the present - most exemplified by trade, travel, and the age of discovery. Similar aesthetics were also no doubt present in the courts of Henry's European contemporaries. Whilst no comparative inventories exist, we know that they traded in, and were key determinants of, the same market for foreign luxuries and worldly goods as Henry. Nonetheless, Henry VIII's interest in showing of his exotic wares and his preference for foreign design styles, especially those from the east, does appear to have been more pronounced than his continental rivals (Venice excepting). It has already been argued how this was the case with his use of portraiture to show off his abundance of Turkish carpets. Looking at existing Henrician portraits more generally, it is also striking how many of them include the material culture of the court and, as a result, always some nod to the international. For Henry (and Holbein), the background of his portraits, and showing off his worldly court, seems to have been particularly important. There are no portraits of Francis I or Charles V that compare in style to the *Whitehall Mural*, *Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons*, or *The Family of King Henry VIII,* all of which show the king in a domestic setting surrounded by the material trappings of

[324] "Henry VIII: November 1534, 26-30," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 7, 1534*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1883), 550-560
[325] Ibid

majesty. Instead, for Charles and Francis, the majority of existing images tend to be either simple portraits of them, in ornate dress but with little background – elaborate dress being more of a feature in representations of the French King rather than the more sober and religious clothing that was more typical of the Emperor - or they are equestrian portraits that hark back to classical statues and speak to this theme. There are no equestrian portraits of Henry VIII. Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott have argued how restraint and sobriety seem to be hallmarks of Hapsburg portraiture, starting in the later years of Charles V's reign. They hypothesize that this is because "the Hapsburg kings of Spain did not have to advertise their power and majesty in quite the same way as did lesser potentates – as heads of a worldwide empire they were universally recognized as the most powerful monarchs on earth."[326] Equestrian portraits, which were common in Hapsburg imagery, also evoked imperial themes because they emphasized the military prowess of the ruler (another area in which Henry was often found lagging behind his rivals). Henry VIII's ostentatious domestic portraits, that focused more on emphasizing the continuity of the dynasty and on showing of his impressive worldly court, are therefore likely another example of him conspicuously consuming foreign luxuries to gain cultural capital and assuage his anxieties about his position and status in the world – which his rivals did not share - when he was unable to do this by other means. It was not the case that Henry VIII had more, or indeed a more exotic mix of worldly goods, than his rivals - considering the fact that he did not have an overseas empire or, unlike Charles V, a direct trade link to Asia, he probably had less. However, he does appear to have been more interested in showing off his

[326] Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott, *A Palace for King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip VI* (Boston: New Haven, 1980), 150. Also see Jonathan Brown, "Enemies of Flattery: Velazquez' Portraits of Philip IV," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 17, no. 1 (1986): 137-54

interest in foreign wares and international tastes, as revealed in his portraiture style. The result was that worldliness, and subsequently international trade, became more dominant themes in English portraiture than in French or Hapsburg imagery.[327]

Historians of Fontainebleau, Francis I's most impressive palace, have stressed that the classical past was what most motivated the aesthetic there.[328] Francis and Henry's contemporary, Giorgio Vasari, in his famous work *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculpters and Architects,* described the palace as a 'new Rome,' in recognition of its many marbles, sculptures, and paintings of antique figures and themes.[329] Many of these can still be seen in Francis I's great gallery (completed in 1539) (fig. twenty-six). Ancient Rome and the classical world permeate this space. It is full of antique work, classical sculptures, and Romanesque frescoes including the *L'Unite de L'Etat* which represents Francis in antique imperial armor in the guise of a new Caesar (fig. twenty-seven). Notably, there is little to no eastern influence in this gallery, which is strikingly different to the gallery of Whitehall Palace seen in *The Family of King Henry VIII*. Robert K. Knecht has argued that the "reclining female nude," that sits atop of a gateway arch welcoming people to the palace, encapsulates the spirit

[327] Of course, worldly messages were to some extent present in the rendering of these monarchs in and of themselves because of their actions and engagement with places and peoples beyond their realms. This was probably especially true of the Hapsburg 'world emperors,' and a point that Brown and Elliott make. Nevertheless, in portraiture the worldliness expressed by Charles V would have had a different flavor to that expressed by Henry VIII because it stemmed from his dominion over a large swathe of the world and a desire to extend this even further (as encapsulated by the Hapsburg motto 'still further') whereas in his portraits Henry's worldliness was expressed by his conspicuous consumption of diverse foreign goods and design styles that invoked international trade and cross-cultural contact and therefore more horizontal relationships with foreigners than in the Hapsburg case.

[328] See Robert J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008)

[329] Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, (New York: Random House, 2006[first edition 1550]), 382

of Fontainebleau.[330] If the symbol of Fontainebleau was the reclining nude, that of Whitehall was arguably the Holbein carpet, and if Francis's palace evoked a new Rome, Henry's was more a new Byzantium. David Starkey has argued that Henry's court can be understood as almost a "cultural colony" of the French, but on closer exploration, there are significant differences in the dominant and overarching themes and aesthetics in these spaces. French seems to have been just one of many foreign influences on the English court.[331] Henry appears to have been most aesthetically inspired by Italy and especially their interest in Levantine and Near Eastern styles.

The prevalence of foreign goods and styles in Henry's court, and their association with it, was made all the more prominent and sustained by the fact that there were practically no native luxury industries in England at this time that Henry could draw on to furnish royal spaces. Moreover, any luxuries that were being made domestically tended to be the work of immigrant communities, such as the Flemish weavers who had stimulated carpet production in Norwich. A treatise from the 1530's reflects this. In this work, the author talks about what he sees to be an excessive importation of foreign goods because "the good workmanship of all artificialitie is most commonly seen in strangers," and not native peoples.[332] England was pretty unique in this respect. Most other countries were known for producing some kind of luxury good. In addition

[330] Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court*, 188
[331] Starkey, *A European Court in England*, 12
[332] "How the Comen People May be Set to Work an Order of a Commen Welth," quoted in William Cunnningham, *Alien immigrants to England* (London: Cass, 1969), 127. This treatise is both critical and pragmatic about strangers in England. It is written to show empathy to the grievances of native craftsmen who felt animosity to stranger artisans who they felt were taking jobs away from them. The author instead argues that strangers and natives should work alongside each other in these vocations and that the English should learn from the strangers because they excel in these crafts. The blame for this is placed on the abundance of foreign imports (by foreign merchants) that he sees as leading to a dearth in English skills and thus of a domestic luxury market.

to the areas and associated commodities already mentioned, such as carpets from Turkey or cups from Germanic lands, the Spanish had a reputation for beautiful furniture (especially chests), velvets and gowns, the French were known to be exquisite jewelers and makers of precious ornaments, such as salts and clocks, the Venetians made renowned glass, and the Florentines the best cloth of gold to be had. Henry coveted and owned all these luxuries. For example, he often brought clocks and jewelry from Frenchman out of his personal coffers. In 1530 he purchased a clock "from a Frenchman" in July, and another in August from "a Frenchman called Drularly," as well as a dial.[333] The fact that Henry VIII did not at this point have an oversees empire from which he could take luxury goods also made the foreignness of his worldly wares more marked than say they would have been in the court of Charles V. For example, because he ruled over the area, when Charles V displayed a Flemish tapestry the message would have been one of dominion over foreign areas as much as an interest in them.

In realms outside of England, it was also common for domestic luxury industries to build up both around, and inside, the court. The Islamic kingdoms were the avant-garde in this enterprise. The first royally owned textile workshops were set up here, under the Umayyad (r.661-770) and Abbasid dynasties (r.750-1258), as early as the seventh century.[334] Following this tradition, the Safavids set up carpet manufacture in the fifteenth century, and the first Mughal workshops were created under the Emperor Akbar (r.1556-1605) in the sixteenth

[333] Gairdner (ed.), *Privy Purse 'Expences*, 62 and 65. Francis I's accounts are also full of payments to Parisian jewelers which is where this industry flourished.
[334] Hűlya Tezcan, "Ka'ba covers from the Topkapi palace collection and their inscriptions," in Fahmida Suleman (ed.), *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'an and its Creative Expressions*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); pp.227-238, 227

century.[335] The Ottomans similarly had a permanent staff of court craftsmen, (the ehl-I hiref), who made luxuries for the sultan. These craftsmen worked either in the major weaving centers outside the court, most notably Istanbul and Bursa, or at the Topkapi Palace (constructed in 1453).[336] By the sixteenth century, Bursa, which is located a short trip south from the palace, across the Sea of Marmara, had grown to become the major manufacturing center of luxurious woven silk textiles in the early modern world. The Ottoman court was the main client and stimulus for this industry (the other being European merchants that spread these beautiful wares all over the world). In 1513, the Ottoman imperial treasury ordered 25,000 akces' (the primary monetary unit in the empire and a considerable expenditure for the time), worth of fabric from the town.[337] In 1518, they ordered 200,000 akces![338] During this period, the Ottomans also established their own imperial workshops to produce beautiful wares for the household. By 1568 the court workshops in Istanbul were producing one hundred and three lengths of cloth of gold, brocaded silk and velvet, a month.[339]

Many western courts also stimulated the production of luxury goods in their realms. The tapestry industry in the Spanish Netherlands was sustained by, and flourished because of, Charles V and other western monarchs' interest in this art form. The French crown also stimulated a local textile industry. The Gobelins, a family of French dyers and clothmakers, set up a factory in Paris in the fourteenth century where they specialized in the production of

---

[335] Philippe de Montebello, 'Directors forward,' in Daniel Walker, *Flowers Underfoot: Indian Carpets of the Mughal Era*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), ix-x, ix

[336] Nurhan Atasoy, Louise W. Mackie, Walter B. Denny and Julian Raby and Alison Effeny (ed.), *Ipek: The Crescent and the Rose: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets* (London: Azimuth Editions, 2002), 169

[337] Atasoy et al., *Ipek: the crescent and the rose*, 165

[338] Ibid

[339] Atasoy et al., *Ipek: The Crescent and the Rose*, 170.

beautiful scarlet cloth. In the sixteenth century, a tapestry manufactory was added to help meet the demands of the court for these goods.[340] In comparison, throughout the sixteenth century, the textile industry in London remained "comparatively unimportant within the manufacturing sector of the London economy," despite the fact that these objects were essential to Henry's magnificence and ubiquitous at the court.[341] The growth of other luxury industries in the French capital in the sixteenth century, such as jewelers, has also been seen as a response to the court's demands.[342] Henry's court stands out in the fact that it was not associated with a domestic luxury product and subsequently did not stimulate the production of luxury goods in the realm (with the small exception of limited carpet production – but again this was more the result of foreign immigration and not a grass-roots industry). The English economy was instead built on, and sustained by, the export of raw materials, mainly wool and tin, and finished basic goods such as warm woolen clothes and pewter drinking ware. Wool and wool stuffs were England's largest domestic market. The export of English wool had grown exponentially under Henry VII and is part of the reason why his son came to the throne so wealthy. By 1540, 120,000 woolen clothes were being exported annually (85% from London).[343] The realities of England's economy meant that foreign things became essential to Henry. He needed luxury goods to underpin his magnificence and to keep up appearances, and he had to look outward to get them in numbers that was not replicated for his closest rivals.

---

[340] Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court*, 31 and Hugh Chisholm, "Gobelin," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, volume 12, 11th ed., s.v., (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica: 1997), 165
[341] Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 73
[342] Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court*, 31
[343] Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 101

Henry VIII's desire to have the best of the best when it came to worldly goods therefore resulted in the creation of royal spaces that bristled with cultural diversity, and the foreign became ever present in the material world(s) of the Tudor court. Henry's German, Spanish, and porcelain cups, his Turkish and Egyptian carpets, his Safavid silks and Venetian Gold trimmings, his cushions, plates, and armor wrought with Rabask and Moresque work, his Flemish tapestries, his French clocks and jewels, all presented him as a worldly king. The material culture of Henry's court was also heavily influenced by eastern goods and styles. The material engagement with foreignness that took place on a daily basis in these spaces is a necessary prerequisite for understanding how and why a cultural form of cosmopolitanism, that grew out from worldliness and described an interest in cultural difference, developed in Tudor England. At Henry's court, the foreign and the exotic were domesticated and presented as something to be embraced rather than feared. Foreign things became a permanent feature of the royal household. They were also displayed alongside domestic imagery – in some cases being literally branded with royal insignia. This showed the English king's interest in cultures beyond his realm. Henry's court was also a space where the foreign was celebrated, as seen in the deliberate labelling of international luxury goods in the inventories, and in the conspicuous display of wares that invoked different cultures, such as Henry's tapestry of the Turks. Henry VIII's court was a space of cross-cultural contact, where east met west, where the globalizing trade of the sixteenth century was on full display, where cultural commensurability was forged, and where foreign things were organically woven into the everyday fabric of the English

court.[344] The result was an impression of court and king that is reminiscent of today's cultural cosmopolitans who identify and manifest their worldliness (i.e. cosmopolitanism) through interaction with foreign cultures and foreign things.

Building the Cosmopolitan Court: Foreign Trade and Tradesman.

Trading in and interacting with foreign things at the court also led Henry to develop relationships with foreigners that were friendly and horizontal, as opposed to antagonistic and hierarchical, because it was more often than not "strangers" who were supplying him with his worldly goods.[345] This positive engagement is another important prerequisite for the rise of cultural cosmopolitanism in England because it generated a level of tolerance and understanding towards "strangers" which we have already seen manifest in Henry VIII during the events of Evil May Day.[346] Similar attitudes are revealed by the close relationships that Henry formed with many foreign merchants and tradesmen, without whom he would have been unable to construct his worldly court. Henry got his foreign luxuries by trade with merchants from all over Europe, as well as from English merchants trading in international

[344] The term cultural commensurability is taken from Sanjay Subrahmanyam. He uses the term as a reverse to the sociological idea of incommensurability when talking about the inability of groups/cultures within different paradigms to understand and connect with one another and of "largely impermeable cultural zones, perfectly coherent in and of themselves but largely inaccessible to those who look in from outside." See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 1-33, 5

[345] The link between trade, commerce, tolerance, and cultural cosmopolitanism is one that has been argued and evidenced by many historians and social scientists in light of the fact that tolerance is often a necessary device to facilitate mutually beneficial trading arrangements. For some examples of historians who have shown this link in the sixteenth century see pages 11-13 of this dissertation. Sociologist and Urban activist Jane Jacobs provides a useful overview of this process in *Systems of Survival: A Dialogue on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics (*New York: Vintage, 1994), 35-6

[346] See pages 56-66.

goods who grew in number and importance over the course of his reign.[347] State papers record frequent trade with merchants from France, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary, and Portugal. But by far the most numerous and important of Henry's European trading partners were Italians and Germans, whose close relationships with the king had led to the development of permanent Italian and German merchant communities in the city of London. There is also limited evidence of "strangers" from further afield presenting exotic goods to Henry. In 1533, for example, there is mention of "newilties" being "prepared to present to the king's highness" belonging to a "stranger" merchant who had recently arrived in Southampton.[348] His list of wares, which included "two musk cats, three little monkeys, a "marmazat," a shirt of fine cambric entirely wrought with white silk, which is very fair, a chest of India nuts, containing 40 greater than a man's fist, 4 pots of earth, painted, called "purselandes" (porcelains)" and "100 cases of sugar," suggests that he was a merchant from the Indies rather than a European who would be unlikely to have this exotic mix in one cargo.[349] The generic 'stranger merchant' is also very common in records from the reign. "Stranger" merchants also played a significant role in England's export market. In exchange for the beautiful things they brought him, Henry gave merchants from Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany, permission to export English wool. In fact, for the majority of his reign (up till around 1540) between forty and fifty percent of all the cloths exported from London were on alien bottoms.[350] "Stranger" merchants were also

[347] For more on the English merchants and mercery see Anne F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London Trade*, *Goods and People 1130-2578*, (London: Ashgate, 2005)
[348] "Henry VIII: September 1533, 1-10," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 6, 1533, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882), 449-466, no 1074
[349] Ibid
[350] Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 111

granted license to export other domestic goods including wheat, Toulouse woad, beans, peas, salt, corn, tin, lead, hides and beer.

The most numerous and consistent group of foreigners directly trading with the king and court were Italians, who appear consistently in the records bringing him a host of goods.[351] A 1521 account from Bartolomeo Paxi, a Venetian merchant importing to England, reveals the kinds of goods that Henry was getting from his Italian connections.[352] The list includes many luxuries; gold threads and cloths, silk threads and cloths in an array of beautiful colors, camlets, silk brocades, fustians from Northern Italy, raw silks from Calabria and Sicily; nearly all of the sought after spices from the Indies, sugar, corals and Candia wines.[353] Henry's privy purse and other personal accounts are also full of payments to Italian merchants, mainly for luxury textiles. Italians also dominant the list of suppliers to the king's wardrobe.[354] Anne Sutton, who works on the mercery of London, has argued that "Henry VIII and his extravagant young court was highly profitable to Italian merchants…," who increasingly came to have a lion's share of "the flourishing London-Antwerp trade."[355]

The same Italians appear again and again in the records suggesting the personal nature of the relationships that Henry developed with his "stranger" merchants. These relationships were carefully managed, cultivated, and conspicuous. They are also essential examples of how

[351] Italian trade to England more generally did begin to decline from the 1530's onwards (see pages 133-134 for more detail). However, Henry's personal relationship with these merchants and his looking to them for foreign goods to fill the court appears to have remained consistent till his death.
[352] Bartolomeo Paxi, *Tariffa de pesi et mesure correspondenti dal Levante al Ponente: da una terra a l ' altra: e a tutte le parte del mondo: con la noticia delle robe che se trazeno da una Paese per laltro* [sic], Venice, 1521, 204v – 205v
[353] Paxi, *Tarrifa*, and Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire*, 37
[354] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 5
[355] Sutton, *The Mercery of London*, 355

cosmopolitan mores, namely the positive treatment of "strangers," manifested around the king's acquisition of foreign things. The most successful of these merchants set up fixed bases for their businesses in London. Two Italian merchant families/companies and their agents stand out, both for their close relationship with the king and their conspicuous advertisement of his favor: the De Bardi and the Cavalcanti. The De Bardi company was operating in London from 1492-1533 and became particularly prevalent and wealthy in the first decades of Henry's rule.[356] The closeness of Henry's relationship with Francesco De Bardi – who first appears in the records in 1509 - has already been explored in chapter one in the context of the Evil May Day Riots which, it is argued, were partly a reaction to the increasing internationalism of the court and Henry's favorable treatment of "strangers" like De Bardi. The Cavalcanti were another Florentine house of merchants who became active and important at the outset of Henry's reign. Their patriarch, Giovanni di Lorenzo Cavalcanti, appears from 1510 onwards receiving regular and numerous payments for goods from the king.[357] Their presence at the court and in the city of London was also conspicuous. The Cavalcanti and De Bardi were often in business together and from 1512 they shared a house in Throngmorton street.[358] This house was both a lodging and a business where they would store goods and meet with potential clients and agents. Talking about the house, with a hint of jealousy in his tone, the Venetian ambassador to England reported to the senate in Italy that the Cavalcanti lived in such "luxurious and elegant

[356] See F. Guidi-Bruscoli,"London and Its Merchants in the Italian Archives, 1380–1530," In *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton*, edited by Allen Martin and Davies Matthew, 113-36 (London: University of London Press, 2016)

[357] Cinzia M. Sicca, "Consumption and Trade of Art between Italy and England in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: The London House of the Bardi and Cavalcanti Company." *Renaissance Studies* 16, no. 2 (2002): 163-201, 168-9

[358] They also had company houses in Antwerp and Rome which are a further indication of their dominance in the trade of luxury goods in sixteenth century Europe.

quarters" that they were "more appropriate to an ambassador than to a merchant adventurer."[359] Moreover, owing to the levels of his ostentation and confidence, the ambassador felt that Giovanni Cavalcanti must have been a proxy for the Medici.[360] The magnificent de Bardi and Cavalcanti house also became a site of important activity in the city. These merchants were known to host guests visiting England from the Papal court and, as Cinzia M. Sicca has argued, "by 1523, the London house of Pierfrancesco de Bardi and Giovanni Cavalcanti was so richly appareled…" that it "…clearly acted as a showpiece where a great deal of entertainment went on."[361]

There is no evidence that Henry VIII tried to mute these conspicuous displays, or that he put any restrictions, on the De Bardi or the Cavalcanti, even after the events of Evil May Day and the continued gripes of English merchants and artificers about his privileging of foreigners and their commercial interests.[362] Rather, he cultivated his relationships with these merchant "strangers" and continued to show them evident favor. As with De Bardi, Cavalcanti became more than just a client to Henry and the crown. In 1513, after a few years of trading with the king, he became a denizen for life indicating the extent of his activities in London and how at home he felt in the country.[363] He is also mentioned amongst the list of Henry's companions at the Field of Cloth of Gold – an event where the 'eyes of the world' were on Henry and where

[359] Sicca, *Consumption and Trade of Art*, 179
[360] Ibid
[361] Ibid, 186
[362] Several treatises from later in Henry's reign reveal the continuation of these attitudes amongst the English. See for example Clement Armstrong, *Howe to Reforme the Realm in settying them to worke and to restore Tillage,* published in Reinhold Pauli*, Drei volkswirthschaftliche Denkschriften aus der Zeit Heinriches VIII von England* (Leipzig, 1878) and Sir Thomas Smith, *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, c.1549* in Elizabeth Lamond (ed.), *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Ralm of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954). These are discussed in more detail on pages 216-219.
[363] Ibid, 170

the optics of his circle would have been deemed especially important.[364] In 1522, Giovanni appears again in the records, this time described as Henry's gentlemen usher.[365] It was also said that he had a portrait of the English monarch hung on the wall of his residence in Florence.[366]

There are many other instances of Henry's favorable treatment of Italian merchants. For example, in 1516 Leonardo Frescobaldi of Florence and Antonio Cavallarri of Lucca were appointed to be his "purveyors for gold and silver cloths for life" at a salary of 20s per annum.[367] Anthony Carsidoni(y), a Venetian merchant and one of the Cavalcanti's agents, was another prominent and visibly favored Italian. His name is the most frequent in the list of merchants providing goods to the king in Henry's chamber accounts of 1531-32. Carsidoni appears to have remained in favor with the monarch until the last years of his reign. In 1540, he was granted land by the crown.[368] He was granted more land in 1544 when "Anthony Carsidoni, the king's servant" was given "tenements in Marcelane in the parish of All Hallows Staynyng."[369] In 1535 he also became a denizen.[370]

Henry's relationships with Venetian merchants like Carsidoni, and with the republic more broadly, are another essential factor for understanding why the seeds of cultural

---

[364] Ibid, 175. The Field of Cloth of Gold was an elaborate international summit, the likes of which had not been seen previously, between Henry VIII and Francis I to mark the signing of a peace treaty (the Treaty of London) that was meant to be the first step in an alliance of Christian kingdoms that would lead to a new crusade. For more on the Field of Cloth of Gold see Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013)
[365] Ibid
[366] Ibid
[367] Monnas, 'Plenti and Abundance,' in Hayward (ed.) *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, 245
[368] "Henry VIII: July 1540, 21-31," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII,* Volume 15, 1540, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1896), 445-481
[369] "Henry VIII: June 1544, 26-30," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 19 Part 1, January-July 1544, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), 475-510.
[370] "Henry VIII: March 1535, 21-31," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 8, January-July 1535, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1885), 161-187

cosmopolitanism germinated at the Henrician court. This is because they would have been important sites for cultural osmosis between Henry and the most 'cosmopolitan' city in Europe. When Henry VIII was king, Venice had a reputation as the most culturally diverse trading hub on the continent. It was a place where goods and peoples from all over the early modern world were welcomed to trade and mix. This trade, which was the lifeblood of the Venetian empire and republic, relied on and bred more tolerant attitudes towards foreigners than was typical elsewhere, and Venice became a place where many "stranger" communities developed and settled, the most ubiquitous being Moors, Jews, and Germans. In light of this, Venice has since been described by many historians as the most cosmopolitan center of early modern Europe who use this term in its cultural sense as an adjective to describe the diverse makeup of the peoples and communities who lived and traded there, relatively free of persecution, and of the cultural attitudes that must have existed amongst Venetians to enable them to do so.[371] Under Henry VIII, England and Venice had a uniquely close and strong relationship. This was the result of both economic and political factors. We have already seen how Henry's rapacious desire for luxury imports provided individual Venetian merchants with an opportunity to get close to the king and how they dominated several areas of luxury trade with the court. This desire was also an important bargaining tool for the Venetian state who knew how Henry lusted after the cache of Mediterranean and Levantine goods that they sent to England in their galleys.[372] Politics also brought England and Venice close. For most of the sixteenth century, Venice was caught in the

[371] Of course, this did not mean that xenophobia did not exist in Venice. Contemporary sources paint a picture of a culturally diverse trading center but also the ghettoization of ethnic minorities. For an overview of the history of early modern Venice and its cosmopolitan elements see Eric R. Dursteler, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden: Brill, 2013)

[372] Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire*, 65

middle of the French-Italian wars between France and the Holy Roman Empire. The Venetians often looked to Henry VIII as a potential ally and/or broker in this conflict and Henry saw his support of Venice as an opportunity to challenge and undermine his rivals. Owing to the often-aligned nature of English and Venetian interests, the Venetians were the first state in the world to have a permanent ambassador in England (from 1483 onwards).[373] There was thus much cross-pollination, of both things and ideas, going on between Henry's court and the most cosmopolitan center of early modern Europe.[374]

Maria Fusaro has recently argued for a renewed emphasis on the intertwined histories and cultures of Venice and England. In her work she stresses the impact of the former on the evolution of English history and politics. She argues that, taking a lead from Venice, and in part a repercussion of their close economic relationship, "foreign trade came to be considered in Tudor England as the fundamental sector of the economy."[375] This argument has important repercussions for the rise of cultural cosmopolitanism in Henrician England because it is this trade, which was stimulated to new levels under Henry VIII, that was its key motor (in both Venice and England). International trade opened the door for the development of culturally cosmopolitan behaviors, practices, and attitudes to develop in Henry, and at his court, because the success of this trade relied on the positive treatment of foreigners and forged close and good relationships with them.[376] The influence of Venetian culture in England is also clear in the

[373] This is why some of the best sources we have for Henry's reign are in the Venetian State Papers.
[374] An English interest in Venice, and of its cultural diversity, is well known in the Elizabethan period and exemplified by Shakespeare's plays that are set there and have ethnic diversity and the treatment of strangers as central themes such as Othello and the Merchant of Venice.
[375] Fusaro, *The Political Economies of Empire*, 3.
[376] Alison Games makes a similar argument in *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) about cosmopolitanism being an essential strategy (and motor)

dominant aesthetics of Henry's court. In light of their dominance in the trade of luxury goods to England, Venetians could to a large extent set trends there. There are many examples of Henry emulating Venetian design preferences, which were themselves a manifestation of the culturally diverse worldly republic. The exotic rabesque work, and the hybrid outward-backward, eastern-western, aesthetic of Whitehall, was also that of the Doge's palace. Furthermore, as has already been seen, Henry VIII often mimicked the Doge's self-fashioning in his penchant for eastern dress and goods.

It was not only Venetians and Italians however who benefited from Henry's growing culturally cosmopolitan behaviors born of his desire for foreign things. Another important group of merchants close to the king and court were the Hansa (from the lands that today encompass Germany). Since the medieval period, London and the English nobility had been an advantageous market for merchants from these areas. The Hansa were officially recognized as a distinct group that could be granted trading privileges in 1281 during the reign of Henry III.[377] In the period of the Wars of the Roses, they grew especially powerful and were often given trading rights from the monarch in exchange for money and loans to support them in these unpredictable times.[378] Since the fourteenth century, the Hansa had established themselves in the city of London and even had their own area, the Steelyard, from which they operated with a large degree of autonomy and protection. Incidentally, they had a similar set up in Venice at the Fonteo De Teschi, which is another example of how the comparable political economies of Venice and England produced similar

behind the international trading relationships that underwrote, and ultimately led to the development of the British Empire.

[377] Panikos Panayi, *Germans in Britain Since 1500* (London: Bloomsbury, 1996), 3

[378] For more on the Hansa and their relationship with the English crown see: Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Boston: Brill, 2013)

phenomena with regards to the treatment of "strangers" and the development of standing international communities in their cities. The Fonteo De Teschi was first established in the thirteenth century and by the sixteenth had become one of the most important trading areas in the city. By this time in London, the steelyard had also grown into a significant establishment with its own warehouses, kitchens, and lodgings, and the Hansa were well established players in London trade. The Hansa imported a mix of luxury goods and staples into England. They were most known for bringing staples of wool, cloth, and herring into the country, but they also imported high ticket items such as wine, sumptuous Baltic furs and silverware, which would have been intended for the court and other wealthy clients.[379] Hansa merchants often appear in the records directly trading luxury goods with Henry. For example, in 1531, "Harman Hullesman, merchant of the Hanse," was paid for "three fine pieces of arras of the Passion of Christ, wrought with silk, silver, and gold," from the king's chamber account.[380]

Panikos Panayi has described the Hansa's history in England as a story of the "gaining and losing of favors depending on the prevailing political and economic conditions" of the time.[381] Keeping with his patronage and protection of other "stranger" merchants, the Hansa were generally treated well by Henry VIII. In 1534 for example, he passed an act which declared that "none acte statute or ordenaunce had made or to be made in this psent (sic) parliament in any manry of wyse extend or be pjudiciall or hurtful unto the Marchauntes of the Hanse of Almayne."[382]

---

[379] Panayi, *Germans in Britain*, 3
[380] "Henry VIII: Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 5, 1531-1532, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1880), 303-326
[381] Panayi, *Germans in Britain*, 3
[382] King Henry VIII, 'Act Concerning the Merchants of the Hans,' *Statutes of the Realm*, 1534.

This act, and the Hansa privileges it protected, guaranteed them the same trading rights as the English. It would not be repealed until 1598.[383]

The Hansa's close relationship with the court and their status in the city was also shown by their presentation of an allegorical arch for the coronation procession of Anne Boleyn in 1533.[384] These processions were key moments of interaction and negotiation between the king and the city and were an opportunity for important groups to connect with the king. Only the wealthy and powerful could put together an arch like that of the Hanse. As seen by this example, the Hansa, like their Italian counterparts, had a highly visible relationship with the king. The Steelyard was also beautifully decorated and stood as a visual testament to their importance and power. In 1533, they hired Hans Holbein, who had recently arrived in England, to create murals and multi-figured allegories for their buildings.[385] Holbein's portrait of one of the Hansa, Georg Gisze (figure twenty-eight) also shows them to be another group who would have contributed to the culture of worldliness then thriving at Henry's court. In this painting, the German works at a table surrounded by the tools of his trade - contracts, bills, scales - and the worldly goods it brought him - a Venetian glass vase, sumptuous silk clothing, a Turkish carpet, and an eastern looking ornament hanging from his shelf.

Whilst they were certainly central, it was not only "strangers" involved in the trade of foreign luxuries with the Henrician court. English merchants were also increasingly involved in the importation of foreign luxuries. As with the "strangers," the same names appear again and

[383] Panyai, *Germans in Britain*, 19
[384] David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance 1485-1649* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1997), 224.
[385] Ibid

again trading directly with the court and king. One of the most prominent was William Lok, a mercer from London. The mercery were officially merchants who dealt in the trade of textiles beyond basic woolen cloths such as "silk, linen, piece-goods of many kinds, with an emphasis on dress accessories, small luxuries and bedding."[386] In practice however, many – and the most rich and successful - mercers imported a wide variety of goods. Lok certainly falls into this category. Over the period of 1520-1544 he is recorded trading harnesses, jewelry, and beautiful gilt and silver plate with the king, in addition to the cache of rich silks, cloth of gold, and cloth of silver that made up the bulk of their dealings. Like Franceso de Bardi or Lorenzo Cavalcanti, William Lok had a personal relationship with Henry that went beyond the odd business dealing. In an autobiography written by one of his relatives, he is described as the king's personal mercer.[387] It is also said that the two had such a good relationship that they would often dine together and that William even had a key to Henry's privy purse.[388] Another autobiographer describes Lok as "having the charge of (the king's) commercial affairs both at home and abroad.[389] A series of letters written between 1533-1538, by Lok to Henry and Thomas Cromwell, sent from the market town of Antwerp where Lok was acting as the Crown's agent, confirms the close nature of their relationship.[390] Lok was rewarded generously for his services.

---

[386] Sutton, *The Mercery of London*, xxx
[387] John Bramston, *The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston: K.B., of Skreens, in the Hundred of Chelmsford 1835* (Charleston: Nabu Press, 2011), 3
[388] Ibid
[389]John Goodwin Lock, *Booke of the Lockes* (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1854)
[390] "Henry VIII: August 1538 6-10," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 13 Part 2, August-December 1538, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893), 15-26. These letters are a hybrid of commercial reports and political briefings.

Over the course of his life Henry granted him a living of one hundred pounds a year, a knighthood, and he was made a gentleman of the privy chamber.[391]

Richard Gresham is another English merchant who gained favor with the king through his trade in foreign things. Gresham first appears in the records in 1516, when he is given license to export cloth and other English merchandise out of the realm, and to import luxury silks, gold clothes, wood, woad, alum and wine.[392] From 1516 till 1546, he appears in the records several times importing wheat and an even more diverse array of luxury textiles than Lok: linen, sarasent, lockram, velvet, camlet, damask, satin, fustian and large tapestry sets, like the twelve pieces of tapestry of the *Twelve Months* that he sold to Henry in 1531.[393] Like Lok, Gresham was also knighted.[394] The prominence of these men reflects the importance of their trade and just how much Henry coveted worldly goods. For men like Lok and Cavalcanti, trading in these things had brought them to the heart of power. The consequences were a court notable for its abundance of foreign luxuries, that captured the power of the foreign and the exotic, and a king that in the main treated foreign merchants as well as native ones.

Henry VIII's reign witnessed the highest levels of the importation and consumption of foreign luxuries in England till that point. However, it was somewhat of a transitional period with regards to whom were the main beneficiaries of this trade. At the start of the reign, and up until the mid-1530's, "strangers", and particularly Italian and Hansa merchants, dominated the market and set the trends for the kinds of things Henry wanted, and was able to, conspicuously

---

[391] Lock, *Booke of the Lockes*. His knighthood had followed a personal show of loyalty in 1532 when it was said that Lok had ripped down a flyer in Calais that was attacking Henry and his divorce from Katherine of Aragon.
[392] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, 36
[393] Gairdner (ed.) "Henry VIII: Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts," in *Letters and Papers*, 303-326
[394] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, 409

consume. In comparison, English merchants are much less numerous in the archives for the first ten plus years and start to appear with more frequency only from 1530 onwards. This lack of influence, and limited share in the market, early in the reign is reflected in the petitions that the English merchants brought to the king bemoaning the stranger's dominance in this field preceding Evil May Day. Things began to change for the English only in the 1530's. This was not however because Henry VIII had had a change of heart with regards to foreigners. As Maria Fusaro has argued, the major reason for this shift in fortunes was a loss of power on the Venetian side, that no longer made it viable for them to send over the state galleys that had been such an important source of Henry's worldly goods and a visible testament of the Italian's dominance in this trade.[395] The last galley arrived in London in 1533. When the galleys stopped, "a space was left open for new operators to keep these maritime routes open."[396] It was the English, and men like Lok and Gresham, who stepped in. As soon as the galleys stopped coming, their names appear with more frequency in the records. It is also after 1533 that Lok and Gresham were granted their knighthoods and developed their close relationships with Henry. Despite the loss of the Venetian galleys, Henry VIII continued to conspicuously maintain and patronize those "stranger" merchants with whom he had an existing relationship and who would have not been directly affected by Venice's misfortunes, such as Anthony Carsidoni (who also received his denizenship in the 1530s).

One area where it *was* principally "strangers" who contributed to the worldly internationalism of Henry's court was in the production (rather than importation) of beautiful

[395] Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire*, 38
[396] Ibid

pieces of art, architecture, and decoration for it. The English were unique in the fact that they were not known for producing a domestic luxury that was coveted elsewhere. However, this did not mean that beautiful things were not produced at the court. Like other Renaissance kings, Henry VIII made a point to attract the best foreign artists and artisans to his court and conspicuously patronized them. In consequence, the work of high-profile foreign craftsmen, in addition to their things, became central to Henry's magnificence. Henry VIII needed foreigners to create the beautiful things he craved as much as he needed them to import them. To this end, he welcomed a broad swathe of Europeans to his palaces. Perhaps the most famous were two Germans, Hans Holbein, who is best known as a portrait artist, but who also designed jewelry and architecture for the king, and Nicholas Kratzer, Henry's astronomer and clock maker who, amongst other things, was responsible for the striking astronomical clock that still to this day greets visitors at Hampton Court Palace. At Henry's court, there also developed several workshops ran by foreigners. The king's famous armory at Greenwich, that was set up within weeks of him taking the throne, was founded and ran by German immigrants who came over at the invitation of the king.[397] Here, they created beautifully wrought and innovative sets of armor that were prized as much as display items as for their performance in warfare. In 1517, Henry also established a workshop of glaziers in Southwark, under the Dutchman Bernard Flower.[398] After his death, around 1520, this workshop was taken over by Gaylon Hone, another Dutchman, who is referred to in the records as the 'king's glazier.'[399] These Dutch craftsmen and their workshops (which did contain some Englishmen) were responsible for the beautiful

[397] David Loades, *The Tudor Court*, 129
[398] Ibid, 130
[399] Ibid

stained glass in the Great Hall at Hampton Court and in Kings College Chapel, Cambridge (to name but a few examples). They were also responsible for the glass work in the temporary palace that Henry had erected at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520. This palace has gone down in the historical record as The Field's most impressive spectacle. It broke the mold largely due to the innovative nature of its design and specifically for being the first structure to fully incorporate glass into a timber framework. Eyewitnesses marveled at this unique feature describing "windows made of glass…that stretch to the very floor," and colloquially it came to be known as 'the crystal place."[400] For Henry, it was "a dramatic statement in Brick and Timber, in canvas and glass, of his potential in all other fields of royal endeavor," that outshone anything in the French camp.[401] When it came to building more permanent palaces it was also to foreign craftsmen that Henry VIII looked. For example, a highly skilled group were employed in the construction of Nonesuch - on a near full time basis - from 1541 until Henry's death.[402] The most well-known of this group were the sculptor and artificer, Nicholas Bellin (from Modena), the painter Bartolommeo Penni, and the sculptor Antonio Toto (both from Florence).[403]

Another prized foreign workshop at the court was that of the Dutch illuminator and miniature painter, Lucas Horenbout. In 1525, the entire Horenbout family came to work at the Tudor court.[404] This was a big boon for Henry because, at the time, they were the most

[400] Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 60
[401] Ibid, 203
[402] Martin Biddle, 'Nicholas Bellin of Modena: An Italian Artificer at the Courts of Francis I and Henry VIII', *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, Volume 29, 1966, 106-121, 112. All of these artists would later become denizens.
[403] Ibid
[404] David Loades, *The Tudor Court*, 127

respected illuminators in Europe. Lucas's status was confirmed by his substantial salary of 20 pounds a year.[405] In his work on the Tudor Court, David Loades has argued that "the Horenbouts transformed the artistic horizons of the Tudor court."[406] They "virtually invented the portrait miniature" - which became very popular throughout the west - and also turned their hands to many other works for Henry such as panel portraits, designs for jewelry, plate, tapestries, and engravings.[407] Loades also argues that it was likely at the initiative of the king that these foreign virtuosi came to his court "because (he) was acutely sensitive to the achievement of Francis I, and would have seized this opportunity to steal a march on his rival in an area where neither court was particularly distinguished in the early 1520's."[408]

The cultural diversity that defined the material world(s) of Henry's permanent household was therefore also reflected in the craftsman he employed. Another group of visible foreigners at the court were Henry's musicians. Under him, the Tudor court developed a reputation for its music (including the skills of the king), but as with much else, his most visible and vaunted musicians, were foreign born. Many were specifically recruited from abroad by minor diplomatic agents who doubled as "talent scouts."[409] In 1516, one of these men was able to coax the organist from St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice, Dionisiusm Memo, to the English court.[410] Henry appears to have been very proud of this fact. Eyewitness accounts record Memo playing recitals for visiting guests. In 1517, Sebastiano Giustinian, wrote of a four hour recital

[405] Ibid
[406]Ibid, 128
[407] Ibid
[408] Ibid
[409] Ibid, 11
[410] Kauffman, *Black Tudors*, 15

that Memo played for Charles V and his entourage, who had come to the court to discuss a potential marriage treaty between the Emperor and Henry's daughter Mary.[411] He described how Memo played "to the so great admiration of all the audience, and with such marks of delight from his Majesty aforesaid, as to defy exaggeration."[412] At a later date, he also wrote to the Doge that he "thinks Memo is in such high favor that he will be able to advance the interests of Venice."[413] Also employed by Henry were an organist from Antwerp and a Venetian Lute player. Both were paid very well in indication of both their talent and status at the court.[414] Philip van der Wilder was another favored Dutch musician and supplier of instruments to the court.[415] Perhaps the most interesting of Henry's foreign musicians though was one John Blanke. Blanke was a "blacke trumpete" (trumpeter) from Africa.[416] We do not know the circumstances in which he came to England, but we know that he came to occupy a valued position at the early Tudor court. Blanke first appears in the records as a musician in Henry VII's court, in 1507.[417] After the first Tudor king's death, his son kept Blanke in his retinue, even doubling his wages after the trumpeter successfully appealed to him for a pay rise in 1509.[418] Blanke was present at some of the most important, and magnificent, events in Henry VIII's early reign. He performed at Henry's coronation. He also performed at the Westminster Tournament of 1511, which was a large and costly event, put on to celebrate the birth of Henry and

---

[411] Sebastian Giustinian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII* (London: Smith Elder and Co, 1854), 296
[412] Ibid
[413] "Henry VIII: February 1518," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 2, 1515-1518*, ed. J S Brewer (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1864), 1220-1236
[414] David Loades, *The Tudor Court*, 10-11
[415] Hayward, *The Whitehall Inventory*, 169
[416] *TNA/PRO E 36/214*, f.109
[417] Ibid
[418] TNA/PRO E101/217/2

Katherine of Aragon's ill-fated son (the existing tournament roll of this occasion includes an image of Blank and is the first known portrait of an African in England).[419] Henry also gifted Blanke, "our trumpete," a wedding gift from his personal coffers of a gown of violet cloth, bonnet and a hat on the occasion of Blanke's marriage in 1512.[420] Whilst he would have stood out at Henry's court as a conspicuous and celebrated foreigner, it was not uncommon to find African musicians performing in the courts of sixteenth century Europe. Africans were especially visible in Renaissance Italy and the Italians appear to have started a trend of their employment as a symbol of status across Europe in this period.[421] Miranda Kauffman has recently argued that Blanke's employment might be another example of the English "emulating other European rulers… as a way of enhancing (their) prestige on the European stage;" knowing Henry VIII's interest in all things Italian, it is probable that it was them who he was most likely emulating in his continued employment and support of John Blanke, making this a further example of the Italian influence on Henrician worldliness.[422] The presence of foreign musicians, like Blanke, at Henry's court is another example of the extent of cross-cultural contact that when on in these spaces and a further manifestation of Henry's worldliness and interest in people and places outside his realm.

[419] Kauffman, *Black Tudors*, 9
[420] TNA/PRO E/101/417/6 f.57. For more on Blanke see Kauffman, *Black Tudors*, 9-20
[421] Kauffman, *Black Tudors*, 11. Black musicians and performers were also a fairly common site in the courts of Spain and Portugal though their status in these courts was more questionable as they were commonly held to be slaves. See Kaufmann, *Black Tudors*, 12.
[422] Ibid

Conclusions.

Looking at the material world(s) of Henry's permanent household, it is clear that foreign objects, aesthetics, trade, skill, and workmanship were defining features and things that the king conspicuously advocated – whether that be through the deliberate geographical labeling of luxury goods, or in his use of portraiture to show off his impressive collection of Turkish carpets. Henry VIII rapaciously consumed and displayed foreign objects in a manner that was unprecedented in England. He hired many international craftsmen and liked to display his penchant for exotic tastes and styles (especially eastern ones) in the decoration of his palaces and residences. Moreover, because of the nature of the English economy at this time -- which was based on trade and the export of raw materials rather than manufacture (especially of luxury items) -- and since Henry did not have a vast land empire from which to extract luxury goods, he was more reliant on imported objects, and imported labor, to create his magnificent court than many of his rivals. The result was domestic spaces that were decidedly international in terms of their material culture – that looked outwards more than inwards – and that reflected Henry's desire to be seen as worldly. Even if he did not have the most, or the most geographically diverse mix of worldly goods, Henry VIII's choices in design and representation, and his portraiture, reveal a strong desire to show these things off – likely to mask deeply held anxieties about his status in the world. In particular, he appears to have been influenced by Italian culture and more specifically their engagement with the near east.

The culturally diverse materialism of Henry's court would not have been possible without "stranger" merchants and craftsmen. This necessitated positive relationships with them. Henry VIII made a point to patronize these "strangers" and did not shy away from

advertising his favor even when faced with opposition from some of his subjects. For these reasons, the seeds of cultural cosmopolitanism, built on worldliness, and familiarity with and appreciation for cultural difference, are found in Henry's court and in the practices and behaviors of England's worldly king. Henry's engagement with the foreign in these spaces generated at once a comfort with, and an appreciation of, cultural difference. Moreover, the mix of diverse cultural goods, peoples, and aesthetics in the court – Turkey carpets, oriental pearls, Flemish tapestries, Moorish patterns, Italian musicians – was a visual testament of the king's interest in, and connection to, the worlds beyond his realm and of the globalized nature of early modern trade. This sense of connection was another essential building block for being able to see oneself culturally as a 'citizen of the world,' a process that began in England in Henry VIII's worldly court.

Chapter Three: Material Expressions of Global Knowledge and the Cosmopolitan Persona at the Court of Henry VIII.

Global Knowledge and Cosmopolitan Identities

Through the circumstances of their creation, their aesthetic pedigree, and journey to the court, many of Henry VIII's luxury items bore witness to the globalizing trade networks of sixteenth century Europe. Objects such as Turkish carpets and Dutch tapestries threaded with Venetian gold were a significant part of the material apparatus that supported Henry VIII's worldliness. They alluded to a highly connected world, made the court a culturally diverse space, and brought international aesthetics into the heart of the English court. The second Tudor king's interactions with these things, and the foreign merchants that were often supplying them, were thus central to the rise of proto-cosmopolitan behaviors at the Henrician court, built on an interest in cultural diversity and a worldly persona. However, these were not the only material items that at once contributed to, and reflected, the burgeoning cultural cosmopolitanism in these spaces, and the possibility to imagine oneself, culturally, as a 'citizen of the world' in Henry VIII's court. Cultural artifacts that expressed the extent of Henry VIII's 'global knowledge' - such as, but not limited to, maps, globes, atlases, and other items associated with mapping and discovery – were also highly prized and further material manifestations of his worldly kingship.[423] They are also central for understanding how this worldliness evolved into cultural cosmopolitanism. These objects reflected a novel ability and desire to think 'globally,' which is another necessary pre-requisite for this kind of self-fashioning. This chapter looks at Henry VIII's consumption and display of global knowledge and its ties to proto-

[423] Global knowledge is used in this chapter to describe any and all information related to the study of the cosmos and the material world – it encompasses arts such as cosmography, cartography, navigation, astronomy, and astrology.

cosmopolitan attitudes and behaviors. This is important for adding to our understanding of the rise of cultural cosmopolitanism in England. This discussion also helps to rehabilitate the extent of Henry VIII's engagement with, and interest in, 'the global.' This has often been seen as lacking behind other Renaissance rulers, mainly on account of Henry's relative disengagement with imperial endeavors and trans-Atlantic discovery in this period.[424]

Cultural cosmopolitanism derived from, and would not exist without, early modern globalization. It requires an ability and desire to think globally and beyond the local. This paradigmatic shift in the geographic imagination was one of the biggest repercussions of the globalization of the early modern world, which had taken effect by the time Henry VIII came to the throne.[425] This imagination is characterized by an ability to think with what Denis Cosgrove has called

[424] Most of this stems from the fact that he does not sponsor any successful voyages of discovery in his time, especially to the new world. For some examples of works that promote this image see *Bedford Series in History and Culture*, 2nd edition, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, Macmillan Learning, 2017), 8– 13; Trevor Bernard, "The British Atlantic," in *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*, eds. Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 111–136; David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 220; Felipe Fernández Armesto, *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 218–220; J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), 6; Anthony McFarlane, *The British in the Americas 1480–1815* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1994), 16; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: Northern Voyages A.D. 500–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 233. This picture has recently been challenged by Lydia Towns in her work "Merchants, Monarchs, and Sixteenth-Century Atlantic Exploration: New Insight into Henry VIII's Planned Voyage of 1521," *Terrae Incognitae*, 2020, 52:2, 214-228. In this article she argues how "for over a century the historiography of Tudor England and Atlantic exploration has argued that the English did not show any true interest in the Atlantic world until the latter part of the sixteenth century. It is argued that Henry VIII lacked both interest in the New World, and the vision of his father to see the possibilities for England which lay beyond the Atlantic" and that they don't become "global visionaries," until the reign of Elizabeth 1, Towns, 'Merchants, Monarchs," 216. Towns discredits these ideas in her article. However, this dissertation re-affirms Henry's relative disinterest in these things see pp.180-184.

[425] As the historian Jyotsna G. Singh has argued, "globalization is not simply an economic or political movement, but equally…a product of the ideological work done by literature, art and visual culture, travel writing, and other cultural forms," Jyotsna G. Singh, 'Introduction: The Global Renaissance.' *In A Companion to the Global Renaissance*, ed. Jyotsna G. Singh (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 9. The cultural impacts of globalization are also a central theme of Ayesha Ramachandran's, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), in which she explores the Renaissance fascination with the 'world' and what she highlights as the ubiquitous practice of 'worldmaking' in this period.

an Apollonian point of view.[426] The ability and desire to imagine oneself above the earth and take it in as a spherical whole like the god Apollo. This was a foundational step in encouraging a new kind of cosmopolitan self-fashioning to take root in the culture of early modern England as it allowed individuals to conceive of the world and its peoples as a whole connected space. Engagement with material manifestations of the Apollonian outlook helped individuals to increasingly see and present themselves as citizens of the world defined through a cultural interest in the global rather than as a political identity in support of supra-national governments. In the courts of early modern Europe, the ability to think globally became an important trait for monarchs to display as another expression of their worldliness. Henry VIII was a conspicuous consumer of global knowledge. His global imagination was visualized and reproduced in numerous things at the court, from maps, to ornate compasses, to stage plays with global themes, to intellectual imaginings of worlds elsewhere, and above all in the motif of the globe. With these material displays, Henry VIII centered himself "imaginatively on the global stage," and put himself in dialogue with it.[427] This engendered a proto-cosmopolitan persona by presenting him as an outward looking individual familiar with the diversity of global life. These themes lay at the heart of John Dee's later definition of cosmopolitanism that stemmed from his interest in "the State of Earthly Kingdoms, Generally, the whole World over."[428]

Cultural cosmopolitanism is not necessarily inherent in the consumption and display of global knowledge. It is a well-known fact that much early modern exploration (mental as well as physical) resulted in, and was often predicated on, the possession, exploitation, and even extermination of

[426]Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination*, (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2001) 2. Also see Sumathi Ramaswamy, 'Conceit of the Globe in Mughal Visual Practice," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49, (2007): 751-782
[427] Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye*, 114
[428] Gerald Suster ed., *John Dee: Essential Readings* (Berkley: North Atlantic Books, 2003), 58

different cultures, rather than an appreciation for them. Representations of the globe in Early Modern Europe were undoubtedly powerful imperial images that often reflected these attitudes rather than cosmopolitan ones. Indeed, Dennis Cosgrove and Sumathi Ramaswamy have both argued that an imperial gaze is always inherent in early modern representations of the globe, as exemplified in images that show rulers taking possession of these objects (fig. twenty-nine and thirty), or in their adoption of titles such as 'World Emperor' (Charles V) or 'World Seizer' (Emperor Jahangir).[429] However, looking at Henry VIII's engagements with 'the global,' imperial themes do not appear to have been dominant. For example, no existing portraiture of Henry pictured with a globe exists. These kinds of imperial images would however become dominant in England during Elizabeth I's reign once the English were building an oversees Empire (fig. thirty-one). On the other hand, many representations, and discussions of global knowledge from Henrician England do reveal a culturally cosmopolitan impulse – namely an interest and appreciation for difference and diversity - at the core of the desire to learn more about the world, its shape, and its inhabitants. When Henry VIII displayed an object that expressed some form of global knowledge, and/or his ability to think globally, these socially effective items were therefore infused with meaning in a culture that linked proto-cosmopolitan behaviors to the acquisition of global knowledge. Further, because Henry VIII did not possess a colonial empire, or make any successful attempts to mount voyages of discovery, his displays of the global would not have had some of the implications as say those of Charles V, who had the largest empire in the world and whose armies were actively engaged in the slaughter

[429] It should be noted that these imperial images are painted some time after Henry's death and are more contemporaneous with Elizabethan portraiture which did invoke imperial themes. Nonetheless, with the case of Charles V, he was styling himself as the 'world emperor' when Henry VIII was king.

of native populations.[430] Moreover, in England at this time, xenophobia was more typically seen in counter arguments to the acquisition of global knowledge and travel (both literal and figurative) because it was felt that the foreign could have a corrupting influence.[431] **CAN I EXPAND ON THIS?**

Charity suggestion

Global Knowledge as Proto-Cosmopolitan Self-Fashioning in Henry VIII's Court.

"Than with his compace drawyth he about, Europe and Asye, to knowe howe they stande, and of theyr regyons nat to be in dout. Another with Grece and Cesyll is in honed, With apuly, aafryke and The New Fonde Land, with numydy and where the Moryans do dwell, and other londes, whose nays none can tell."[432]

- Alexander Barclay, English Translation of Sebastian Brant's, *The Ship of Fools*, 1509.

In 1509, the same year Henry came to the throne, Alexander Barclay wrote of the fascination with learning about the people and places of the early modern globe sweeping courtly society in England. In his satirical poem, *The Ship of Fools,* he painted a picture of an elite group feverishly acquiring and expressing information about the early modern world through material means, such as maps. Henry VIII's court was exactly the kind of place that Barclay had in mind when he wrote his critique. Global

[430] The question of whether Henry VIII had imperial ambitions is an interesting one. My research suggests that whilst he certainly had an interest in the global moment and also in discovery (as discussed on pages 179-184) it remains unclear if this was motivated by a desire for empire. Several direct quotes from the king actually suggest that he was not particularly interested in building an empire (see pages 206-7), but this may well have been a result of his acceptance of the fact that he was not really in a position to mount imperial ventures rather than because he was uninterested in them. Nevertheless, imperial themes were not dominant at Henrys court which would have had an impact on how his expressions of global knowledge were perceived there.

[431] Alan B. Farmer, "Cosmopolitanism and Foreign Books in Early Modern England, *Shakespeare Studies* 35, (2007): 58+, Gale General OneFile (accessed January 28, 2020). https://link-gale-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/apps/doc/A171658490/ITOF?u=wash_main&sid=ITOF&xid=3fc01347. In this work Farmer highlights yet another Elizabethan understanding of cosmopolitanism where is was used as pejorative to describe 'sinful worldlings.'

[432] Sebastian Brandt and Alexander Barclay, *The Ship of Fools*, 1509, Reprint, (London: A. Pompen, Longmans Green and Co., 1925), 225. This satirical work, which criticized man's worldly obsessions at the expense of his salvation, was first written in German by Brant in 1494. It was translated into English with additions by Barclay in 1509. Barclay's version was intended as a critique of English elite society and he included a longer section on mapping and exploration which referenced the most up to date European discoveries.

knowledge was valuable to Henry VIII for two major reasons. First, it was a pragmatic tool that enabled cross cultural trade and discovery. It was also valued as a symbol of high culture and civility, as a further expression of worldliness, and of Renaissance man's ability to surpass ancient knowledge and make an impact in the world. Although he did attempt to launch several expeditions throughout his reign, Henry VIII was not as actively engaged, or as successful, when it came to voyages of discovery and exploration as his rival kings. Nevertheless, he conspicuously consumed material manifestations of global knowledge as fervently as anyone else. This lends credence to the claim that in his court expressions of this sort were valued as much for the worldly messages they portrayed about him as a means to gain hard power. This is further supported by the fact that the overwhelming majority of Henry's objects that evoked an Apollonian outlook were luxury items rather than pragmatic tools. They were designed first and foremost to be seen and admired, their value going beyond and not resulting from practical application. Take for example the "fair dial of ivory garnished with gold being made upon the gold diverse conclusions of astronomy" recorded in Henry's Secret Jewelhouse at Whitehall palace in 1547.[433] It is a beautiful but impractical tool. Moreover, of the twenty-five or so navigational objects - compasses, astrolabes, rules, and dials - recorded in this inventory, only two are described as being of non-precious materials. The rest are either gold, silver, bone, or ivory. The placement of this group of items in Henry's households further suggests that they were prized primarily as fashionable curiosities. Most appear either in the king's jewelhouses - alongside

[433] David Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII Vol 1. The Transcript* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998), no.2612, 77

precious gemstones and items of jewelry - or they are mentioned as display items, like the five astronomy instruments hung up at the end of the long gallery in Henry's Westminster study.[434]

These objects, and many others, presented Henry VIII as a paragon of worldly learning with an interest in the places and peoples beyond England. To understand why this image was desirable, and its links to cultural cosmopolitanism, we need to look to the broader intellectual and cultural movements of the Renaissance. As has recently been argued by Ayesha Ramachandran, one of the most distinctive features of this period was the ubiquitous cultural practice of 'world making,' by which individuals throughout the early modern world sought to "imagine, shape, revise, and articulate the world."[435] Ramachandran argues that this was largely the result of the destabilizing effects of the age of discovery and the Reformation that had usurped existing notions of the world and world order.[436] As will be seen, 'world making' was up front and center at Henry's court. Another big cultural influence fueling Henry and the court's expressions of global knowledge was the new primacy that Renaissance man put on the power of the individual, on himself, his world, and his ability to act, and have an impact, within it.[437] The ideal Renaissance man was therefore active, a trait

---

[434] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII,* no.15806, 397

[435] Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 6

[436] Ibid

[437] This is the traditional reading of Renaissance culture proposed by Jacob Burckhardt in his canonical study of the period, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, Penguin Classics Edition (London: Penguin, 1990[first edition 1860]). Burkhardt's work has roundly been criticized for what is now viewed as his uncritical acceptance of the Renaissance writers inflated view of themselves. Nevertheless, even if it may not reflect a full, or even the most accurate, picture of life and culture in the Renaissance, the individualist ethos that many individuals promoted remains key to understanding Renaissance self-fashioning and, in this case, would have been a foundational element of worldly interests and the acquisition and display of global knowledge.

that further fueled the consumption of global knowledge and 'world making' as evidence of his power and ingenuity. As maritime technology evolved, and the age of discovery took root, this ethos propped up and propelled increased cross-cultural interaction and travel across geographic and cultural borders (literally and figuratively) as a symbol of status. It is no coincidence that this period also saw an explosion in the study of worldly fields of knowledge, such as cartography, cosmography, ethnography, and geography. Henry VIII was also brought up at a time when the value of education as a tool for molding men into active citizens, a central ideal of civic humanism, was replacing the medieval scholastic education that had a stronger emphasis on religion, tradition, and dogma.[438] Humanism (and many humanists) actually had a complicated relationship with global knowledge since Humanism was a philosophy based on looking back and revering the wisdom of the ancients, which is something that discovery threatened to challenge.[439] The humanist project however, with its emphasis on learning, individual enquiry, and on man's ability to act on the world, opened new interests in the worldly arts and disciplines like geometry and navigation, which, maybe paradoxically, would further feed the global geographic imagination.[440]

The link between global knowledge and cultural cosmopolitanism would first be made explicit by, John Dee, in Elizabeth I's reign, in "*General and rare memorials pertayning to the*

[438] As an educational program Humanism promoted the study of rhetoric, grammar, history, poetry, and moral philosophy as the tools through which man could make his mark on the world. This school of learning was increasingly popular in the sixteenth century as - to borrow a phrase from Desiderius Erasmus, one of its most famous practitioners - the correct education for 'a Christian prince.'

[439] Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992)

[440] Singh, 'Introduction,' in *A Companion to the Global Renaissance*, 5. Many of those most interested in the acquisition of global knowledge at Henry's court would have also called themselves humanists.

perfect arte of nauigation."[441] In this work Dee includes a "Little Discourse" criticizing the "Public Behavior," "Civil Conversation," and "Industry" of "the People of this Albion."[442] It is in this discourse that the earliest written use of the adjective "cosmopolite" appears in the English language. Dee states that his 'being cosmopolite' comes from his interest in, and acquisition of, global knowledge and that it is the aim of a good cosmographer - one who studies the 'cosmos' – like Dee, to find himself 'a citizen of the world' by this study of the "the State of Earthly Kingdoms, Generally, the whole World over."[443] Dee also presents the acquisition of this knowledge as a noble attribute, that in his mind, would cure some of the ills of English society by making the common man more civilized.[444]

Dee's work makes explicit the relationship between global knowledge and culturally cosmopolitan self-fashioning that was nascent in Henry VIII's worldly court and specifically in the intellectual climate that dominated there. What Dee would immediately recognize as cosmopolitan impulses are often found at the root of curiosity about the world, and the subsequent acquisition of global knowledge, in Henry's time. The virtues of global knowledge are expressed alongside culturally cosmopolitan attitudes in many English works from this period. Leading intellectuals, many of whom were close to Henry VIII, often made their ability to think with an Apollonian point of view, and an interest in cultural difference, central themes in their writing. One important individual who took on such themes is Sir Thomas

[441] Suster ed., *John Dee*, 47-60
[442] Ibid. and Farmer, '*Cosmopolitanism and Foreign Books*,' 58
[443] Suster, *John Dee*, 58
[444] Farmer, '*Cosmopolitanism and Foreign Books*,' 58

Elyot, a central figure in the English Renaissance. He took on the value of global knowledge in his treatise, *The Booke Named the Governor* (1531). This work was written as an advice manual for the elite, to give them the skills and interests that Elyot believed would make them civilized men and good leaders. In a section on education and cosmography, Elyot touts the value of learning about the early modern world and its inhabitants.

Significantly, he frames this ability to think globally as a valuable cultural trait rather than as a pragmatic tool connected with literal discovery and its spoils. For Elyot, the value of global knowledge is that it feeds an impulse that today is unrecognizably cosmopolitan. He writes:

> "Cosmographie is to all noble men/nat only pleasant but profitable also/and wonderful necesarty……Surely this lesson is both pleasant and necessary. For what **pleasure** is it in one hour **to beholde whole realms**, cities, trees, rivers and mountains….what **incredible delight** is take in beholding **the diversities** of peoples, beasts, fouls, tribes, trees, fruits and herbs; **to know the sundry manners and conditions of people, and the variety of their natures**, and that in a warm study or parlor, without peril of the sea, or dangers of long and painful journeys. I cannot tell, what more **pleasure** should happen to a **gentle witt** than **to behold in his own house everything that within all the world is containe**."[445]

In this quote, we see the flourishing of a culturally cosmopolitan persona expressed through Elyot's interest in, and the pleasure gained by, studying the 'diversities' and 'varieties' of people and places of 'all the world.' Like Dee, Elyot ties cosmography to a cosmopolitan

[445] Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, 1531, Reprint (Menston: The Scholar Press, 1970), Folio 37r.

impulse, though he does not yet use the word. These interests are also painted as noble pursuits for civilized men of 'gentil witt,' in an earlier echo of the link between being cosmopolite and civility that Dee makes in his '*Perfect Art of Navigation.*' Elyot's work is also a forerunner to Dee in another way. His proto-cosmopolitan self-fashioning takes place and is encouraged purely within a domestic setting. The best thing about this curiosity about the world is that it can be indulged in the comfort of 'a warm study' without the potential perils of travel.[446] Elyot's worldliness is thus firmly embedded in the realm of culture, and in the houses of the English elite, and does not bear any relation to politics other than being a virtuous trait for a governor to hold. Dee's being cosmopolite is also cultural in that it stems from his interest in studying kingdoms the whole world other rather than being an explication of supra national political sentiments which was the original meaning of the term. Elyot's work is a further example of how global knowledge was valued in and of itself in Henrician England, as a cultural trait, and not because of the 'hard power' that it might bring to someone who studies it. His interest in global knowledge does not have any imperial undertones. Elyot wants to study different cultures because of a genuine interest in them, not through any desire to denigrate or possess them.

Thomas Mores *Utopia* (1516), one of the most famous works of the English Renaissance, written by one of the country's most respected humanist scholars, is another work which is reflective of how a global imagination often went hand in hand with proto-

[446] This was a common theme in much travel literature from the sixteenth century. See Andrew Hadfield, 'The Benefits of a Warm Study,' in Jyotsna G. Singh, *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in an Era of Expansion* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 101-113

cosmopolitan attitudes in this period.[447] Utopia is a socio-political satire that uses the description of a fictional country, Utopia, as a means to reflect on English society and to question what an ideal state might look like. Utopia is symbolic of its time and epitomizes the impact that early modern globalization had on the western geographic imagination. It is premised entirely on the ability to imagine 'worlds elsewhere' and to see with an Apollonian point of view.[448] Utopia is an invented world, visualized, mapped, and described in minute detail by More. More modelled this work on existing travel narratives and was highly influenced by the discovery of America.[449] As the historian Chole Houston has noted, "the development of the utopian mode of writing in the early modern period and the contemporaneous increase in European interaction with far-off and previously unknown communities is no coincidence."[450]

Cross-cultural interaction and exchange are at the center of Utopia. It is this that makes it an example of proto-cosmopolitan self-fashioning and further links these attitudes to Apollonian thinking. Like *The Governor*, *Utopia* approaches cultural difference with interest and curiosity rather than with xenophobia and condemnation. The reader is encouraged to see Utopia as a space where lessons can be learned, and people can be observed with pleasure and an open mind, not through a lens of European superiority. In

---

[447] See Crystal Bartolovich, "Utopian cosmopolitanism." *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007): 47+. Gale General OneFile (accessed January 29, 2020), https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A171658489/ITOF?u=wash_main&sid=ITOF&xid=ebe9783e for another exploration of this idea.
[448] Singh, '*Introduction*,' 5
[449] Chloé Houston, 'Traveling Nowhere: Global Utopias in the Early Modern Period,' in Jyotsna G. Singh, '*A Companion to the Global Renaissance*,' 82-98
[450] Ibid, 83

fact, *Utopia* is presented as an idealized society, preferential to English culture in many ways, and is written to criticize England rather than praise it.[451] As a genre, Utopias are revelatory of how the age of discovery and early modern globalization promoted self-reflection and put cultures into dialogue with one another in unprecedented ways, which in some instances encouraged proto-cosmopolitan approaches to difference. Further, as a work of satirical fiction, *Utopia* was meant to be enjoyed invoking a similar pleasure in the consumption of global knowledge and tales of the foreign that Elyot lauds - even whilst in More's case simultaneously criticizing and questioning the utility of this pursuit.[452] In the work, Thomas More also praises the Utopians for their interest in worldly arts, especially cosmography, highlighting the civility attached to this field in this period by some of England's most influential scholars.[453]

Taking these works into account, a typical Renaissance intellectual was someone who could 'think globally,' and who took pride in this fact. They also looked at the diversity of human life with interest and curiosity. These qualities are at the heart of culturally cosmopolitan identities. Henry VIII embodied all of these attributes and proved himself to be interested in the consumption of global knowledge and the study of the worldly arts. A big reason for these interests can be put down to his education. Henry was the first English ruler

[451] In the end Thomas More uses *Utopia* (meaning nowhere) to suggest the futility of trying to achieve the perfect state and society.
[452] Despite More's questioning, utopian travel writing would actually become more and more popular over the course of the sixteenth century showing the appreciation for, and interest in, this kind of material.
[453] Thomas More, *Utopia*, 1516, Reprint, George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 64

to receive a humanist education.[454] This was largely an accident of history. Since he was the second son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York he was never expected to rule. This meant there was more space for experimentation and new pedagogies in his classroom. Whereas Henry's older brother Arthur's schooling was centered on pragmatic lessons concerning the ins and outs of government, Henry's was more philosophical and theoretical. The two men in charge of his education, John Skelton and John Holt, were both humanists. Holt is especially credited with developing a uniquely humanist, and distinctly Erasmian, education for the young prince.[455]

Henry's education had a big impact on the man he would become; and fashion himself as. On becoming king, Henry and his court quickly developed a reputation for learning. For the entirety of his reign, Henry VIII's intellectual circle and many of his closest friends and advisors were students of the worldly arts interested in global knowledge. Both the works explored above, as examples of Renaissance intellectuals expressing proto-cosmopolitan attitudes through their interest in global knowledge, had close ties to Henry. Elyot's *The Governor* was personally dedicated to the king. Elyot was also an important member of the court and held such prestigious positions as ambassador to Charles V. *The Governor* was so popular with Henry that he had it published by his personal printer, Thomas Bethelet, for wider public consumption.[456] By printing this work in his name Henry was choosing to consciously affirm Elyot's ideas and arguments. *The Governor* was well received and

[454] Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 50. All European princes at this point were being given a humanist education.
[455] For more information on the Erasmian nature of Henry's education and its consequences see Pollnitz, *Princely Education*, 106-138
[456] Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, 1531, Reprint, (Menston: The Scholar Press Limited, 1970), 1

soon became a veritable best seller going through seven editions in fifty years.[457] In light of its popularity, the book has been described as a foundational text for understanding the culture of the English elite in the Tudor period. Elyot, it is argued, "created a new social norm which the English ruling class…could and did adopts as its own," of which, as we have seen, proto-cosmopolitan behaviors and worldly self-fashioning were important elements.[458] The interest in the worldly arts and global knowledge that existed in Henrician culture, and its ties to later cosmopolitan self-fashioning, is also reveled in a dictionary that Elyot wrote in 1538.[459] In this, he included an entry for "Cosmicus" which he describes as meaning "Worldly," in an earlier echo of Dee's conflation of worldliness and cosmopolitanism.[460]

Thomas More also had a very close relationship with Henry VIII. Until his execution in 1536 for refusing to accept the Royal Supremacy, More was one of Henry's closest and most trusted advisers – even serving as lord Chancellor from 1529-1532. It was perhaps their shared interest in humanism and worldly self-fashioning that bonded the pair. Sir Thomas More's son in law, William Roper, in a biography of his late father in law, recalled how Henry VIII would often send for More with a view to discussing the worldly arts of "of astronomy, geometry, divinity, and such other faculties….and other whiles would he in the night have him, up into his leads, there for to consider

[457] Joanna Martindale, *English Humanism: From Wyatt to Cowley* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 77
[458] Fritz Caspari, *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England* (New York: Teacher College Press, 1968), 86
[459] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyt*, Londini: In ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impress. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, [Anno .M. D. XXXVIII. [1538]]
[460] Ibid

with him the diversities, courses, motions, and operations of the stars and planets,"[461] revealing the shared worldly interests of the two men.

Another important figure at the court whose work tied global knowledge to proto-cosmopolitan self-fashioning was John Rastell. Rastell was a playwright who was a close friend of Thomas More and who erected the first purpose built theatre in England.[462] Sometime between 1510-1520 (most likely 1517) he wrote the play, *The Nature of the Four Elements*.[463] This work encapsulates the outward looking impulse that Barclay had marked out as being endemic in elite culture at this time, and how displays of global knowledge had also become a source of intrigue and entertainment in the bourgeoning space of the theatre.[464] In this short morality play – the most popular genre of the sixteenth century - the key figure of Experience tells his companion, Studious Desire, of all the diverse and strange lands he has seen.[465] He shows off his repertoire of global knowledge, discussing the four continents (including the 'newfoundland' of America), and their inhabitants, with great excitement. At one-point Experience proclaims: "(I) have been in sundry nations with people of **diverse** conditions, **marvelous** to understand."[466] Like Elyot in *The Governor*

[461] William Roper, "The Life of Sir Thomas More," in Richard S. Sylvester and Davis P. Harding (ed.), *Two Early Tudor Lives, The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish and The Life of Sir Thomas More by William Roper* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 202

[462] Claire Jowitt and David McInnis, 'Introduction: Understanding the Early Modern Journeying Play,' in Claire Jowitt and David McInnis (eds.), *Travel and Drama in Early Modern England: The Journeying Play* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1-25, 22

[463] John Rastell, *The Nature of the Four Elements*, c.1510-20, Reprint (London: T.C and E.C Jack, 1908)

[464] The popularity of global themes in the theatre reached a high point during Elizabeth I's reign and is encapsulated most clearly in the name of Shakespeare's theatre – 'the globe.' Rastell's drama is therefore another example of the cultural groundwork laid in Henry VIII's reign that Elizabethans would build on. See Jowitt and Mcinnis (eds), *Travel and Drama in Early Modern England* for more on this topic.

[465] Rastell, *Nature of*, fol 1v-2r

[466] Ibid, fol 1v. For more on the role of the marvel in cross cultural encounters and how it was used as a tool to domesticate difference and therefore render it appealing rather than threatening see Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). In this work Greenblatt argues how the marvel was often used as a tool of empire in the service of subjugating native peoples and taking their lands. However, he

and More in *Utopia*, Rastell uses his play to express the pleasure gleaned from learning about cultural diversity. Experience shows off to Studious Desire and touts the value of cosmography for what it can teach man about his world.[467] As a morality play, this is also presented as something that the audience should be interested in and encouraged to pursue. He closes the scene with Experience suggesting that there is still more to learn and discover which is "a thing wonderful."[468] Rastell is also keen to emphasize the attractiveness of this learning in England. He has Studious Desire tell Experience that he is "right welcome in this country."[469]

Through Rastell's play, Experience brings global knowledge squarely into the English court, where it is fed on by Studious Desire's curiosity about the world and its peoples. Apart from espousing the pleasure and value in this pursuit, the play also reveals the breadth and depth of global knowledge in Henrician England at this time. The bulk of the action is Experience teaching Studious Desire about the places he has visited with the aid of a world map. Experience refers to the latest discoveries and describes people and places from the Far East to the West. Rastell's play is also the first mention of America in an English text.[470] Richard Axton, a leading scholar on Rastell, has concluded that the playwright most likely gleaned this knowledge from one of the most up to date

---

also argues that the presence of the marvel in many classical and early modern works reveals tolerant attitudes to cultural difference which, as is argued in this study, appears to have been more the case in Henry's time.

[467] Rastell, *Nature of*, fol 7r.

[468] There is also an element of frustration behind these words stemming from the fact that till this point Henry VIII had not sponsored any voyages of discovery and so had only engaged with the global in the intellectual and cultural realms. Unlike Thomas Elyot, Rastell wrote the *Four Elements* not simply to stress the virtues of global knowledge but also to encourage the country to put these existing interests into action by sponsoring more expeditions (this is also implicit in the work of John Dee who was an advocate for the British Empire). A traveler himself, he had hopes of being sponsored by Henry to set up the first English settlement in North America. There is significant evidence that Rastell was successful in this and that his work was a motivating factor behind the first trans-Atlantic expedition that Henry VIII tried to put together in 1521 (see pages 179-182). For more on Rastell see Richard Axton (ed.), *Three Rastell Plays* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer Ltd., 1979)

[469] Rastell, *Nature of*, fol 3r.

[470] Axton, *Three Rastell Plays*, 47

and ground breaking maps of the age, *The Waldseemüller World Map* of 1507 (fig. thirty-two).[471] This map blended classical images of the globe with the recent discoveries of Columbus, Vespucci, and Magellan.[472] It was the first accurate and complete map of the world, and the first to name America.

We do not know for sure if *The Four Elements* was performed at Henry's court, but we do know that Rastell was closely connected to it, and to the king. He first appears in the state papers in 1514 (around the same time he wrote *The Four Elements*) transporting decorative goods to and from Calais for Henry.[473] In 1519, he was hired as deviser of pageants and master of revels.[474] In this important role he was involved in the production of some of the most lavish events of Henry's reign, including important international meetings.[475] Much of the culturally diverse pageantry explored in chapters one and two would have therefore been devised under his watch. It also appears that Rastell had a closer, more intimate, relationship with Henry VIII. He was connected with the king's inner circle through his marriage to Elizabeth More, Thomas More's sister, but despite family loyalty took Henry VIII's side in the Reformation. Henry VIII had also previously supported Rastell in his personal attempts at exploration. In 1517, he had written letters of recommendation to foreign princes on behalf of an expedition of discovery that Rastell had been planning with two other

---

[471] Ibid. 47-52

[472] On the history of cartography in the Renaissance see David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography Vol 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007)

[473] "Henry VIII: December 1514", 11-20, in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 1, 1509-1514*, ed. J S Brewer (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920)

[474] David S. Shields, "John Rastell's The IIII Elements," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 2013, vol 107, no.3, 297–309, esp. 300

[475] For example, we know he was heavily involved in the production of the Field of Cloth of Gold that celebrated a monumental peace treaty with France. For more on this event and Rastell's work for it see Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004)

Englishmen.[476] Henry asked any foreign prince who came across the travelers to "receive them kindly, there to dwell and tarry…without payment of any tribute…." on their journey "to distant parts of the world, remote from our Kingdom of England…" "…for the accomplishing of certain business of ours and theirs."[477] Henry was also named the executer of Rastell's will. Intimately familiar with elite culture and tastes, Rastell must have known that a play invoking global themes and an interest in 'peoples of diverse conditions' would play well in England.[478] Moreover, because he was writing at a time when the theatre had not yet become a form of mass entertainment, he likely did have the king and court in mind as the audience for this work. This argument has been made by several historians.[479]

Hans Holbein's, *The Ambassadors* portrait (fig. thirty-three) is another source that reveals the interest in displays of global knowledge at Henry's court and how they were an intrinsic part of the worldly self-fashioning happening there. This portrait, painted in England by Henry's principal court artist, depicts two men surrounded by luxury worldly goods and objects associated with mapping and exploration. It is a product of the global horizons and Apollonian visions opened up by

[476] *The Records of the Court of Requests*, 3/192

[477] Ibid. This trip never happened. Rastell laments this in *The Four Elements*. He argues that the expedition had to be cancelled because of the treachery of a merchant called John Ravyn who he claims stole the goods and provisions stored on the ships before they set sail. In the play he recalled how 'but yet not longe ago, some men of this contrey went, by the Kynges noble consent, It for to searche to that entent, and coulde not be brought thereto, but they that were they venteres, have cause to curse their mayners , fals promise and dissemblers, that falsely them betrayed, whices wolde take no paine to saile farteher, than their own lust and pleasure, Wherfore that voyage and diverse others, such kaytyffes have destroyed." Rastell, *Four Elements*, fol 4.r

[478] Indeed, the play may have even spurred Henry VIII to sponsor he first trans-Atlantic voyage see pages 179-182.

[479] For example, Helen Wallis has argued that the high lexicon included in the play indicates that it was originally written for a royal audience, see Helen Wallis, "Some New Light on Early Maps of North America, 1490– 1560," in Cornelis Koeman, (ed.), *Land-und Seekarten im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Münich: Kraus International Publications 1980) 91–212, esp. 99. Another historian who makes a similar point is Maura Giles-Watson who states that it is likely that the IIII Elements was "performed at court or the inns of court, or both.," see Maura Giles-Watson, "John Rastell's London Stage: Reconstructing Repertory and Collaborative Practice," *Early Theater,* 16.2 2013, 171–184, esp. 172. See also M.E. Borish, "Source and Intention of The Four Elements" *Studies in Philology*, 35 ,1938, 149–163, esp. 151 and David S. Shields, "John Rastell's The IIII Elements," 297–309, esp. 300.

the Renaissance. As Lisa Jardine has famously argued, "there is nothing parochial about this portrait."[480] The sitters are two Frenchman, Jean de Dinteville, France's ambassador to Henry VIII's court, and his friend, the cleric Georges de Selve. Holbein presents these men standing strong and facing the viewer amidst a backdrop of material culture that celebrates their worldly success. Geographically diverse goods - such as Turkish carpets, Baltic furs, and European velvets - and the technologies that enabled their acquisition - including globes, maps, and sundials - fill the canvas. The number of cultures alluded to in the painting is quite staggering; "it is a painting of French aristocrats, executed in England by a German artist, and replete with allusions to commercial centers in Germany, Italy and Istanbul, to intellectual developments in Nuremburg, Wittenberg and London, and to political exchanges between France, England, Germany, Venice and Istanbul."[481] In this painting, the Ambassadors express themselves as men of the world – today we'd call them cosmopolitans - both through their relationship with foreign goods and in their capacity for global knowledge, which is something that Henry VIII also did.

The Ambassadors is also a further example of how global knowledge and expressing an interest in cultural diversity became linked in the Henrician imagination. This is revealed by Holbein's inclusion of the material technologies that fueled cross cultural contact and exchange alongside a mix of foreign luxuries that entered the court by way of these transnational connections. It was only because of major innovations in the arts of navigation, cosmography and cartography – all alluded to in the painting - that individuals like Henry VIII and the ambassadors were able to fashion themselves as men of the world in dialogue with diverse cultures through their consumption of international

[480] Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 436
[481] Ibid

goods.[482] Holbein makes a further nod to this with the inclusion of the merchant and astronomer, Peter Apian's book, *A New and Well Grounded Instruction in Merchants Arithmetic*, in the painting.[483] This manual explicitly tied cartographic science to luxury international commerce which, as has been argued, was a major site for the development of cosmopolitan attitudes, practices, and behaviors.

Although the portrait was commissioned by a French man, *The Ambassadors* reveals the cultural value attached to – and the extent of - global knowledge in London at this time as much as in Paris. Not only was the portrait painted in England, scholarship has revealed that most, if not all, of the objects associated with global knowledge in the painting did not belong to the sitters but were loaned to Holbein from sources in England, often with close ties to Henry and the court. For example, the polyhedral sundial belongs to, and was made by, Nicholas Kratzer, a German merchant, map maker, horologist, and mathematician, who was Henry's resident astronomer and personal clock maker from around 1517 until his death in 1550.[484] In an earlier Holbein from 1528, Kratzer is pictured at work on the said dial (fig. thirty-four). The two globes in *The Ambassadors* are also borrowed, perhaps again from Kratzer, but if not from him personally then from a member of the German merchant community in London to which he belonged: the Hansa. It is highly likely that the terrestrial globe in *The Ambassadors* belonged to this group. Previous scholarship has noted that it

[482] The fact that we are meant to see the ambassadors as in dialogue with the world – rather than making possessive overtures towards it - is suggested by the placement of their worldly goods and material manifestations of global knowledge behind them in the painting. This is in contrast to many imperial images from the period that instead suggest dominion over the world by having the sitter placed above representations of the earth. For some examples see Peter Paul Reubens portrait of Charles V (1600) or the Armada Portrait of Elizabeth I (1588).
[483] Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 437
[484] J.D. North, "Nicolaus Kratzer - The King's Astronomer" in Erna Hilfstein, Pawel Czartoryski, Frank D. Grande and Albert Van Helden (eds.), *Science and History: Studies in Honour of Edward Rosen* (Ossolinium Orbis, 1978) 205–234

bears striking resemblance to Martin von Behaim's 'Erdapfel' (earth apple).[485] The first of its kind, this globe was made around 1493 as a pitching prop for the Hansa merchants to sell their enterprises to potential patrons - another example of how globes could in and of themselves become symbolic of international trade and the cross-cultural contact that this enabled. It is quite conceivable that it would have found its way to London in light of the city's status as an important center for Germanic trade and commercial activity. The celestial globe is also connected to this community, being of the style made by the Nuremburg merchant and polymath, Johannes Schöner, between 1510-1533.[486]

The above examples are given as evidence of the mental worlds and cultural spaces in which Henry VIII operated, and in which his material manifestations of global knowledge were given meaning. This intellectual and cultural background is important for understanding why Henry was so keen to show off his global knowledge and how it presented him as a 'cosmicus,' proto-cosmopolitan. When Henry took the time to frame and hang up a world map, or when he commissioned an ornate clock decorated with cosmographical images, he knew that these items expressed broader messages through their connection to the intellectual currents of the day that promoted an Apollonian point of view and the pleasure in learning about the different people and places of the early modern world.

Henry VIII's Material Manifestations of Global Knowledge.

From tiny compasses to ornate ceilings decorated with maps of the world, the objects of Henry's collection were used to show off his global knowledge and present him as an outward looking king. The rest of this chapter explores how specific categories of objects were mobilized to this effect. The

[485] Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye*, 95 and Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 305
[486] Ibid, 306

status that Henry attached to goods that expressed these themes is clear from their place of prominence in royal spaces and their growing numbers in inventories over the course of his reign. For example, between 1542 and 1547 (the year of his death), the number of maps in Henry's possession more than doubled from fourteen to twenty-nine.[487] The prestige of these items is further expressed by the fact that many were extremely luxurious. In Henry's court a globe or an atlas was not simply a practical tool; they were intended to be seen as much as used.[488] It was common for these objects to be made of precious materials and/or adorned with priceless jewels. Henry had world maps decorated with gold leaf, atlases bound in sumptuous velvet, and cosmographical clocks laden with gemstones; like the one described in the 1542 *Inventory of Whitehall* as made of "cooper and guilt with a chyme to the same showing all the days of the year and planets, with three moving dials being silver enameled blue."[489] These precious materials were used in reflection of the cultural prestige associated with global knowledge and worldly self-fashioning at the court. Luxury materials therefore added to, rather than constituted, their value.

Globes and Maps of the World.

The most ubiquitous group of items that revealed Henry's desire and ability to think globally were world maps and globes. These were both the tools that enabled a global outlook and the products of it. Globes in particular encouraged monarchs to think of the world in terms of cohesion and connectedness which was essential to the development of the culturally cosmopolitan persona.[490] Because Henry did not engage in, or sponsor any major voyages of discovery, it might be expected

[487] Maria Hayward, *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall: The Palace and Its Keeper: Vol 1: Commentary* (London: Illuminata publishers, 2004), 116
[488] Today we see something similar especially with the proliferation of globes as decorative consumer items.
[489] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, no.1056, 111
[490] Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye*, xi

that this group of objects would not feature heavily in the culture of his court. The opposite is true. By his death, eleven separate maps of the world, and over a dozen globes and spheres of gold, are recorded amongst Henry's household possessions. In addition to these items, that are categorized separately in the inventories, Henry surrounded himself with many other cartographic depictions of the world. He consumed images of the globe in his many fine atlases - which are dealt with as a separate category because of the ornate and elaborate nature of many - and he used precious ornaments, such as the "image of Jesus gilt standing upon a base with the world in his hand…" (recorded in his Jewel collection in 1522), to express global imagery and an Apollonian outlook.[491]

Despite not being personally engaged in such endeavors, Henry VIII's collection and interest in the growing early modern world also appears to have increased in tandem with the latest discoveries and improvements in mapping. As mentioned, between 1529 and 1547 the numbers of maps and globes in his inventories increased significantly. This growth, despite a lack of pragmatic engagement with discovery and travel, suggests that globes and maps of the world were valued first and foremost as display items because they presented Henry as worldly. The inventories support this point. The *Inventory of Whitehall Palace*, taken in 1542, confirms that maps of the world were one of the king's favorite things to show off. In total, this inventory records twenty-nine maps, five of them described as "maps of the whole world."[492] Eleven of these maps are framed or amended in some way for display. All of the world maps are in this group. For example, one is described as "a large map of the whole world of parchment set in a frame of wood having the King's arms in it."[493]

[491] E. Trollope, 'Henry VIII's Jewel book of 1522,' *Lincoln Diocesan Architectural society Reports and Papers*, Vol. 17, 1883, 84
[492] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, nos.839, 840, 842, 851 and 852, 118
[493] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, no.851, 118

Another was intended to be displayed slightly differently being "a map of the whole world being of paper pasted upon board."[494] Henry VIII was also known to have hung world maps at Windsor and Westminster in direct line of sight from the throne, showing how important displays of global knowledge could be for his royal image.[495] In comparison, the majority of domestic maps in the Whitehall inventory were never framed. These items, which were most commonly used as tools of statecraft, are instead described as either painted or stained on cloth. This would have made them easy to move and store away when not in use and indicates that they were not designed to have been displayed like the world maps.

The location of Henry's world maps and globes in the inventories further suggests his penchant for displaying them, as well as a genuine intellectual interest in these items. They are most often found in galleries (display rooms), in the wardrobes and cupboards of his privy lodgings, or in the personal closets of his many residences. Henry enjoyed engaging with these objects and wanted these interests to be known. Maps were also often given to him as gifts, reinforcing the status of cartography as, what John Julius Norwich has called, "the art of kings."[496] For example, Giovanni de Verrazano, an Italian explorer who had traveled to North America, gave Henry a world map in 1520.[497] David Starkey has argued that Henry VIII had a unique fascination with mapping his own kingdom.[498] Inventories reveal that this cartographical interest extended to maps beyond the 'Sceptered Isle.' It is also of note that Henry's interest in cartographic displays of global knowledge

[494] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, no.852, 118
[495] Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye*, 124
[496] John Julius Norwich, *Four Princes: Henry VIII, Francis I, Charles V, Suleiman the Magnificent and the Obsessions that Forged the Modern World* (New York: Grove Press, 2018), 5
[497] Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in C16 England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 149
[498] Starkey, *A European Court in England*, 13

took place, and developed, over the course of the Reformation. At a time when politically England was becoming more insular, in the realm of culture, Henry was using maps of the world to present an opposite message.

Henry's collection of world maps also reveals the breadth and depth of his global knowledge and shows that he was far from being parochial in this matter. We know that Henry had access to the most up to date maps, which included the recent discoveries of the New World and direct trade routes from Europe to the Indies. These maps are quite clearly marked in the inventories as being of the 'new' style and tend to be catalogued separately from old 'mappa mundis' of the medieval imagination that were made up of only three continents. By the final inventory, only two mappa mundis are recorded in the king's possessions and neither are framed or decorated in a way that would indicate value.[499] The cutting-edge nature of Henry's globes is also alluded to in the final inventory. In the New Library at Westminster is recorded 'a ***greate*** globe of the description of the worlde,' and at Saint James's House there is 'a rounde globe of ***thole wourlde*** standing upon a foote of wood coulure grene…'[500] In addition to world and domestic maps, Henry also had a collection of maps of foreign towns and cities. Notably, these tended to be of major trading centers including Venice, Antwerp, Constantinople, and Tunis. This group of maps reveals Henry's interest in commercial centers where he could acquire international luxuries for his court.

Henry's was a court where innovative cartographic knowledge was displayed and could thrive. Some of his closest courtiers were also involved in its study and production. Notable among these was Hans Holbein. Holbein is known mainly as a portrait artist, but he was also a cartographer

[499] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, nos.12334 and 14554, 240.
[500] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, nos.1749 and 15420, 386-400. Italics my own.

and would often lend his skills to embellish and decorate maps. In 1532, he drew a sequence of scenes that represented the three continents and the 'new world' for a world map in Simon Gryneaus's *Cosmology* (fig. thirty-five).[501] The inclusion of Holbein's images in this work speaks further to the curiosity about different peoples and cultures that often went hand in hand with the global imagination in this period. His drawings also show an aptitude and interest in expressing the diversity of early modern peoples. Each continent is presented differently. Asia is populated by individuals in recognizably eastern clothing (such as Turbans), Africa is represented by exotic animals and hunters, Europe is a scene of farmers with a backdrop of classical architecture, and the New World is symbolized by its naked 'cannibals.' Certainly, these images, and many others found in early modern depictions of different ethnic groups, hinge on stereotypes. Nevertheless, they do show an interest in displaying the diversity of early modern life and a desire to show off this repertoire of knowledge. All of the figures are also drawn in the classical style which gives the map a level of uniformity in terms of attitudes towards difference. The map's architect, Gryneaus (1491-1541) was also connected to the Henrician court. Gryneaus was a German humanist and theologian who had come to England in 1531 to conduct research.[502] During his time in the country, he moved within courtly circles – which is probably how he met Holbein - and stayed at the house of Sir Thomas More, after being introduced by their mutual friend Erasmus.[503] A protestant, he returned home to Basel tasked with collecting continental reformist opinion on Henry VIII's impending divorce.[504] Gryneaus is thus another example of the kinds of men that moved in Henry's courtly circles and the

[501] Harald Kleinschmidt, *Charles V: The world Emperor* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 52
[502] Alexander Gordon,"Grynaeus, Simon," in Hugh Chisholm, *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 700
[503] Ibid
[504] Ibid

prominence of individuals interested in global knowledge therein. His map also reflects the outward looking culture that had started to thrive in this space and how it fed on the consumption of global knowledge and the production of images of the early modern world and its peoples.

Henry VIII's personal penchant for using maps to display his global knowledge could also take less traditional forms. One of the most elaborate and impressive came in 1527 as part of the festivities for the Greenwich festival. This festival was put on to celebrate a peace treaty with the French. For the occasion, Henry had two large temporary halls, to act as banqueting and entertainment houses, built. For the entertainment hall, he commissioned a panoramic ceiling design. Edward Hall describes this as being of "the whole earth surrounded with the sea, like a very map or chart," with the names of the principal countries marked.[505] Beneath, were arranged rows of seating at different heights for the audience to witness the entertainments. Henry's mapped ceiling was a shrewd move of political theatre that presented the monarch's worldly knowledge and put him at the center of the global moment. Henry's throne was strategically placed in the middle of the room, separated from the rest of the seating. The effect was to draw the eyes of the audience and 'the world' to him, which made a clear statement about England and its ability to look outward. The entertainments which took place under the mapped ceiling drew on similar themes. The main figure of the pageant was Mercury – the god of merchants, shopkeepers, and travelers. Under the mapped ceiling that endowed the space, and Henry, with an Apollonian point of view, the choice of Mercury in this entertainment would have alluded to Henry's interest in travel and also to the worldly goods that entered his court from all over the early modern globe, which he consistently displayed and

[505] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 1548, Reprint (London: J.Johnson, F.C and J. Rivington, T. Payne, Wilkie and Robinson. Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, Cadell and Davies and J. Mawman, 1809), 722

reveled in. This pageant can therefore be read as another example of how expressions of global knowledge were often tied to proto-cosmopolitan self-fashioning at the Henrician court since it was this knowledge that enabled the construction of culturally diverse spaces that showed a curiosity and interest in the foreign.[506]

The mapped ceiling is a striking example of the cultural value that Henry VIII attributed to displays of global knowledge. Its construction also supports the theory that he valued maps principally as display items and sources of curiosity designed to add to his domestic and international magnificence. This elaborate design, which had taken weeks, hundreds of men, and exorbitant funds to construct, was temporary. It would soon be ripped down and cease to exist. However, the worldly image it presented of the monarch would remain, and that is what, and why, it mattered. Henry was successful in making the impression he wanted. When recalling the events of that night, the Venetian ambassador explained how he "could never conceive anything so costly and well designed as what was witnessed on that night at Greenwich."[507] Henry's display imperative is also evident in his employment of his highly skilled cartographer, Nicholas Kratzer, to design this ceiling. Lisa Jardine has argued that Henry VIII saw the German first and foremost as "a decorative map maker," and that "there is no evidence of the king making more serious use of his expertise."[508] This analysis seems correct. In addition to the Greenwich ceiling, Kratzer was employed in making many decorative items for Henry, including the striking astrological clock that still to this day greets visitors to Hampton Court Palace (an immediate evocation of Henry's worldliness). However, far from showing a misuse

[506] Ibid
[507] Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary in London, "Letter to his brother Lodovico Spinelli in Venice," 'Venice: May 1527', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, Volume 4, 1527- 1533, ed. Rawdon Brown (London, 1871), 56-66
[508] Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 305

of his talents – which is alluded to by Jardine - Henry VIII's relationship with the German is more revealing for what it can tell us about how seriously he took decorative displays of global knowledge and how important presenting himself as culturally engaged with the word beyond England was to his royal image.

Atlases

Another cartographic media that expressed Henry's global interests were atlases. Atlases are less abundant in the inventories, but the brilliance of surviving examples marks them out as some of the most precious and impressive objects in the royal collection. They are often extremely ornate, with painstakingly drawn images and elaborate calligraphy; decorated with the finest brilliant gold leaf and highly pigmented colors sourced from diverse geographical locations. Again, this suggests their value first and foremost as display items rather than practical tools. One way to think of them is as the equivalent of modern day 'coffee table books' displayed to impress and show off the interests of their owner.[509]

Like maps, Henry's atlases were not silent and often spoke proto-cosmopolitan messages in their representations of the early modern world. Most of these atlases take the form of a collection of maps alongside graphic and written descriptions of the areas presented. Many of these descriptions showed off the writers', and by relation to them the patrons', grasp of the diverse cultures and peoples of the world. These objects are therefore further examples of the excitement and appeal that came from articulating difference and diversity in Henry VIII's court. Jean Maillard's, *Le Premier Livre de La Cosmographie*, is one such example.[510] This illuminated manuscript, cum atlas,

[509] Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, 305

[510] Jean Maillard, *Le Premier Livre de la Cosmographie en Rhetorique Francoyse*, c.1539-40, British Library (BL): Royal MS 20.B.XII

is a poetic re-telling of the voyages of the Portuguese navigator and explorer Jean Alfonse de Santonge (1484-1544), complete with maps of his journey and an accurate and correct map of the world (fig. thirty-six). Maillard was a poet and painter from Rouen who had been resident at the court of Francis I before coming to England. Sometime between 1539-1540 he gave this work to Henry seeking favor from the king in the hopes of becoming his official poet.[511] No doubt Maillard felt that this kind of content would be well received by a monarch fascinated by maps and travel.

De Santoges was a prolific explorer who had traveled to Asia, Africa, the Americas, and the Caribbean. Unfortunately, Henry's copy of the atlas is damaged and only the poems and maps describing the people and places of Europe remain. However, Maillard's description of England and its king is telling. He paints London as a uniquely welcoming, vibrant trading center where, "maintz estrangiers y arriuent f (s) anscesse…' '…Et bien venus y f(s)ont," (many strangers arrive each year, and have been received well), with the grace and encouragement of the king.[512] This work was designed to flatter and Maillard may well be exaggerating Henry's openness to foreigners. Nevertheless, the image of Henry as tolerant and generally welcoming to "strangers" does fit with how he had promoted and protected them - especially merchant "strangers" - in the past, at times even against the wishes of many native subjects.[513] It was also a clearly appealing image. This work was well received and Malliard's' pitch successful. He was taken into the monarch's employment and would be put to work on such personal and important commissions as Henry VIII's psalter.[514] It is also of note that Maillard came to England after the Reformation and England's period of political

[511]Ibid, f. 2v.
[512] Mallard, '*Le Premier Livre*,' fol. 31r.
[513] See pages 57-71.
[514] This beautiful work is housed at The British Library as *BL Royal MS 2 A XVI*

isolation. *Le Premier Livre de La Cosmographie*, and the story of Maillard, reveal Henry VIII's continued interest with the world beyond his shores, and in representing his country as a place that was open to "strangers" and their things, at a time when jurisdictionally the country was turning inward and how a worldly culture continued to flourish in a national polity with a strengthening sense of English identity and sovereignty.[515]

Another of Henry's beautiful atlases that reveals his outward looking eye and interest in learning about different peoples and places is John Rotz's *The Book of Idrography*.[516] Rotz was also from France and came to the English court seeking Henry's favor in 1543 after having failed to secure Francis I as a patron.[517] Described as "an account of the compass, elevation of the pole, latitude and sea coasts," the atlas consists of thirty two folios with twelve double page maps that depict the different peoples and places of the world, including the New World and the Far East.[518] Each map portrays a different area and its inhabitants in stunningly ornate and meticulous detail. Like Maillard's work, it is made with the finest gold leaf and rich watercolors. When Rotz began making his atlas, he intended to dedicate it to Francis I, but once he was rejected by the French king, he pulled out all the stops to impress and woo Henry. The work is full of national emblems of the Tudor monarchy, in the form of royal coats of arms and Tudor roses. Rotz even ended the atlas with a beautifully wrought crowned Tudor rose and a dedication to Henry VIII (fig. thirty-seven).

These national emblems frame a work that is otherwise full of images of foreignness and

---

[515] These themes are discussed in detail in chapter four of this dissertation pages 186-228.
[516] Jean Rotz, *Boke of Idrography* (The 'Rotz Atlas'), c.1543, *BL: Royal MS. 20 E. IX.*
[517] Sarah Toulouse, "Marine Cartography and Navigation in Renaissance France," in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography Vol 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1551. Like Henry Francis I was also interested in cartography and this was another area in which they would have seen themselves in competition. Unfortunately, we have no evidence that tells us why Rotz was unsuccessful in gaining Francis as a patron, especially considering that his work was of high quality.
[518] Rotz, 'Boke of', fol 1r.

cultural difference. One of the most striking things about the atlas (apart from its luxury) is the nuance and detail in its depiction of early modern 'others.' Where we might expect to find simplistic and lazy stereotypes, such as men in turbans to symbolize the Middle East or naked men in the Americas, instead, for each region, there is a diversity of peoples represented alongside impressive details of the landscape, nature, and infrastructure. For example, in the depiction of Africa, Rotz paints different groups of natives in a variety of clothing styles – from full furs to loincloths. He also portrays some of the diverse topography of the continent and provides examples of its unique wildlife (fig. thirty-eight). The overall effect is a holistic representation of the region. The same can be said for the rest of the maps. In the map of the Indies, detailed clothing, vegetation, and wildlife, appear again, this time there are also images of national building styles (fig. thirty-nine). Another interesting thing about this atlas is that it consciously refers to instances of cross-cultural contact across the globe. Here, Rotz takes a balanced approach, depicting images of both conflict and co-operation. The maps detailing the Mediterranean world show figures in eastern and western dress riding alongside one another (fig. forty). Rotz's map of Brazil shows trading between the natives and the Portuguese (fig. forty-one), whereas in Madagascar there is fighting depicted between these groups (fig. forty-two). Rotz's atlas is a beautiful rendering of the diversity of early modern cultures, peoples, and places and the kind of work that Thomas Elyot would have taken great pleasure in. Henry VIII took great pleasure in it too, and to anyone who would have seen it, this atlas was unmistakably linked to him. Shortly after he presented Henry with the atlas, Rotz was brought into the king's employment as his official hydrographer. Rotz continued to have a close relationship with Henry and with England. In the same year he arrived at the court, he and his family became

denizens.[519] Rotz was also a merchant and a traveler who, according to his own accounts, had undertaken expeditions to Guinea and Brazil in the 1530s (which might explain the detail in his maps). In 1544, he appears in the state papers in this guise granted a license from Henry "to export 1,000 sacks of wool from the ports of London, Southampton or Sandwich."[520] Whilst Rotz came to Henry as a hydrographer, the fact that he was also a merchant further confirms the link between global knowledge and cross-cultural trade, and how material manifestations of the former could allude to the conspicuous consumption of foreign goods that are at the root of worldly proto-cosmopolitan self-fashioning in this period.

Henry's Library and Books.

Apart from atlases, Henry VIII had several other books that presented his interest in cartography and the worldly arts. As sources, library inventories can reveal the mental worlds of their readers; but, more than that, they are also indicative of the kinds of images that they wanted to project of themselves. Henry VIII's library was carefully curated to advertise his civility and learning. It also presented him as a paragon of global knowledge. Alongside the religious, chivalric, humanist, and historical volumes expected in a sixteenth-century royal collection, Henry owned many scientific works in the worldly fields of cosmography, geography, horology, astronomy, medicine, and mathematics.[521] He also owned multiple copies of classical works of geography and cartography, such as Ptolemy's *Geographie*.[522] These works would have helped Henry to understand and map the

[519] "Appendix," in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 17, 1542, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900), 706-712. Denizen was the term for a foreigner who had been naturalized and subsequently granted the same privileges as a native Englishman.
[520] Henry VIII: May 1544, 26-31," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 19 Part 1, January-July 1544*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), 358-388
[521] On Henry's library, James. P. Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII and his Wives* (London: The British Library, 2004)
[522] Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII*, 27

early modern world and fueled his ability to see and think with an Apollonian perspective. Henry was also often gifted cosmographic books which confirms the reputation he had for this worldly learning. For example, in 1529, Nicholas Kratzer presented him with a short astronomical treatise, *Canones Horoptri*, complete with a personal dedication.[523] In this work, Kratzer describes his new invention – the horoptrum - which was used amongst other things to predict the sun rise and set.[524] This treatise – bound in rich green velvet - was given as part of the gift giving ceremony that was tradition during New Year festivities in the Tudor court.[525] This very public gift to Henry was an example of his conspicuous consumption of global knowledge. He would have received this work surrounded by courtiers, important guests, and likely many foreign visitors. In the same year, Petrus Apianus (Peter Bientwitz) (1495-1552), a professor of mathematics and the mathematician to Charles V, sent Henry a copy of his *Astronomicum Caesareum* (fig. forty-three). This work has been described as "perhaps the most beautiful scientific book ever printed."[526] It is recorded that Apianus gifted a copy to Henry after hearing of his interest in cosmography.[527] In the work, which took eight years to complete, the author describes several comets and provides a means to calculate the position of the planets, including the earth. Similar to Kratzer's treatise, it was designed to be seen as much as read being a work of art as well as a scientific manual. This is the case with many of Henry's science and astrology books. Several are even inventoried in his jewel houses.[528] This placement suggests something of their value as these depositories were intended for Henry's most precious possessions. Henry also

[523] Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII*, 56
[524] Alison Weir, *Henry VIII: The King and His Court* (London: Random House, 2001), 287
[525] Ibid. 288. For more on the practice of gift giving in early modern Europe see Natalie Zemon Davies, *The Gift in Sixteenth Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)
[526] Ronald Brashear, Daniel Lewis and Owen Gingerich (ed.) *Star Struck: One Thousand Years of the Art and Science of Astronomy* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 2001), 82
[527] Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII*, 73
[528] Starkey, *The Inventory of Henry VIII*, no.2612, 77

had a copy of Euclid's *Geomatry* in his private study at Westminster, which further indicates his personal intellectual interest in cartography.[529]

In addition to cosmographical works, Henry's library included several examples of travel writing. These books reveal another side of his global knowledge and an interest in reading about different cultures and places, which is also seen in his atlases. Henry is recorded as owning a copy of Bernhard von Breidenbach's, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*. This illustrated travel book – which recounted the author's pilgrimage to Jerusalem - was the first of its kind and included detailed and accurate print illustrations of the major cities of Europe and the Middle East.[530] Other travel books in Henry's collection were volumes one and two of the Venetian Historian, Marcantonio Sabillico's, universal history, *Enneades sive Rhapsodia historiarum*.[531] Universal histories aimed to capture the history of the whole world as a connected and coherent whole. Opposed to universal chronicles – a popular genre in the medieval period that attempted to provide a history of the world from the start of mankind to the present day - the universality of these tomes was more geographical than temporal. Unsurprisingly, the popularity of this genre of history writing grew in conjunction with the development of the global imagination. Sabilioc's history is seen as the first true world history since it was written after the discovery of America. Henry also owned several other universal histories. These included Werner Rolewink's, *Fascilus Temporum* ('The First History of the World') – which, until it was superseded by more up to date works, was the premier history of this kind.[532] These histories further reveal Henry VIII's Apollonian vision and his ability, and probably desire, to take in

[529] Hayward, *The Whitehall Inventory*, no.3102, 183
[530] James P. Carley, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, 28. This work and its originality is described in Hugh W. M Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his journey to the Holy Land 1483-4: a bibliography* (London: J & J Leighton, 1911)
[531] Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII*, 55
[532] Ibid, 52

the earth and its peoples as a whole, which are essential traits for being able to frame oneself culturally as a citizen of the world.

Compasses, Astrolabes, and the Tools of Discovery.

In addition to his atlas, on arrival in England, Jean Rotz had presented Henry VIII with a technical treatise on the magnetic compass and "certain notable facts hitherto unknown concerning the errors of navigation."[533] This technology, and many other tools associated with the navigational arts, were another material means through which Henry VIII displayed an interest in the world beyond England's shores. The 1547 inventory records a large collection of over twenty-five compasses. Ten of these are described as magnetic compasses.[534] These were designed to be used at sea and were thus connected with international travel. Henry also owned several rules and dials that were used in the construction of maps. Like his other material possessions, these objects satisfied the king's intellectual interests. More importantly, they presented them. The valuable materials used in their construction, and their place in the inventories, shows that these items were also valued as luxuries intended to impress.[535]

Astrolabes were another important navigational tool in the age of discovery. Astrolabes were used to measure the altitude of celestial body's above the horizon. These items were an important technology for both navigators and astronomers and, as objects, were infused with the worldly knowledge associated with these fields. Henry's astrolabe (currently housed in the British Museum), represents the king's intellectual interests in exploration because it is of the type known as a

[533] Ibid, 57. This treatise is in the British Library as *BL: Royal MS 20 B VII*
[534] Starkey, *The Inventory of Henry VIII*, no.2290, 2307, 2612, 3295, 3297, 10449, 10450, 10461, 15823 and 16651, 71-413
[535] See pages 164-164.

mariner's astrolabe (fig. forty-four).[536] These astrolabes were meant to be used in navigation – they are marked out by a ring at the top designed to aid stability on the seas.[537] As Henry VIII was not involved in discovery or long-distance travel himself (except when going to war), his astrolabe was, like many other items of this sort, principally a display piece. Henry's astrolabe also bears witness to the blend of foreign and national imagery that could be found in many of his material possessions. Its numerical markings are in Arabic script alongside Latin text. On the reverse, the astrolabe is branded with Henry's national arms and the motto of the Order of the Garter. Decoratively, this object bears witness to the blend of domestic and foreign aesthetics that were dominant in Henry's court. Moreover, this technology was in and off itself the result of cross-cultural contact across the east and west. The origins of the astrolabe as a tool for navigation are in the medieval Islamic world, but it was in Europe where the mariner's form was first developed.[538]

Henry's astrolabe would have also manifested his interests in astrology and astronomy. As fields used to understand and map the cosmos, items associated with these arts were further expressions of an Apollonian outlook and of Henry VIII's 'cosmicus' persona. Astrological and astronomical themes were commonly evoked in Henry's court. For example, the mapped ceiling at the Greenwich festival incorporated six hundred painted stars with "the signs of the zodiac and their properties."[539] Henry appears to have had a keen interest in astronomy and in showing this off. At his death, he had a robust collection of over a dozen instruments and devices of astronomy. His privy purse expenses from 1529-1536 also reveal a personal penchant for purchasing astronomical

[536] *The British Museum BM: Item No.1878,1101.113*
[537] Peter Kemp (ed.) *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 129
[538] Ibid, 127
[539] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 722

dials.[540] He owned sundials, charts, and even a "Hoop of Astronomy,"- which was an early modern model of the solar system. This beautifully ornate piece was designed for display being made of silver gilt and 'set with a ruby and an Emerald.'[541] In the 1547 inventory, other astronomical objects are also marked out as display items, confirming both their personal and public value to the monarch. Five instruments of astronomy hung on the wall of Henry's study at Westminster, and another five could be found just along the hallway in 'the longe gallery,' – a space specifically designed to draw visitors' eyes and attention.[542] Astronomical devices and design schemes were also used to infuse a variety of material culture with cosmographical themes. Clocks bearing "the days of the year and the planets"; bedding with "one round single valance of crimson damask having a sphere of astronomy…."; Pillars with "a man having a devise of astronomy in his hand and a sphere in the top all being metal guilt,"; and silver table ware embossed with sunbeams and stars are all recorded in the inventories.[543]

Henry's Forays into World(s) Beyond his Shores.

In addition to this abundance of material manifestations of global knowledge, there was one other way in which Henry VIII showed his interest in the global: in the attempts that he ultimately did make to put together or sponsor voyages of exploration and discovery. Henry made such attempts in 1521, 1527, 1536, and perhaps also in the 1540's – several of these were headed expressly for "the newfound iland (sic)," of America.[544] However, what these attempts also reveal is that whilst Henry was interested in 'the global,' he does appear to have been less interested in mounting imperial

[540] N.H Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII 1529-1532* (London: William Pickering, 1827)
[541] Starkey, *The Inventory of Henry VIII*, no 3304, 90
[542] Starkey, *The Inventory of Henry VIII*, nos.10438 and 15806, 233, 396
[543] Hayward, *Whitehall Inventory*, no(s). 1056, 474, 75, 111, Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no(s).11787, 777, 262l 31 and Sir Thomas Awdley, *Report of The Kings Jewels*, 1532, The National Archives *TNA/PRO: E36.85*
[544] Drapers' Hall, *Court of Assistants Minutes and Records* (1515–1529), MB 1 A, f. 167.

adventures than many other monarchs of the period. This lends credence to the argument that, for Henry, his interest in global knowledge was motivated more by cosmopolitan curiosities than by imperial ambitions, as has already been shown to be the case with his close friend Thomas Elyot.

In the main, Henry VIII's forays into discovery were reactive rather than proactive. The exception to this was the expedition attempt of 1521 in which it is clear that the king took a central role, and expended significant effort, to get it off the ground.[545] Imperial themes are also evident in the circumstances surrounding this expedition. The aim of this voyage was to travel to the "newfound island" of North America, most likely to establish a spice route via the North American passage.[546] During his request to the Worshipful Company of Drapers' (whom he had asked to provide five ships, supplies, and men for the expedition) Henry stated that the voyage would be to "**his honor** as for the **generall welth** of this his Realm."[547] Lydia Towns has recently pointed out that this language mimics that of John Rastell's in *The Four Elements*, whose play she believes was a motivating factor for the voyage.[548] In the play, Rastell not only espoused the pleasure taken in the acquisition of global knowledge; he also promoted the virtues of imperial trans-Atlantic discovery and of England's claim to north America arguing, "Oh, what a thing had be then, if that they that be Englishmen, might have been the first of all, that they should have taken **possession** (of North

[545] Lydia Towns, "Merchants, Monarchs, and Sixteenth-Century Atlantic Exploration: New Insight into Henry VIII's Planned Voyage of 1521." *Terrae Incognitae*, 2020, 52:2, 214 and Drapers' Hall*, Minutes and Records*, f.168 This is also the expedition attempt for which we have the most primary source documentation. The most illustrative and detailed account comes from the records of the draper's company in London who Henry was trying to get to support this endeavor. The attempt is also mentioned in the major chronicles of the reign such as Halls Chronicle. Another important source for English expeditions under Henry VIII (and in the Tudor period more generally) is Richard Hakluyts, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries.* For a recent analysis of this expedition see Towns, 'Merchants, Monarchs,' *Terrae Incognitae.*
[546] Drapers' Hall*, Minutes and Records,* f.167.
[547] Drapers' Hall*, Minutes and Records*, f.168
[548] Towns, '*Merchants and Monarchs*,' 222

America)…." "….**what an honorable thing, Bothe to the realme and to the kynge**."[549] Henry's declaration that the voyage would be to "his **honor** as for the **generall welth** of this his Realm" does seem to echo Rastell's parallel claims.[550] Moreover, *The Four Elements* was written just a few years before this 'armada' was planned (c.1518). Whilst we do not know for certain if it was performed for Henry, it likely was, and we certainly know that Rastell would have had access to the king at this point.[551] In his play, Rastell had also made a point to mention that the French and others were now finding trade in the area ("Now Frenchmen and others have found the trade…"), a point that would likely spur Henry into action on account of the deep rivalry that existed between himself and Francis I.[552]

In the end, the 1521 voyage never happened. The blame for this has commonly been laid at the feet of the drapers and other London merchants, in light of their lack of enthusiasm about the voyage and their initial unwillingness to meet the king's demands.[553] Lydia Towns, however, offers a counter argument. She suggests that it was actually because of impending war with France that Henry VIII decided to halt the project, highlighting the fact that, after much back and forth, the king had actually been able to secure enough ships and support from his merchants that a voyage could have been mounted.[554] Town's argument is convincing. However, whilst she uses the voyage to make an argument about Henry's interest in imperial discovery, I believe that his decision to halt the

[549] Towns, '*Merchant's and Monarchs*,' 222 and Rastell, *The Four elements,* f.4r
[550] Drapers' Hall*, Minutes and Records*, f.168
[551] See pages 158-160.
[552] Rastell, *The Four Elements*, f.5v
[553] For examples of scholarship that blames the drapers and merchant communities in London see JJ, Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, Scarisbrick, 124. H.P Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, (Sydney: Wentworth Press, 2016) 134–142; E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 9–10; David Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America 1481-1620* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 171 and Heather Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500–1560* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 38.
[554] Towns, '*Merchants and Monarchs*,' 227

expedition is actually evidence of the fact of his relative uninterest, especially when compared to his closest rivals. War was endemic in Europe at this time and some of the most prolific supporters of discovery and imperial adventures, such as Charles V, were almost constantly at war. The fact that Henry VIII often let these things take a back seat during difficult times, when others did not, suggests that, for him, discovery, and especially imperial endeavors, *were l*ess important. This is further supported by the fact that he does appear to have only turned his hand to these things when there was little else occupying his time, even though his material displays of global knowledge remained consistent. For example, 1520-1521 were years of relative peace in Europe. By 1522, Henry VIII and England were indeed back at war with France, a conflict that lasted until 1526. During this period there were no significant exploration attempts. The next attempt came in 1527 when peace had been restored. Nearly ten years would pass between this expedition and the final one of Henry's reign in 1536.

Moreover, following 1521, Henry's exploration attempts were more responsive than preemptive. They were smaller, less comprehensive, and do not appear to have originated with the king. In 1525, Henry showed interest in supporting a voyage of discovery headed by an Italian visitor. This year, the Genoan navigator, cosmographer, and explorer, Paulo Centrurione, came to England. Knowing of his presence, Henry reached out and promised him "certain ships to go and discover new countries."[555] This came to nothing, due to the untimely death of Centurione later that year. Nevertheless, the fact that Henry did not try and mount another voyage in his absence suggests that this offer had come about as a matter of circumstance since Centurione happened to be in the country and not because Henry had been planning to put together another attempt himself. Henry's

[555]Agostino Giustiniani, *Castigatissimi Analli*, Genoa, 1537, lib. Vi. F cclxxviii

next attempt at transatlantic exploration came in 1527. This time under the guidance of an Englishman, John Rut, who embarked from London with two ships on May 20th looking for 'straunge regions.'[556] Unlike 1521, however, this was Rut's voyage, not the king's, and whilst he went with Henry's support, there are no sources to suggest that it was at his behest. Rut successfully reached North America but, as Richard Hakluyt – the principal source for English expeditions and voyages of discovery in this period - records, not much else is known about this journey because of what he calls "the great negligence of the writers of those times."[557] It wasn't until the 1530's that Henry VIII sponsored his next expedition. In 1536, with the king's favor (again not at his behest), another journey to the newfoundland set sail from London under the guidance of one M. Hore, who Hakluyt describes as "a man of goodly stature and of greate courage, and given to the studie of cosmographie."[558] Unfortunately, this expedition ended in tragedy. Whilst Hore did make it to the newfound land, many of his ships were destroyed on arrival and he and his men soon found themselves without food or adequate provisions (after scaring away the natives). According to a report from one crew member, they even resorted to cannibalism![559] This is the last known expedition that Henry VIII sponsored. There were rumors of more in the 1540's but nothing came to fruition.[560]

The language surrounding two of these reactive trips is further suggestive of the fact that, in England, cosmopolitan curiosities could provide a motor for discovery as much as imperial imperatives. Rut's voyage is described in *The Chronicle of London* as being to explore "strange

---

[556] *The Chronicle of London* (London: 1569 [modern ed., 1809]), vol. II, 393
[557] Hakluyt, *Principall Voiages*, Vol. viii, 1-2
[558] Hakluyt, *Principall Voiages*, Vol. XII, 307
[559] Ibid, 296-7 This Account was from M. Thomas Buts who had been on the voyage.
[560] Towns, '*Merchants, Monarchs*," 227

regions."[561] Moreover, in his retelling of Hore's voyage, Richard Hakluyt made a point to mention that he was a cosmographer. He also explained how the explorer was able to attract many "gentlemen of the innes of court, and of the chancerie, and divers others of good wordship, **desirous to see the strange things of the world**...into action with him."[562] Undoubtedly, both imperial motives, and a less pernicious curiosity about the wider world, lay behind the many voyages of discovery that took place in the sixteenth century. In the case of Henry VIII however, his limited forays into this area do suggest a relative uninterest in imperialism, whilst at the same time his many material manifestation of global knowledge presented his clear interest in, and knowledge of, the people and places of the early modern world. Henry VIII had both an ability and a desire to be seen as 'thinking globally,' if not necessarily imperially.

Conclusions.

Henry VIII was a conspicuous consumer of global knowledge and used a plethora of different material objects to present his interest in, and connection to, the growing early modern world. Throughout his reign, he displayed cutting edge world maps and globes, and collected highly ornate atlases that expressed and reveled in the diversity of different cultures and places. He performed globally minded imagery at banquets, and he hung items of astronomy on his walls. Heavily influenced by the culture in which he was brought up and lived in, which praised the abilities of man in the world, and by the globalization of the sixteenth century, Henry VIII developed an Apollonian point of view that he learnt to value as an expression of his 'civil' and 'gentle wit' and learning. His many and frequent material manifestations of this outlook were given meaning in a culture that tied

[561] *The Chronicle of London* (London: 1569 [modern ed., 1809]), vol. II, 393
[562] Hakluyt, *Principall Voiages*, Vol. XII, 307

cosmography and learning about the people and places of the world to attitudes and behaviors that today would be called cosmopolitan – and would be named as such in the reign of Elizabeth 1. This messaging would have been compounded by the fact that Henry VIII did not display, or show strong, imperialist tendencies that, if he had, would have significantly altered the context in which his material manifestations of global knowledge were received. Henry VIII's many manifestations of global knowledge are therefore another intrinsic part of his burgeoning cultural cosmopolitanism built on a worldly and/or cosmicus persona and the ability and desire to 'think globally.' The second Tudor king may well have had a 'sceptered Isle mentality' when it came to the politics of the Reformation, but this was about the only sphere where this attitude appears dominant.

Chapter Four: Worldly Self-Fashioning in a Newly Sovereign Nation: A New Kind of Cosmopolite (1520-1547).

"Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one Supreme Head and King having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial Crown of the same."

– The Act in Restraint of Appeals, Henry VIII, 1533

"The king's highness of his grace especial and bounteous willing the merchant strangers which hereafter shall resort for cause of merchandise unto his said town and marches of Calais favorably and lovingly to be entertained….all merchants stranger be as free in bodies and goods within the said town's port and marches of Calais as the king's subject's merchants be…"

– Proclamation Setting Up Calais as Market Town, Henry VIII, 1527

The English Reformation was both a moment of transformation and of surprising continuities. Whilst theologically, Henry's state church was not all that different from the familiar 'smells and bells' of Catholicism, politically, the revolutionary nature of the break was unquestionable. With the Act in Restraint of Appeals in 1533, Henry VIII firmly severed his country from the supranational authority of the papacy and produced the most enduring expression of national sovereignty that the country had witnessed to date. The Reformation dramatically shifted conceptions of England's place within the world, for both those within the country and those outside of it. With his declaration as Supreme Head of the Church in England Henry put an end

to the long held ideal of a united and universal catholic Christendom - of nations peacefully co-existing under the over-arching authority of the pope - that had been a driving force of English, and continental, foreign policy since Henry's early years on the throne. He went from being a favored son in this arrangement – the defender of the faith – to being excommunicated from it, and England went from seeing itself as an important member of an international alliance that would result in a very specific world order, to a country outside of it with new, more nationally driven, foreign policy goals.

What did not change in 1533 however, were the messages of worldly kingship, and the outward looking persona, that Henry had been so assiduously cultivating since his first days on the throne. In his pageantry and display, he continued to show an interest in diverse international fashions and expansive cultural literacy. Post Reformation, Henry also used important public events to present England as a place where "strangers" were welcome to come and trade, and he crafted policies designed to encourage them to do so. It was also in this period that Henry's thirst for global knowledge and his engagement with objects that presented an Apollonian vision became more pronounced.[563] Worldly behaviors thus continued to flourish at the Henrician court post reformation. Nevertheless, they now operated within a drastically altered political landscape. The result was a new orientation towards the world that is best described as fiercely sovereign but outward looking. This outlook was a consequence of the confluence of a worldly court culture and nationalistic politics. It is this coincidence that would allow for John Dee's later articulation of cosmopolitanism, that was no longer tied to cosmopolitics, but instead existed within, rather than against, the ideal of the nation state.

[563] As explored in chapter three of this dissertation.

This chapter tells part of the story of how this came to be. It begins by looking at the shift in politics that took place with the Reformation and England's resulting new political relationship with the world beyond its shores. It argues how politically, England went from being one of the strongest advocates of cosmopolitical arrangements to completely rejecting them. It then shows how despite this shift, culturally, the crown continued to present itself as worldly, and the country as 'open' to Europe and the wider world. The chapter closes by looking ahead to how these events and factors in Henry's reign echoed in later Elizabethan articulations of cosmopolitanism and the rise of a culturally cosmopolitan persona that was no longer tied to supra-national politics.

From Internationalism to National Sovereignty.

By 1520, Henry VIII had leveraged spectacle and conspicuous consumption to bring England culturally up to the level of his rival kings. As a result, he had established himself as a worldly Renaissance prince and his country as a center of civilization and sophistication with expansive international tastes. This was solidified in an event that took place that year, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, which was the most extravagant international summit of early modernity, and a tour de force of worldly magnificence.[564] This event was also significant for another reason. It was the epitome of a trend in foreign policy that, for a time, determined the nature of international relations in Europe, the ideal relationship between its peoples, and England's conception of its place in the world. This was the notion of a universal and united Catholic Christendom bound together by treaties of perpetual peace. The Field of Cloth of Gold was organized to

[564] For more on this event see Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) and Amy Licence, *1520: The Field of Cloth of Gold* (London: Amberley Publishing, 2020) and Jocelyn G. Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520* (London: Routledge, 1969).

commemorate one such treaty, the Treaty of London, between England and France, that had been signed in 1518.

Treaties of perpetual peace like these were a classical humanist response to the many wars that plagued Europe at the turn of the fifteenth century. Henry VIII had actually been a major driving force of several of these conflicts. He had come to the throne determined to restart the Hundred Years War with France. This was part of his broader attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of England in Europe, to present his country as a powerful nation, and to separate himself from his father's image as a weak and miserly king. On Henry's ascendancy, Lord Mountjoy had exclaimed how this new king sought "virtue, glory and immortality," goals that for Henry could all be achieved through victory in war.[565] From the outset, he set about restarting the conflict with France, even when his council advised otherwise. Famously, he was said to have railed at them "who wrote this letter?" when he learned that they had written to the French king suing for peace and friendship in 1510, before promptly storming out of the room.[566] Later that year, England had declared war on France.

Wars raged on the continent too, mainly across Italian lands, as the French Valois and the Spanish Hapsburgs competed over various territories on the peninsula in a series of conflicts that have come to be known as the Italian Wars. In this context, Christian humanists, aghast at the lives being lost at war, began to suggest alternatives and to generate philosophical justifications as to why peace, not war, should be the principal goal of

[565] William Blount Lord Mountjoy to Desiderius Erasmus, 1509, in *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters, 142 to 297 Volume 2 of Collected Works of Erasmus,* ed. D.F.S Thomson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), letter 215, 147

[566] CSP Venetian, quoted in Alison Weir, *Henry VIII: The King and Hist Court* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001), 241

international relations. This led to the ideal of a universal Christian peace based on a series of treatise between the great European powers. The most prominent architect of this ideal was Erasmus of Rotterdam, who in 1517 wrote '*The Complaint of Peace*.'[567] In this work, he called for an end to the wars of "Christian brother killing Christian brother," and for the establishment of a united Christendom by way of political union between the Christian monarchies.[568]

Erasmus stressed universal bonds and characteristics of mankind as a reason for this union, arguing how "nature has taught man her first great lesson of love and union."[569] *The Complaint of Peace* also put forward a blueprint for a world order that Erasmus believed would lead to "perpetual peace." This consisted of legally bound monarchies co-existing harmoniously under the watchful eye and authority of God, and his representative on earth, the pope. Erasmus exhorts individual Christians and Christian princes to "…behold! the mild and pacific Leo, acting the part of Christ's true vicar, (who) has lifted up the signal of peace, and exhorted all men to flock to its standard. If then you are true sheep, follow your shepherd. If you are true sons, listen to the voice of your Father."[570] Erasmus's peace would thus be achieved by way of adherence to a supra-national authority (the papacy) and collective responsibility within a specific hierarchy, with the papacy atop keeping nations from war by acting as a check upon them. This ideal is visualized in a later painting by Sebastiano Ricci that recalls the signing of the Treaty of Nice in 1538 between Charles V and Francis I (fig. forty-five). This was another example of the kind of treatise that Erasmus had argued for. Ricco paints the two monarchs,

---

[567] See Desiderius Erasmus, *The Complaint of Peace* (United States: Cosimo Classics, 2004), Translated from the Querela Pacis (A.D. 1521) of Erasmus
[568] Ibid, 22
[569] Ibid, 6
[570] Ibid,78

with their heads bent, shaking hands under the guidance of Pope Paul III, who literally towers above them, his hands on their shoulders guiding them to reconciliation.

Sir Thomas More, a fellow Christian humanist and close friend of Erasmus, also reflected and wrote on the ideal of peace in this period and took a similar line to his friend against war. In *Utopia*, he described how the inhabitants of his ideal society were averse to warfare and how "fighting is a thing they absolutely loath."[571] Similar to Erasmus, More's dislike of warfare stemmed from the idea of natural laws. In *Utopia*, he describes how "human nature constitutes a treaty in itself…" that bound men together.[572] More also alludes to the idea of a supreme being, who looks over the countries of the world, in this work. His discussion of religion immediately follows that of war. More describes "one supreme being, who is responsible for the creation and management of the universe…"[573] More, like Erasmus, thus looked beyond the state and man, to a higher power, as the correct arbiter of human affairs. This is not surprising seeing that over the course of the English Reformation, he would prove to be one of the papacy's strongest supporters against the royal supremacy, even losing his head as a result.

The Christian Humanist ideal of perpetual peace, and the international order proposed to bring it about, are forerunners to later, and more fully realized, cosmopolitical theories and arrangements that also have the ideal of a universal peace, built on the assumption of the connected nature of man and their common characteristics, at their center. Some two hundred plus years after Erasmus wrote the 'complaint of peace' Emmanuel Kant would write *Perpetual*

[571] Thomas More, *Utopia*, 1516, Reprint, George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 85
[572] Ibid
[573] More, *Utopia*, 95

Peace: A Philosophical Sketch."[574] In this essay, he makes arguments similar to Erasmus for the creation of a supra-national order, based on a legal federation of states, in order to stem the evils of war between them. Kant's belief in the common humanity and citizenship of mankind, however, was secular. For him, it stemmed from man's universal ability to reason.[575] Erasmus and the Christian humanists on the other hand came to their ideal world order, and the cosmopolitan ideas inherent within it, through their faith, specifically the idea that God had created all men in his image and thus certain natural laws that bound them together. The Christian Commonwealth of the sixteenth century would therefore be presided over by "a muscular papacy," whereas Kant's secular federation of states would be held together by reason and supra-national law, which he called the cosmopolitan law.[576] Both saw the need for a cosmopolitical world order that subsumed, and put a check on, national power and autonomy.

Henry VIII was deeply influenced by the ideals of Christian humanism. Both Erasmus and Thomas More were close to the king and had a big impact on him in his formative years and first few decades on the throne. For a period, English foreign policy also actively sought to bring the cosmopolitical arrangement laid out in the *Complaint of Peace* into being. The Field of Cloth of Gold (1520), and the treaty it was put on to celebrate (The Treaty of London, signed in 1518) were the first examples of Erasmus's ideals of perpetual peace – and the cosmopolitical world order he strived for - being used as the foundation for a deliberate foreign policy initiative.

---

[574] See Emmanuel Kant (1795), *Zum ewigen Frieden : ein philosophischer Entwurf* (1 ed.). (Königsberg: Friedrich Nicolovius). In this work Kant laid down the foundations for a universal peace based on what he called cosmopolitan law.

[575] Ibid

[576] Brian Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics*, 7 and Garett Wallace Brown, *Grounding Cosmopolitanism: From Kant to the Idea of a Cosmopolitan Constitution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 88

Erasmus and More were both invited to be a part of Henry's entourage at the field, although only More attended. However, the real architect behind the Treaty of London – or the 'treaty of perpetual peace,' which it was constantly referred to at the time – was Cardinal Wolsey, Henry VIII's chancellor and right-hand man. Wolsey had first gotten the idea from Pope Leo X, who himself had been influenced by the ideals of the Christian humanists. Leo was hoping to unite Christendom in order to start a new crusade against the Turk – a point that Erasmus alludes to in *The Complaint of Peace*.[577] The Treaty of London was designed to be one of several international agreements that would provide the foundation for this crusade. These treaties were essentially "non-aggression pacts" as the signatories, under Leo's guidance, agreed to act against anyone who might break the peace as a way to deter transgressions.[578]

Leo and Wolsey envisioned a united and universal Christendom held together under the guidance of the papacy. They worked together to bring this to fruition and succeeded in getting the French and English kings onboard in large part by making peace seem as impressive and glorious a choice as war. This argument was evoked again and again during proceedings. For example, during events to mark the signing of The Treaty of London in 1518, Henry's royal secretary, Richard Pace, gave a stirring oration in the church of St Paul in front of the king, in which he praised his decision to pursue 'universal peace' for the good of Christendom when he could so easily choose, and win, war. Pace argued:

> …despising and scorning all glory and increase of fortune, which all could see you would have had you chosen to continue in the war, you applied all your heart and all

[577] Erasmus, *The Complaint of Peace*, 1517, 78
[578] Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 24

> your mind, moved as you were by the frequent exhortation of the holy father, to the initiation of universal peace among all Christian princes. The sanctity of your pure heart is all the more cause of wonder because nature herself, when she was bent on creating you, seems to have thought of nothing other than to fashion a great general to undertake wars with prudence and bring them to an issue with success.[579]

Pace's oration is an example of how the rhetoric surrounding The Field of Cloth of Gold drew heavily on the language of Erasmus and directly mirrored his "appeal to all who call themselves Christians..." "…to unite with one heart and one soul, in the abolition of war, and the establishment of perpetual and universal peace."[580] This is also revealed by the wording of the treatise itself which came to be known as the 'treaty of perpetual and/or universal peace.' Pace's oration also shows that it was Henry, and not Leo or Wolsey, who was painted as the instigator and protector of this peace, even though the idea had first come from the papacy and had probably been introduced to him by the chancellor. This image of Henry, as a prince of peace, would have circulated widely. Almost immediately after Pace gave his oration it was printed by the royal printer, copies of which still exist today.[581] This masterstroke of political spin has been widely recognized as Wolsey's doing. Several historians have argued how Wolsey seized the opportunity afforded by Leo's desire for a new crusade to thrust the English king to the center of international politics.[582] He did this by ensuring that that the treaty was signed in London, making the English capital and king, rather than Rome and Leo, the center of attention

---

[579] Richard Pace, *Richard Paces Oration*, translated and re-printed in Jocelyn G. Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance* (London: Duckworth Ltd., 1986), 238
[580] Erasmus, *The Complaint of Peace*, 1517
[581] Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 26
[582]Both Russel and Richardson come to this conclusion.

for this novel endeavor.[583] Wolsey also expanded upon the pope's original plan, which had been for a five-year truce only, to call instead for a 'universal peace' based on the ideals of Christian humanism.[584]

The peace between England and France lasted less than a few years. In light of this fact, and because Leo's crusade never got off the ground, historians have debated the sincerity of this period in Renaissance foreign policy and especially whether its pretentions to peace were genuine. For many years, the pursuit and calls for peace epitomized by the Field of Cloth of Gold, had been seen as little more than a façade.[585] Glenn Richardson, however, has recently argued that they were likely genuine and points to the influence of the Christian humanists on the courts and culture of Europe at the time which underwrote these policies.[586] Henry VIII was infamously capricious. He could (and often did) oscillate between peace and war at the turn of a coin. Indeed, historical consensus on Henry's foreign policy is that his actions in this area were largely reactionary, driven by ego, instead of being the result of well thought out or consistent aims and agendas.[587]

Nevertheless, whether Henry VIII's moment as the prince of peace was genuine or not, this expression of peace as policy reflected the king's acquiescence to a world order based on the cosmopolitical ideal of a catholic Christian commonwealth, of nation states owing allegiance to, and operating beneath, the supra-national authority of the papacy. This political

---

[583] Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 5
[584] Michael A.R Graves, *Henry VIII: A Study in Kingship*, (London: Pearson Longman, 2003), 71
[585] This is the principal thesis of Jocelyn G. Russell's work on the Field which until Richardson's revision was the accepted interpretation.
[586] Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 2
[587] Graves, *Henry VII: Studies in Kingship*, 50. J.J Scarisbrick also makes this argument about Henry's ego in his canonical biography of the king.

conception of England's place within the world remained consistent from Henry's accession up until the Reformation. Moreover, Henry VIII not only ascribed to this way of seeing things, he also took exceptional steps to be included in the catholic 'brotherhood' and show his support for the papacy. Before the Reformation, Henry wrote a short book criticizing Martin Luther and his questioning of the pope's authority over the temporal and religious affairs of states.[588] This resulted in him being given the title of 'Defender of the faith' in 1521. This was a moniker that Henry was extremely proud of, as evidenced by the fact that he quickly had it announced via proclamation.[589]

This would all change with the Reformation, an event that would require, and result in, a new conception of the country's place in the world, and one that moved firmly away from supra-national arrangements and concepts. After the Reformation, England would conduct its international operations from a new paradigm of national state sovereignty. The Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533), the legislation that began the process of removing papal authority in England, heralded this shift by proclaiming "this realm of England is an Empire," wholly independent from any allegiance to a foreign power or body.[590] The articulation of empire in this act was different from what is probably the most dominant understanding today, of an expansionist state encompassing an aggregate of lands. In the context of the English Reformation, empire meant imperium, meaning absolute power. It was a declaration of Henry's right, and of England's right, to be absolutely free from the control of outside powers (most

[588] See Henry VIII, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, 1521
[589] See J. F. Larkin, P. L. Hughes (ed.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. 1: The Early Tudors* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1964
[590] Henry VIII, *An Acte that the Appeles in suche Cases as have ben used to be pursued to the See of Rome shall not be from hensforth had ne used but wythin this Realme*, 24 Hen 8 c 1, 1532

pointedly the papacy) in affairs relating to the country. This included anything in the ecclesiastical realm which had previously been seen as a sphere in which the papacy held imperium. David Armitage, whose work focuses on the origins of the British Empire, notes the specificity of empire in the Henrician context. He argues how the Act in Restraint of Appeals "asserted both independence from external, and ascendancy over internal, competitors," through the idea of imperium.[591]

The 'Empire' of Henrician England was thus inward looking. An interesting episode from the period between Eustace Chapuys, the imperial ambassador, and the Duke of Norfolk, highlights this. It also points to the fact that there were multifaceted understandings of this term in the sixteenth century (as today). In a letter to his employer, Charles V, Chapuys recalled a conversation he had with the English noble on the topic of the royal supremacy. He stated how "Norfolk claims that the king had a right of empire in his kingdom and recognized no superior."[592] The imperial ambassador, however, inferred that with his declaration of empire Henry was also making pretentions to an expansionist overseas one, like that of his employer.[593] He recalled how he had chided Norfolk after he had given a list of the historical titles of the English kings: "I said I was sorry he was not also called emperor of Asia."[594] Here we see Chapuys equate Norfolk's claims of empire with expansion. However, there is no evidence to support the idea that the 'empire' of Henry's Reformation was anything more than a

---

[591] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 31
[592] "Henry VIII: June 1531, 1-15," in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531-1532, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1880), 130-140
[593] Charles V at this time ruled over the largest empire in the world that stretched from Europe to the new world. For more on this see Harald Kleinschmidt, *Charles V: World Emperor* (London: Brécourt Academic, 2004)
[594] "Henry VIII: June 1531, 1-15," in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531-1532, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1880), 130-140. British History Online, accessed November 13, 2020, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol5/pp130-140

declaration of sovereign power.[595] When Norfolk listed the titles of previous English kings – some to foreign countries like France, which is presumably what confused the imperial ambassador – it is most likely that he did this as evidence of those 'sundry and authentic histories' that supported Henry's right to "empire *in his* kingdom," not because he sought one elsewhere. Being in the employ of the self-styled 'world emperor,' who at that point had the biggest land empire in the world, and whose motto was 'still further,' it is not surprising that Chapuys would make such an assumption, but as Stewart James Mottrom has put it, the Act in Restraint of Appeals is best understood as "a declaration not of colonial intent, but of post-colonial independence," from the supra-national institution of the catholic Christian commonwealth.[596]

In this sense, the Reformation can thus be described as an isolationist moment. With the Act in Restraint of Appeals, Henry VIII broke out from the long-held paradigm of the catholic Christian commonwealth, headed by the papacy, and put England on a different conceptual path when it came to the country's place in the world. Unlike the religious shifts brought about by the Reformation, the political repercussions of this act, and the organizing principles of national sovereignty and complete authority in matters relating to his kingdom, appear to be something that Henry fully internalized. Post Reformation, Henry VIII's adherence to these ideals would often dictate his actions, even leading him towards decisions that, arguably, might not have been in his or his country's best interests. For example, despite many negotiations and

[595] As explored in chapter three, pages 180-84, Henry VIII did not show a serious interest in building an overseas empire.

[596] Stewart James Mottram, *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature* (Rochester, NY: Woodbridge, 2008), 8

the benefits to security and trade that Henry would have got from such an alliance, he never joined the Protestant League of Schmalkalden because of his "perception that such an alliance might place limitations on his own temporal and ecclesiastical authority."[597] The signs that Henry would comfortably adopt this stance were there early with this ego-driven king, who more than anything, wanted to be respected and obeyed. As early as 1516, he had bristled to the Venetian ambassador about foreign princes meddling in his affairs stating, "I content myself with my own (world), I only wish to command my own subjects; but, on the other hand, I do not choose anyone to have it in his power to command me, nor will I ever suffer it."[598] In 1527, in a conversation comparing England to the Hapsburg Empire, he was also reported to have said that "….he had only one kingdom, small in size, it was true, but so surrounded by sea that he needed no help from anyone."[599]

Unfortunately, there is no conclusive evidence that tells us exactly how the political break of the Reformation affected Henry VIII's views on international relations. There are however several places we can look too for clues about how he might have viewed the position of his newly sovereign nation in the world, and the kinds of relationships he should be cultivating with other kingdoms and peoples following this break. One important place to look is the king's library and to the intellectual works that were circulating on these themes during the period. Of special importance is the work of Marcus Tullius Cicero, a Roman statesman and scholar who wrote extensively on the ideal relationship between the peoples and places of the

---

[597] Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics*, 13
[598] Sebastian Giustinian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, 237
[599] Retha Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 5. These quotes are also telling as they indicate an uninterest in building an overseas empire.

world. In line with the Renaissances renewed interest in classicism, Cicero and his works were widely read and very popular in the elite circles of Henrician England. There is also evidence that Henry personally read his works, that he deeply admired Cicero, and that Ciceronian ideas infiltrated Henry's policies. Cicero made his most authoritative remarks on the theme of international relations in *De Officis* – a book on morality and duty that was concerned with laying down "the practical rules by which daily life should be regulated" to best achieve the "supreme good."[600] In this work, Cicero provides a blueprint of the different fellowships to which he believes man belongs and should owe allegiance. He also discusses the ideal relations between men and states based on these fellowships. He begins with the argument that men all belong to "the fellowship of the entire human race" and argues that they owe respect to each other in light of this.[601] For Cicero, this universal fellowship comes from man's ability to reason and to speak, these being the qualities that nature had endowed them with to separate them from animals.[602] Whilst he does not use the word himself, Cicero's focus on a common humanity in this work has led to its being categorized by many as an example of classical cosmopolitan thought (and especially of the Roman - mainly Stoic - engagement with cosmopolitan ways of thinking and being).[603]

It is evident that Cicero's arguments about reason and the universal fellowship of man influenced later consciously cosmopolitan thinkers, none more so than Immanuel Kant. However, Cicero's conception of his belonging to this universal community, and the

---

[600] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Officis*, Book 1, II.5 7
[601] Cicero, *De Officis*, XVI.50, 55
[602] Kant makes similar arguments in his cosmopolitical work on perpetual peace.
[603] For an overview of this branch of cosmopolitan thinking see Garett Wallace Brown, *Grounding Cosmopolitanism: From Kant to the Idea of a Cosmopolitan Constitution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 4-7

implications of that belonging, are quite different to Kant and many other later cosmopolitan thinkers and theories. This is especially true for those that use the universal community as a basis to argue for political arrangements that operate beyond the nation state and privilege this identity and relationship above more particularistic ones - which are often blamed for the ills that they believe their cosmopolitanism can overcome (like Kant, or indeed Erasmus).[604] For Cicero, the universal community of mankind is just *one* of the many fellowships of man, and one that is not top of his hierarchy of belonging. This position instead belongs to the patria. He makes this argument at several times during *De Officis* stating how, "…there is no social relation among them (men) all more close, none more dear than that which links each of us with our country…," "…of all fellowships none is more serious, and none dearer, than that of each of us with the republic….," and "no social bond is more serious or more dear than patriotism."[605] Like all cosmopolitan thinkers, Cicero is interested in engaging the individual within the wider world and he uses his work to stress man's, and his own, membership within a global community. However, at the same time, he argues that his, and man's, main allegiance should be to his country rather than this broader human community. This is typical of much Stoic cosmopolitan thought, which William Sherman has described as having at its center "a dual allegiance….to humanity as a whole and to the commonwealth in which (one) was born," with, in Cicero's case, the later taking precedence.[606] Cicero could thus be described as a cosmopolitan patriot since his cosmopolitan attitudes do not detract from his love of country or subsume this smaller

[604] Erasmus and his theories of perpetual peace are an early example of this kind of rhetoric.
[605] Cicero, *De Officis*, XVII.57, 61
[606] William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 144

circle of national belonging.[607] In addition to his discussion of the different fellowships of man, Cicero shows cosmopolitan attitudes in *De Officis* in another way. During a discussion on international relations, he expounds on how states should treat "strangers" stating that "they do wrong who keep strangers from the use of their cities and exclude them...to prohibit strangers from the use of one's city is inhumane," presumably in light of the universal bonds that he believed men to share.[608] He adds that "mutual interchange of kind services" is central to creating good relationships between "strangers" and should be encouraged.[609]

The relationships between the individual, the nation, and the wider world, presented in *De Officis,* would have fit very comfortably in the context in which Henry VIII found himself during the period of the Reformation. Here was a worldly king living in the first global age, who had spent much time building a persona that expressed an interest in the wider world, who had encouraged and built strong trading relationships with foreign merchants, but who had just moved away from supra-national political models towards the endorsement of the nation state. It is perhaps not surprising then to find significant evidence of Henry VIII's engagement with this work, and of its popularity in England, during this period. Howard Jones has described *De Officis* as the work of Cicero's "that held the greatest appeal for English readers."[610] Henry VIII was no exception. We know that he first read *De Officis* at a young age and that it was a key text in his humanist education.[611] One of Henry's personal copies, from his schoolroom, still

[607] See footnote eighteen for more on the idea of cosmopolitan patriots. In many ways, Cicero's proto-cosmopolitan self-fashioning is therefore antithetical to Kant who looked to a cosmopolitan law that would take precedence over national ones.
[608] Cicero, *De Officis, XVIII.*59, 63
[609] Cicero, *De Officis, Book II, XXIII.83*, 261
[610] Howard Jones, *Master Tully: Cicero in Tudor England* (Netherlands: De Graaf Publishers, 1998), 132
[611] For more on a Henrys education see Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

exists to this day and is annotated with the then prince's comments including his statement that "Thys boke is myne Prince Henry."[612] There is also a copy of this work in the final inventory, alongside three other of Cicero's.[613] This is the largest group of works by any classical author in the kings' collection, which is suggestive of Cicero's popularity with Henry. The copy in the final inventory is perhaps the one he was given as a New Year's gift in 1539.[614] New Year's gifts were designed to flatter and impress which further suggests that Henry VIII had a known interest in this work. Henry's personal interest in the works and ideas of Cicero is also indicated by the fact that by 1547, Trinity College, which he had personally founded a year earlier, was supporting a lecturer who taught Cicero exclusively.[615]

De Officis was also printed for the first time in England, and in English, during Henry's reign and "was the only Ciceronian work to be printed more than once" in this period, which gives another indication of its popularity.[616] Significantly, the first printing came after the Reformation, in 1534, into a climate were the ideas of loyalty to one's nation above all would have been especially prescient and appealing to the king, and an important message for the populace to consume. Whilst the book was not printed by the royal printer, Henry was intimately connected and associated with this publication. The Latin to English translation of the text was done by the then poet Laurette, Robert Wyttington, which was a royally appointed office. Whyttington also dedicated the work to Henry and stressed that Cicero's ideas were of "so great majesty and excellence" that they should "intrude and inform…" "…governors of

[612] This 1502 copy is currently held as the Shakespeare Folger Library, PA6295.A3 1502 Cage
[613] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, no.13729, 342
[614] James P. Carley, *The Books of Henry VII*, 56
[615] Jones, *Master Tully*, 22
[616] Ibid, 130

cities, regions, nations, realms and monarchies….”[617] In his dedication to Henry, he also stated that he had “translated this work for the benefit of the English Nation.”[618] It was this translation of *De Officis* that Henry was given in the New Years of 1539.[619]

In another indication of Henry’s interest in Cicero, he also had his children schooled in his works, which by the mid sixteenth century formed a central part of the humanist canon that was starting to become the prevailing pedagogy in elite Tudor education. Cicero’s words and ideas seem to have had a particularly strong impact on prince Edward. Just a few months before he would be prematurely made king, he wrote to the Bishop of Chichester “to thank him for the books last sent, the letters, and the little books of Cicero's composition brimming with eloquence like a golden river.”[620] The fact that Edward uses the term ‘golden’ to describe the work of Cicero he received indicates that the eloquent composition in question was likely *De Officis*. This work was often described in a similar way, before and after Edward’s letter. In his preface, Whyttington described *De Officis* as “worthy to be impressed in golden letters, worthy to be kept in chests of cypress and cedar.”[621] It was also referred to by later writers, including John Dee, as Cicero’s “golden book.”[622] Like his father, Edward’s interest in Cicero appears to have been enduring. In another letter from 1546 the then King Edward VI invoked him once again. This time as a guide to his actions and feelings. Writing to the clergyman Dr. Richard

---

[617] Ibid, 133
[618] Ibid
[619] James P. Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII*, 56
[620] "Henry VIII: January 1547, 21-29," in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 2, September 1546-January 1547, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), 378-387
[621] Jones, *Master Tully*, 134
[622] John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Nauigation Annexed to the Paradoxal Cumpas, in Playne: Now First Published: 24. Yeres, After the First Inuention Thereof*, 1577, 54. Perhaps tellingly Dee mentions Cicero in the same section that he declares himself cosmopolite.

Coxe, he recalled how "letters are indeed better than treasure, for Cicero says that the wise man alone is rich."[623]

The popularity of Cicero also extended beyond Henry and the royal family. There is ample evidence for a similar interest and influence amongst some of the most influential men at the Tudor Court in the 1530's, which gives a sense of just how pervasive Ciceronian ideas and ideals might have been at the Henrician court. Thomas Cromwell, the architect of the Reformation and Chancellor of the Exchequer (the highest office in government), from 1533-1540, was known to admire the Roman sage. In a letter written to him in April 1533, the same month that the Act in Restraint of Appeals was implemented, his friend, then at the University of Padua, stated if he (Cromwell) "heard Lazarus, the professor of literature, he would think Cicero had returned to Italy."[624] Henry's final Chancellor, Richard Rich, appears to have had a similar interest. In 1545, he was reported to have used a text from Cicero as an opener to a speech he gave to several ambassadors then at the court.[625] Thomas Elyot, another key figure in Henrician court circles during the 1530's, also mentions the influence and importance of Cicero in his '*Boke Named the Governor*,' a work which, as we have seen, was dedicated to Henry and one that proved very popular with him. In Elyot's section on the ideal curriculum for young Tudor gentlemen, he recommends Cicero's works as "the moste commodious and necessary studies…"[626] Seeing that *De Officis* had been taught to Henry when he was a prince,

---

[623] "Henry VIII: April 1546, 6-10," in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 1, January-August 1546, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908), 269-287
[624] "Henry VIII: April 1533, 1-10," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, Volume 6, 1533, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882), 144-151
[625] "Henry VIII: November 1545, 11-15," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII, Volume 20 Part 2, August-December 1545, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1907), 365-385
[626] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Governour*, 1531, 39

we can comfortably assume that this would have been one of the books that Elyot would have been recommending.[627] Many of the ideas and attitudes expressed in *'The Governor'* also echo those in *De Officis*. This is specifically the case with regards to Elyot's arguments about international relations and man's orientation towards the world. In '*The Governor'* Elyot shows Ciceronian style attitudes about the connected nature of humanity in his statement about the importance of studying cosmography and engaging the individual in the wider world through "the study of the peoples and places in which it is contained.[628]"

It is this interest and engagement with the world that John Dee would later identify as the things that made him 'cosmopolite' and a member of 'the one and whole mystical city universal' in his '*General and Rare Memorials*.'[629] Moreover, as already stated, Dee mentions Cicero directly in this text when he refers to *De Officis* as "his golden book…"[630] Dee also makes the argument that the principles and ideals laid down in *De Officis* "are agreeable for "the common-wealth's prosperity" in a work that Dee was writing to achieve just that.[631] The work of Elyot and Dee illustrates the impact of Cicero's ideas in the culture of Tudor England from Henry's reign up to Elizabeth's. They also suggest that his ideas had an influence on the growth of culturally cosmopolitan attitudes and behaviors that we find in both of their courts. It is not too big of a jump therefore to also suggest that Cicero likely influenced Henry's thinking with

[627] Elyot argues that the main reason for the study of Cicero's writings is to teach children proper grammar and good writing style rather than to be read specifically for their content. Nevertheless, even though these works were valued in the schoolroom principally as teaching tools it is clear from the examples that I have pulled out that the content of Cicero's works that were first read in the classroom had an impact on both Henry and Edward as adults (and many others too).
[628] Elyot, *The Governor,* 1531, 37
[629] Dee, *General and Rare Memorials*, 54
[630] Ibid
[631] Ibid

regards to his and his country's orientation towards the wider world post Reformation. As he was carving out a new image as head of the Church of England, and as the Reformation required a new paradigm for international relations, the privileging of the patria and the positive relationships between different states laid out by Cicero in *De Officis* could not have been far from his mind, or indeed his reach. Moreover, beyond Henry's known interest and engagement with Cicero there is some certain evidence that his thinking and ideas influenced Henrician policy. In 1536, a pivotal year for Reformation legislation, Henry issued a tract 'On the Royal Authority.'[632] This treatise strongly urged "the duty of obedience and gratitude to the king, who has many times saved the nation from external enemies, such as the Scots and French, and delivered them from the claws of the bishop of Rome."[633] The treatise begins with an appeal to the wisdom of, "The prince of orators, Marcus Tullius Cicero."[634] This tract provides a direct link between the politics of the Reformation and the works of Cicero. Furthermore, anyone picking up an English copy of *De Officis* when it was printed in either 1534 or 1543 would have immediately recognized the duality expressed in this work of the celebration of, and loyalty to, one's country, combined with an interest in a wider global community, in the culture of Henrician England. Because, whilst circumstances had led Henry VIII and England towards autonomous national politics, in pageantry, spectacle, and economic policies he would continue to build cross cultural connections and show of his 'cosmicus' nature.

---

[632] "Henry VIII: Miscellaneous, 1536," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 11, July-December 1536*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), 566-590

[633] Ibid

[634] Ibid

England's Worldly Sovereign King (1533-1547).

With the *Act in Restrain of Appeals*, Henry VIII had separated his country from the over-arching authority of the pope. As the act argued, the sovereignty of his English 'empire' was something that '*hath been accepted in the world'* and, post-Reformation, Henry continued to present himself as a part of that world through the continued cultivation of an open and outward looking court. Whilst politically the Reformation was an isolationist move, in the realm of culture, not much changed except that after the Reformation Henry's expressions of cultural internationalism, which had been a hallmark of court pageantry and royal displays since he took to the throne, now operated within a political nationalism. It is this – in Henry's case coincidental - mix of culture and politics, that began with Henry and continued under Elizabeth, which provided the circumstances in which men like John Dee would be able to present and think of themselves as both cosmopolitans and patriots and articulate a new kind of cultural cosmopolitanism.

Post 1533, there was no break in Henry VIII's magnificence. As a result, he continued to import vast quantities of foreign goods and to patronize foreign merchants. Comments from two critics of these activities underscore this point. They also remind us that the cosmopolitan behaviors that manifested around Henry's engagement with, and appreciation for, the foreign, continued to develop and co-exist alongside more nativist and even xenophobic ones. The first of these tracts is an economic treaty, *Howe to Reforme the Realm in settying them to worke and to restore Tillage*, written circa. 1535 by Clement Armstrong.[635] This treaty called for the

[635] Clement Armstrong (c.1535). *Howe to Reforme the Realm in settying them to worke and to restore Tillage,* published in Reinhold Pauli*, Drei volkswirthschaftliche Denkschriften aus der Zeit Heinriches VIII von England* (Leipzig, 1878)

establishment of a wool staple in London and lamented the extent of luxury and foreign goods in the country and the amount that the English were spending on them. Armstrong especially took umbrage at the abundance of foreign silks and wines in England, items that were particularly popular with the king, which, he argued, "every year end up, the first pissed against the walls, the second reduced to rags."[636] In an echo of the earlier gripes of the ringleaders of Evil May Day (1517), Armstrong also draws a direct link between the consumption of foreign things and the destruction of English men and women arguing how "by reason of great abundance of strange merchandise and wares brought yearly into England" there had been "not only caused scarcity of money…" but also the destruction of "all handy crafts," which he argued had led to the poverty of the "common people."[637] He even goes as far as suggesting that if merchants did not buy and import so much linen cloth from Flanders then "young maidens and women may be set to spin linen cloth, which (now) livith idley in whoredome and bawdery."[638] In Armstrong's view, "merchants in London have greatly destroyed the commonweal of the whole realm by receiving such things of strangers as hath been to the destruction of the common people."[639] In his criticism, Armstrong's work shows that the market for foreign goods had retained its vitality post reformation. It also shows that Henry's appetite for these things had not waned. Like the rhetoric surrounding Evil May Day, Armstrong places the blame for 'this abundance of strange merchandise' squarely at the foot of the king and his

[636] Clement Armstrong quoted in Maria Fusarao, *The Political Economies of Empire: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 32-33
[637] Armstrong in Pauli, 67. For more on Evil May Day see chapter one pp.56-66
[638] Ibid, 76
[639] Ibid, 77

lords who he says have caused it, and subsequently the desolation of the English, out of a mixture of "ignorance and sufferance."[640]

Two years after Henry VIII's death, Sir Thomas Smith, took up similar arguments to Armstrong in his treatise *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*.[641] Chapter three of the discourse is focused on answering the question: Why is there dearth and poverty in English towns and cities? Although written during the reign of Edward VI, Smith looks back to the near past to answer these questions, and the country and conditions he describes are legacies of Henry's reign that demonstrate the king's continued importation of foreign luxuries and the popularity of these worldly goods in the country. He paints a vivid picture of London as a commercial hub full of diverse foreign "trifles" including "drinking and looking glasses, painted clothes, perfumed gloves, daggers, knives, pins, points, agelets, buttons and a thousand other things of like sort…" "tennis balls, chests, tables, cards, carpets of tapestry….", "…spices, wines and silks…," all things that Henry VIII conspicuously consumed in abundance.[642] Like Armstrong, Smith finds the answer to his question about dearth and poverty in merchant's importation of 'strangers' goods and the market's desire for them. He laments a time when men were contented with such things as were made locally, arguing how "now the poorest young man in the country cannot be contented either with a leather girdle, or leather pointes, gloves, knives….made at home…""…and specially no gentlemen can be content to have either

[640] Ibid. Perhaps because of this criticism this work was written anonymously and was not actually published during Henry's reign. Still it somehow managed to find its way into Thomas Cromwell's papers, so it is likely that the king would have known of its existence. For more on this see S.T Bindoff, 'Clement Armstrong and his Treatise of the Commonweal,' *The Economic History Review*, Vol a14 Issue 1, 1944, 64-73

[641] Sir Thomas Smith, A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, c.1549 in Elizabeth Lamond (ed.), *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Ralm of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954)

[642] Ibid, 127

cappe, coat, dublet, hose, or shirt made in this country."[643] This is interesting as Smith's work reveals how trends in the consumption of foreign wares, dressing in international styles, and engaging with cultural difference - tendencies that had begun with Henry at the court – had by the end of his reign filtered down to the more general populace. Smith contends that in order to remedy the dearth of the cities production of many of these things should be moved to England and that there should be less interest in, and less importation of, goods that can't be made domestically.[644] At the end of his work he asks, "might not we be ashamed to take all these things at strangers hands?"[645]

Whilst Smith called on the English to be embarrassed by their reliance on "strangers" goods, Henry's actions post Reformation showed an opposite attitude. Just as with Evil May Day, he does not appear to have let criticism change his habits of consumption or his behavior towards "stranger" merchants who continued to supply him with international wares. For example, in 1546 he granted licenses to French, Italian, and Flemish jewelers to bring in "all manner of jewels, pearls and precious stones ….of skins and sable furs….clothes and new gentleness of fashion….as he or they shall think best for the pleasure of us and our dearest wife…"[646] In the same year, Pieter and John Van der Walle (Henry's Dutch jewelers) were licensed for five years to bring in merchandise that included jewels, embroidery, gold plate, arras and tapestry, cloth of gold and silver, silk, linen cloth, damask and military paraphernalia on the condition that Henry would have first pick.[647]

---

[643] Smith, *Discourse of the Common Weal*, in Lamond, 126
[644] Ibid, 126
[645] Ibid
[646] Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII* (London: Routledge, 2007), 36
[647] Maria Hayward and Philip Ward (ed.) *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2012), 244

Henry also continued to conspicuously advertise the contribution and presence of "strangers" in the economic life of the country, especially in London and as a result, to exhibit worldly proto-culturally cosmopolitan behaviors in his treatment of them. One important event where these were up front and center were during festivities for Anne Boleyn's coronation. This took place on May 31st, 1533, less than two months after the passing of the Act in Restraint of Appeals.[648] In Tudor England, coronation processions were an opportunity for dialogue between the king and his subjects. The city would often take the opportunity afforded by these moments to both flatter and subtlety instruct the monarch. The pageantry of these occasions should thus be understood not simply as examples of royal propaganda. Nevertheless, the crown retained overall control of the messaging and larger thematic schemes of these events as it was customary that plans for each proposed pageant be submitted to the crown for approval. In the case of Anne's Coronation, this was Henry's first opportunity to give public expression to the new English empire and present it to the watching world. The messages and optics of these days were thus of prime importance and we know that in this instance the crown closely collaborated with the various guilds and companies in London tasked with creating pageants that would meet Anne during her procession through the city.[649] Henry VIII took this opportunity to present his country as a maritime trading nation that looked outward, to commerce and engage internationally, and London as a place where merchants, including foreign ones, played a pivotal role in the economy. For example, the first pageant that Anne

[648] There are two major sources that record Anne Boleyn's coronation, Edward *Halls Chronicle* and a contemporary source from 1533 titled *The Noble Triumphant Coronation of Queen Anne, Wife Unto King Henry the Viiith*. We also know some of its details from letters sent from Eustace Chapuys to the Holy Roman Emperor reporting on events.
[649] Mottram, *Empire and Nation*, 67

witnessed was of "children apparalled like marchauntes whiche welcommed her to the city."[650] The fact that it was children in this pageant suggested that international trade was the future of the city and that the commercial life of London would continue to grow with the next generation. The day before the coronation, merchants and international trade had also been up front and center, during a flotilla on the Thames, of London's major guilds and companies. Henry's chronicler Edward Hall describes how this flotilla was arranged by 'meanest craft,' meaning the most respected and influential came first.[651] The Merchant Adventurers appeared in the first barge alongside the mayor of London.[652] This barge was "goodly garnished with banners….silke…and arras and riche carpets," which showed off the foreign luxuries at the heart of these merchants' trade, luxuries that were so coveted by the king who they now honored with these proceedings.[653] Maritime and commercial themes were also evoked at the closing of the coronation festivities. During the final banquet, tables were decorated with wax ships (the only devices present).[654] Hall also recalls how 'significant merchants' were invited to attend this important meal.[655]

"Stranger" merchants in particular played an important and highly visible role in the pageantry of the coronation procession. Their inclusion expressed the fact that they were part of the social fabric of London, living and working alongside native subjects. What Syndey Anglo has called "the most impressive spectacle of the whole coronation," was devised and put on by

[650] Edward Hall quoted in Janette Dillon, *Performance and Spectacle in Halls Chronicle* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 2002), 145
[651] Ibid, 141
[652] Ibid, 142
[653] Ibid. These luxuries would have all been imports.
[654] Ibid, 150
[655] Ibid

a group of foreign merchants: the Hansa.[656] As Henry's new queen turned onto Gracechurch Street (the area of the Steelyard), she was greeted by what Hall describes as "a costly and a marvailous connyng pageaunt made by the merchants of the steelyard."[657] This pageant evoked classical themes. It told the story of Apollo and the muses on mount Parnassus. It consisted of an ornate arch and a solid marble fountain that ran with red wine. A sketch of this pageant, attributed to Hans Holbein, gives an impression of what this marvelous display would have looked like (fig. forty-six). In it, we see Apollo sat atop the arch surrounded by his muses, sat under an eagle, the symbol of the Hansa. This pageant is an example of "strangers" playing a highly visible and important role in an event designed to present Henry VIII's sovereign empire to the rest of the world. The message that they were welcome there could not have been clearer.

Moreover, getting "strangers" involved in the coronation is something that we know Henry VIII personally solicited. The City of London Records record how the Duke of Norfolk was tasked with inducing "the esntrangers enhabytung this city to 'make of them self[es] any pagent[es] or be contrybriates to the pagient[es] of the citie."[658] This involvement of "strangers" in such a clearly national event appears to have been somewhat novel for the period. Writing to his king, Charles V, the imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, recalled how, at the court's request, "the Londoner's wish to make all inhabitants contribute to the cost of the coronation…" "…they compel even foreigners to contribute."[659] In the same letter, he tries

[656] Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 258
[657] Hall, *Halls Chronicle in* Dillon *Performance and Spectacle*, 145
[658] BL EGERTON MS 2623 f. 4. 5
[659] Henry VIII: May 1533, 11-20," in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 6, 1533, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882), 211-228

to excuse the highly visible participation of Charles subjects, the Hansa, during the coronation, which was put on to celebrate a marriage that had led to the humiliation of his aunt, Catherine of Aragon. Chapuys knew this would not have sat well with his employer (Henry probably did too). As a result, Chapuys argued that "the Easterlings, as being subjects of your majesty, would like to be excused, but the great privileges they enjoy here prevent them from objecting."[660] Chapuys also suggested that the Hansa used this event to remind Anne Boleyn of the power of the emperor, by having his symbol of the double headed eagle in clear view in the pageant. He also told Charles that Anne had flown into a rage about this affront after the procession. Most historians agree however that this is a falsification, made in an attempt to appease Charles, and that, in fact, the pageant was not designed or indeed received antagonistically.[661] Holbein's pageant sketch supports this argument. In the drawing, the eagle is clearly only one headed. This was the symbol of the Hansa rather than the double headed eagle that was the emblem of the emperor (fig. forty-seven). The one headed eagle had been carved into the Steelyard since the early sixteenth century.[662] Those seeing it at the coronation would have thus readily associated it with the Hansa merchants, not with any foreign prince. Moreover, other than Chapuys' claim, there is no evidence to suggest that Anne reacted negatively to the display. The meticulous planning of the coronation, the back and forth between the court and the city of London in the preparation stage, the fact that Henry's personal court painter, Hans Holbein,

---

[660] Ibid

[661] Sydney Anglo, Roy Strong, Eric Ives and Stewart James Mottrom all make this argument. See Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) Roy Strong, *Art and Power in the Renaissance 1450-1650* (London: Woodbridge, 1984), Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (London: Wiley 2005) and Stewart James Mottram, *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature* (Rochester, NY: Woodbridge, 2008), 98-100.

[662] Mottrom, *Empire and Nation*, 99

was involved in the design of the Hansa pageant, and that there were no repercussions for them after this supposed critique, all support this interpretation. Rather than being an image of the Hansa's allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire, the pageant instead showed a dialogue with the newly minted sovereign empire of England.

The fact that the Hansa were welcomed and flourishing in this space, along with the other events of the day, presented London as culturally diverse and its king as outward looking and worldly. This was reinforced by the fact that Anne's coronation was multi-lingual. The pageants were a mix of English, Latin, and French, in recognition of Anne's upbringing across the channel. Anne's coronation actually appears to have been the start of a tradition where "strangers" played as visible and equally important a role as English subjects during Tudor coronation processions. For Edward VI's coronation the Hansa again contributed one of the main pageants. The young king's favorite spectacle of the day was also said to have been a display from an Aragonese 'rope-dancer.'[663] It was said that Edward enjoyed this display so much that he stayed watching longer than predicted, which threw the day's timings off.[664] By the time of Mary I's reign, the place and number of "strangers" in the city was even more expansive. It is estimated that by then, roughly 10,000 "strangers" lived in London and its suburbs.[665] Their presence was also more visible in the coronation. Mary's entry featured pageants from the Hansa, Florentine, and Genoese "stranger" communities – made up of a mix of merchants and artisans - then in residence. In one pageant, there was even a Dutch man who

[663] John Gough Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth* (London: 1857), xcv
[664] Ibid
[665] Andrew Petegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 292-3

enthusiastically waved a banner bearing the city of London's arms, in clear recognition that this was a city that foreigners could and did call home.[666] This has led Scott Oldenburg to argue: "the fact that a stranger waved the banner bearing the city's arms and that the first three pageants were performed by strangers indicates that the city's mayor and aldermen wanted to showcase London's immigrants, wanted to communicate to Mary that London was made up of not only the English nobles and the artisans who lined the streets, but also merchant and artisan strangers."[667] By the time of Mary's reign, London was therefore a city both aware and proud of its cultural diversity, bristling with stranger merchants, processes that had begun with Henry and were likewise advertised during Anne's coronation.[668]

In policy as well as pageantry, Henry VIII continued to encourage cross cultural trade and contact post-Reformation and, as a result, to exhibit the worldliness at the center of culturally cosmopolitan self-fashioning. A lot of this was contingent on policies that encouraged international trade. In addition to his relationships with specific "stranger" merchants and merchant communities, Henry issued more widespread legislation aimed at encouraging cross-cultural commerce. One of his most significant attempts to do this came pre-Reformation in 1527, when he issued a proclamation "Establishing Calais as a Market Town."[669] Proclamations

---

[666] Scott Oldenburg, "Toward a Multicultural Mid-Tudor England: The Queen's Royal Entry Circa 1553, "The Interlude of Wealth and Health", and the Question of Strangers in the Reign of Mary I." *ELH* 76, no. 1 (2009): 99-129

[667] Ibid. Oldenburg argues that this was in part a reaction to fears that Mary would, alongside the reimposition of Catholicism in England, try to institute a catholic monoculture which would mean the deportation of thousands of protestant strangers, many of which had come to the country during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward. Oldenburg argues therefore that the city used this coronation to remind Mary that London was home to significant numbers and diverse groups of strangers that played an important role in the city's economy. These fears appear to have been valid as Mary expressed much higher levels of anti-alien sentiment than both her brother or father.

[668] This message of engagement with cultural difference, and of pride in belonging to a diverse city, is also a central feature of the modern day cultural cosmopolitan persona.

[669] Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (ed.) *Tudor Royal Proclamations: Volume One the Early Tudors 1483-1547* (Boston: Yale University Press, 1969), 102-3

like these were an important part of royal self-fashioning as they were understood to be the direct voice of the king. This idea would actually be enshrined in law in 1539 with the passing of the Statute of Proclamations. This legislation declared that the king (with the advice of his council) "may set forthe at all tymes by auctoritie of this Acte his proclamations," and these shall be obeyed, "as thoughe they were made by Acte of Parliament."[670] Henry used this particular proclamation to present himself as worldly and outward looking by advertising Calais as a place where "strangers" should come and do business. In the proclamation, he stated how he desired "not only his own subjects, but also other strangers of what nation soever they may be…" to "rapier to this his saide town...there to buy and sell, charge and recharge with as large and ample freedoms, liberties and immuniites as at any other trade center."[671] The Calais proclamation further reveals the significance that Henry VIII placed on the role of "strangers" in growing the English economy. To attract these "strangers" he declared that in Calais they would be subject only to "suche customes and tolles as the kings merchants and subjects have paid."[672] Significantly, with this declaration he sought to distinguish his mart from that of his rival, Charles V, by presenting Calais as a place where "strangers" were *more* welcome, would be better treated, and could trade more freely than in the Emperor's marts. He continued:

> Albeit that the merchant stranger exercising the feats of merchandise at the said marts heretofore holden in the said Emperors Low Countries **have been accustomed to pay divers and many more toll charges, customs and impositions, and more larger for their goods and merchandise thither brought than the king's subjects merchants**

[670] Henry VIII, *The Statute of Proclamations*, 31, Henry VIII, C.8
[671] Hughes and Larkin (ed.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 102-3
[672] Ibid, 103

> **repairing to the same mart**: yet **the king's highness of his grace especial and bounteous willing** the merchant strangers which hereafter shall resort for cause of merchandise unto his said town and marches of Calais favorably and lovingly to be entertained and used within the same, so that by means thereof they will be encouraged to repair to the same towns and marches from time to time hereafter, hath therefore of **his singular good grace and favor** ordained and determined that **all and every such merchant and merchants stranger** pay for their goods and merchandise within the said port, town and marches of Calais, for the said cause of merchandises, **none other tolls, gabels, exactions, impositions , or customs than the king's subjects merchants have paid**...[673]

The importance of this proclamation, and Henry's efforts to turn Calais into a trade center full of merchants from all over the world, is underscored by the fact that he had it printed so that knowledge of his efforts would be widespread, and no doubt also reach the ears of Charles V.[674] By the time of Mary I's reign, the Venetian ambassador would describe Calais as England's access point to the world, where they could engage with "the commerce and intercourse of the world."[675] This is a somewhat exaggerated description. As a trading center, Calais was never able to rival the major international hubs of Venice and Antwerp in the west, or Tunis and Cathay in the east, but as we see in the proclamation from 1527 this was not for want of trying on Henry VIII's part.

---

[673] Ibid
[674] Ibid
[675] Giovanni Michieli quoted in John Gough Nichols (ed), *The Chronicle of Calais in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to 1540* (London: The Camden Society, 1845), xvv. Mary would lose Calais to the French just one year later.

Post Reformation, Henry and his council continued to pass legislation that encouraged "strangers" to trade in his dominions. For example, in 1536 he issued another proclamation which declared that foreign merchants were to be taxed the same rates as the English across the realm.[676] As with the Calais proclamation, Henry used this opportunity to present his openness to "strangers." He also argued how commercial intercourse with them greatly benefited the commonwealth. This proclamation is worth quoting in some length. The king declared that:

> After deeply pondering and considering his kingly office and charge….**that albeit his highness is justly and lawfully entitled in the right of his imperial crown to take a perceive for custom and subsidy of merchant strangers conveying or transporting into this his realm or out of the same, their wares, goods and merchandises, greater and larger sums of money than of his own loving and natural subjects**; and being in good hope and confidence that although the moderation thereof should tend to his graces own detriment and loss….**taking therefore more respect to the advancement of his graces commonwealth than to his own singular profit….by the attemperance and moderation of the said custom and subsidy of strangers**, goodness, profit and commodity shall succeed, increase, and grow to the commonwealth of this his realm….from the sixth day of April in the 30th year of his grace reign, during the full and whole term of seven years….**no person or persons being strangers or denizens, conveying or transporting any goods, wares, or merchandises into any port, creek, or other place of this realm, or out of the same, shall for and during the same time of**

[676] Ibid

> **seven years pay any other more or larger custom and subsidy that the kings own loving and natural subjects have used and been accustomed to do and pay at his present time.**[677]

Following this proclamation, further announcements related to trade, made a point to mention that "strangers" and natives alike would be subject to any new laws, such as in 1538 when Henry permitted the exchange and re-exchange of goods for "his own subjects as by strangers merchant of this realm..."[678] The 1538 proclamation also reveals Henry's close dialogue with these merchants, and the role they had in shaping English economic policy post Reformation. Henry stated that it was after being "informed by the said merchants that if they should not have free liberty to exchange and rechange without anything paying therefore" that he was putting this law in to practice.[679] Post Reformation, Henry also made it easier for "stranger" artificers and handicraftsmen to dwell in his realm, which he recognized was home to "divers and many aliens and strangers, as well denizens and not denizens."[680] In 1540, he instituted sweeping reforms that benefited these communities by suspending former statues that had restricted foreigner's ability to own property. Following these reforms, it was to be so that, "…every stranger being an artificer or handicraftman and born out of his graces obeisance, and not being denizen….may at his or their free will, liberty, or pleasure, hold, keep, take and procure any lease or any dwelling house or shop within this realm of England for and during the time the same strangers artificer of handicraftman shall be and remain in the said fee, wages,

[677] Hughes and Larkim (ed.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 282
[678] Ibid, 265
[679] ibid
[680] Ibid, 290-1

or livery of our said sovereign lord the king."[681] He added that "every other stranger artificer or handicraftmen not being in fee, wages, or livery as is foresaid….at their free will and pleasures may hold, keep, take, or receive any lease, demise, or grant of any of the kings subjects, made or to be made, of any shop or dwelling house being within this realm of England, and that every such stranger may dwell and inhabit in the same shop or dwelling house…"[682]

Post Reformation, therefore, far from being a truly isolationist moment, Henry VIII continued to legislate in ways that bridged and forged strong connections between his realm and other peoples and places. This legislation brought in a mix of goods and peoples from different corners of the early modern world. The tolerant treatment of "strangers" that facilitated this commerce, and the cultural diversity of London and other market towns that developed as a result, presented Henry as worldly and cultivated an outward looking ethos at his court. When mixed with the nationalistic politics of the 1530's, this created the conditions for a new kind of culturally cosmopolitan self-fashioning to take hold.

Towards a Cultural Cosmopolitanism.

"I have oftentimes (said he) and in many ways looked into the general state of earthly kingdoms the whole world over….it being a study of no great difficulty, but rather animated by ***a purpose somewhat similar to that of a perfect cosmographer: to find himself cosmopolites****; a citizen and member of the whole, and one and only mystic city universal."*

– John Dee*, General and Rare Memorials,* 1577

From the Act in Restraint of Appeals onwards, the confluence of a worldly and outward looking court with the new politics of sovereign nationalism, and the growing sense of national identity this fostered, provided a unique historical context in which Henry VIII's orientation towards the

[681] Ibid
[682] Ibid

world was transformed. Under his leadership, England went from being one of many countries in Christendom that owed an allegiance to a supra-national authority, to one that stood outside of this relationship. This is also the period in which the cultural expression of cosmopolitanism, articulated first in John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials*, has its roots. Because of events and processes in Henry's reign, Dee could, and would, frame his cosmopolitanism from within, rather than against, the political paradigm of the nation state. The worldly culture that developed and expanded at Henry's court over the course of his reign had fostered an outward looking perspective where men – including the king - began to see themselves as part of a wider global whole – as 'citizens of the world' - in a way that had not been possible in previous centuries. Nevertheless, post 1533, the politics of the Reformation meant that for many this sense of global fellowship and connectedness was now expressed in a political culture that privileged national sovereignty and belonging above all. This duality and hierarchy of belonging - which was very Ciceronian in nature - is on full display in *General and Rare Memorials* when Dee calls himself a 'cosmopolite' whilst at the same time presenting himself as a proud patriot and ardent supporter of the crown and the royal supremacy. *General and Rare Memorials* was written with the distinct purpose of encouraging Elizabeth I to develop a standing 'petty navy' that Dee believed was necessary to strengthen the sovereign English monarchy and protect the state from foreign threats, including those that challenged this new political arrangement. Historians of Dee confirm that this self-identified 'cosmopolite' was in other areas, especially foreign policy, "uncompromisingly nationalistic."[683]

[683] Gerald Shuster (ed.), *John Dee: Essential Readings* (London: Crucible, 1985), 46

Dee's cosmopolitan persona is an outgrowth of his worldlines. It stems from his interest in "studying the state of earthly kingdoms the world over," and his being a cosmographer, rather than from any adherence to a political ideal that operated beyond the patria, which was the original Greek meaning of the term.[684] What is going on in his work is thus an articulation of being 'cosmopolite' that departs from previous uses, and one that is informed by the culture in which he lived. Dee's cosmopolitanism is a cultural rather than political persona, an identity rather than an ideology. This difference is marked in *General and Rare Memorials*. After describing the things that make him 'cosmopolite,' Dee argues that these allow him to "ruminate on…cosmopolitical governance," drawing a definite distinction between his being 'cosmopolite' and 'cosmopolitics.'[685] Whist these terms are clearly connected, Dee nevertheless presents them separately. Being cosmopolite and adhering to cosmopolitics are not one and the same. This distinction would be made again in later English dictionaries. Although the works of Dee and other Elizabethans prove that the word 'cosmopolite' was known and understood decades earlier, cosmopolitan doesn't appear in English dictionaries until 1656, in Thomas Blount's *Glossographia*, where it is described as meaning "a citizen of the world."[686] This dictionary also includes an entry for cosmographer as someone who "describes the world."[687] Whilst it is not clear from this dictionary alone whether the 'world citizenship' of the cosmopolitan refers to a literal adherence to supra-national politics or is largely figurative, the

[684] Dee, *General and Rare Memorials* in Shuster (ed.), *John Dee: Essential Readings, 49*
[685] Ibid
[686] Thomas Blount, *Glossographia, or, A dictionary interpreting all such hard words of whatsoever language now used in our refined English tongue with etymologies, definitions and historical observations on the same : also the terms of divinity, law, physick, mathematicks and other arts and sciences explicated* (London: Printed by Thomas Newcombe for George Sawbridge, 1661)
[687] Ibid

precedent of this term in works of the period that are written from a national point of view suggests it is more than likely the latter.[688] This is further supported by the fact that later dictionaries began to include different terms to describe cosmopolitics. For example, in Elisha Coles's, *An English Dictionary*, which appeared two years after Blount's, alongside cosmopolite and cosmographer (which have the same definitions) he includes cosmarchy, meaning "the government of the world."[689]

The distinction first made by Dee between cosmopolitics and being cosmopolite makes sense only when we understand that he was writing as a loyal subject to the queen and her sovereign nation, whilst at the same time operating within a worldly culture that was increasingly outward looking; both of which are legacies from Henry VIII's reign.[690] The specificity of Dee's cosmopolitanism, and how it grew out from the period of the reformation is something that Brian Lockey has also recently argued in his work, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth*. In this study, Lockey explores the development of cosmopolitan identities in Elizabethan England and

---

[688] In addition to Dee's work, Richard Hakluyt quotes Dee in his uncompromisingly patriotic "*Divers Voyages*."

[689] Elisha Coles (1663), *An English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 6

[690] In this work Dee also argues that his cosmopolitan outlook helps him see the value in a very specific kind of political arrangement which did not exist in Henry's time: an expansive British Empire. Along with being the first recorded use of cosmopolite in English this work is also the first to mention the idea of a British Maritime Empire. Dee argued that it was actually because of his cosmopolite perspective that he was able to make this suggestion. In the sentence following his declaration of 'world citizenship' he makes the following argument "…that if this Brytish Monarchy, wold heretofore, haue followed the Aduantages, which they have had, onward, They mought, very well, ere this, haue surpassed (By Iustice and Godly, sort) any particular Monarchy, else that euer was on Earth, since Mans Creation."Dee thus uses his identity as a world citizen to argue for England's political dominance in the world cementing the novelty of his cosmopolitan self-fashioning and the fact that it was more akin to serving the nation state rather than undermining it. It is thus not surprising to find Richard Hakluyt, a later proponent of the British Empire, quoting Dee's description of cosmopolitanism verbatim in his *'Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent unto the Same,'* another patriotic work designed to aggrandize the English queen and nation by way of sea-fairing, because it was a cosmopolitanism drawn not in tension with nationalism.

how they related to national ones. He identifies two "dominant traditions of cosmopolitanism."[691] One, which he calls "Christian cosmopolitanism" was "rooted in the transnational imperium of the Roman curia" and correlated to the aforementioned political ideals that were being expressed in Henrician England in the 1520's by men like Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, and up until the 1530's, King Henry himself.[692] Edmund Campion (1540-1581), a Jesuit catholic exile, was an important proponent of this kind of cosmopolitan self-fashioning, who was writing in the same period as John Dee. In his writings, he argued in support of "a transnational Christian commonwealth presided over by a papacy that could, in extraordinary circumstances, depose tyrannical or heretical Christian sovereigns…."[693] The second type, which Lockey calls 'secular cosmopolitanism' was instead "the result of intensive study of the temporal kingdoms of the world," of which he too highlights Dee as the archetype.[694]

Lockey shows how, by Elizabeth's time, these cosmopolitan identities were not only fundamentally different but often pitted against one another, as secular cosmopolites, as we have seen with the case of Dee, sought "to cultivate and sustain an emerging English nationalism," whilst others used their cosmopolitan identity to critique and challenge the "emerging model of English nationhood" from the perspective that the kingdom was just "one province within the larger transnational Christian commonwealth."[695] In 1581, Campion argued

---

[691] Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics*, 8
[692] Ibid
[693] Ibid, 7
[694] Ibid, 8
[695] Ibid, back cover. Brian Lockey argues that secular cosmopolitanism is "paradoxically" used in support of nationalistic ends. However, in doing this he risks labelling cosmopolitanism as a static term when history shows its diffuse and complex meanings over time. The patriotic cosmopolitanism we see in Dee, and in the culture of Henrician England, which Lockey calls secular and I call cultural cosmopolitanism, should not be seen as a paradox because it was in fact a new type/articulation of this term that was shorn of its original political meaning and one

this point in his *Rationes Decem* in which he directly challenged Elizabeth I and the Anglican settlement.[696] He mentions how historically princes "from all the world over who by example, by arms, by laws, by loving care, by outlay of money have nourished our church…" and warned the queen, "listen Elizabeth, most powerful Queen, for thee this great prophet utters this prophecy, and therein teaches thee thy part. I tell thee: one and the same heaven cannot hold Calvin and the Princes I have named..."[697] Campion ends this work by signing off from "Cosmopolis, City of all the World, 1581," in reference to the larger Christian Commonwealth from which he sees himself writing. Campion evokes the cosmopolis as a reminder (and thinly veiled threat) to Elizabeth I that she operates beneath a larger authority; the universal city of the Christian commonwealth, headed by the papacy. Campion's cosmopolitanism is thus expressed to rebuke the very notion of English national supremacy and sovereignty in ecclesiastical matters.

It is no coincidence that Campion chooses to express this cosmopolitan identity in a work that argues against the English Reformation. When he challenged the authority of the papacy, Henry VIII had also challenged the political ideal of supra-national governance that classical articulations of cosmopolitanism had as their foundation. As Lockey argues, "the notion of a Christian commonwealth presided over by a muscular papacy and the cosmopolitan identity implicated therein constituted a fresh response to the Statute in Restraint of Appeals of 1533," and the subsequent loss of papal authority that "had made the cosmopolitan (or rather

---

that could be held and expressed by individuals of multiple political persuasions, not just those who supported cosmopolitics.

[696] Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem,* quoted in Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics*, 52

[697] Ibid

cosmopolitical) ideal even more pressing."[698] Campion's cosmopolitanism takes the form of a conscious revival of the supra-national Christian humanist ideal of a united and universal Catholicism that, in England, was put under attack by Henry's Reformation. It was this Reformation that also paved the way for the new kind of cultural cosmopolitanism to take root in England, which we find first expressed by Dee and which is almost the reverse of Campion's cosmopolitanism. Whist both men see themselves as holding cosmopolitan identities, Campion's elevates him beyond the nation state, allowing him to write from 'the cosmopolis,' whilst Dee and his writing are firmly grounded in a sovereign England.

Conclusions.

Looking back to the reign of Henry VIII, specifically the period following the Act in Restraint of Appeals, helps us to understand the evolution of Dee's culturally cosmopolitan self-fashioning and the schism between his and Campion's conception of 'world citizenship.' As this chapter has shown, it was events in these years that opened up the possibilities for Dee's brand of patriotic cosmopolitanism to take hold in England. By way of spectacle, pageantry, the consumption of internationally diverse worldly goods, and the subsequent favorable treatment of "strangers" this promoted, Henry VIII continued to present himself as worldly post Reformation and to exhibit proto-cosmopolitan behaviors. The difference post 1533, was that this worldly self-fashioning now took place in a political culture that was moving away from internationalism and cosmopolitics towards more nationalistic ones. The result was the development of a new orientation towards the world at Henry's court that moved beyond the

[698] Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics*, 7. Here we see Lockey also making a distinction between cosmopolitics (and a cosmopolitical identity) and the new kind of cosmopolitan identity expressed by Dee.

idea that England was one realm, amongst many, that operated under the over-arching authority of the Pope in a larger Christian Commonwealth. This new culture was at once sovereign and outward looking. It gestured towards, and built connections with, the peoples and places of the early modern world, whilst at the same time privileging the ideal of the sovereign nation state and patria. This culture was in many ways a reflection of Cicero's arguments about the different fellowships of man. In his writing, Cicero expressed proto-cosmopolitan sentiments about the universal fellowship of humanity but also advocated for man's primary allegiance to his place of birth and country. His ideas were known to have been a big influence on Henry VIII and in the intellectual life of the court. This political culture is key to understanding how and why John Dee's cosmopolitanism would be cast differently, as a new type. Before Dee, cosmopolite described someone who privileged universal political structures and identities over more localized (especially national) ones, after him, it was also used to describe a worldly individual with an interest in the 'cosmos' that was expressed by their study and knowledge of the peoples and places of the world. Henry VIII was 'cosmicus' (i.e. worldly) until his dying breath and over the course of his reign increasingly acted in ways that presented his interest in a broader global community. He was also the first English king to declare total and complete sovereignty for his nation and to institute a political culture that privileged the nation state above all. In England's worldly sovereign king, we thus find a precedent for Dee's cultural cosmopolitanism, and a new kind of cosmopolitan identity, that could be used to nourish, rather than detract from, the nation state.

Conclusion: Cosmopolitan Patriots: A Legacy of England's Worldly King?

On the 23rd of January, 1571, Queen Elizabeth I of England opened and lent her title to a new building in London: the Royal Exchange. This exchange had been set up by the merchant Sir Thomas Gresham to act as a hub of trade in London. In its courtyard, merchants from many nations were welcomed to come and do business. The opening was accompanied by much fanfare, and the exchange was celebrated as a symbol of the queen and country's outward looking nature and engagement in international trade. The exchange was also symbolic of the cross-cultural connections and positive engagements with 'the foreign' that this trade encouraged, as merchants from diverse nations and backgrounds mingled with ease in its walls and traded worldly goods from all corners of the early modern globe. The tolerant attitudes towards foreigners and the interconnectedness of the peoples of the world on display at the exchange are things that today would be described as cosmopolitan. Nevertheless, the opening of the exchange has recently been described by Jean E. Howard as a paradoxical turn of events with "the seeming cosmopolitan nature of the place…belied by the parochial pride both city and queen took in having an English bourse to signal their own uniqueness" and national accomplishments.[699]

However, as this dissertation proves, there was no paradox to be had. This is because the kind of cosmopolitanism that was on display in the exchange bore little to no resemblance to understandings of the term that are implicit in Howard's analysis. Howard's claim that the "parochial pride" taken in the exchange belies the "seeming cosmopolitan nature of the place"

[699] Howard, "Introduction," in *Shakespeare Studies*, 19

suggests that she sees cosmopolitanism and patriotism as antithetical and is using cosmopolitan in its political, and indeed original sense, to describe an individual's primary identification with political structures that operate beyond the local and who see themselves as a 'citizen of the world' in direct negation of smaller, more localized, political arrangements, such as the nation and/or city state. In the culture of Elizabethan England, this parallel celebration of worldliness and parochial pride, or indeed of worldliness as a symbol of domestic greatness, would have caused no cognitive dissonance. The cosmopolitan traits on display and being celebrated at the exchange were reflections of a *new* kind of cosmopolitan self-fashioning and sense of 'world citizenship' present in Elizabethan culture. This understanding of cosmopolitan would be coined just a few years after the exchange was opened by John Dee. Dee's cosmopolitanism was a cultural rather than political identity, defined by his interest in, and study of, "the state of earthly kingdoms generally the whole world over."[700] Using this understanding, Elizabeth I could easily express cosmopolitan and patriotic sentiments concurrently.

As *England's Worldly King* has argued, in order to understand how and why this type of 'being cosmopolite' came to prominence in England – this meaning is the first recorded use of the term in English - we need to look back to the reign of Elizabeth's father Henry VIII. To think of oneself culturally as a 'citizen of the world' requires two things; firstly, increased positive engagement with peoples outside of the country of your birth; secondly, the ability to think

[700] Dee, "*General and Rare Memorials*," in Shuster (ed.), *John Dee: Essential Readings*, 58
It is also of note that in her use of cosmopolitan Howard also seems to be recognizing the features of Dee's definition because she uses the term to describe the mixing of diverse peoples form all over the world at the exchange. Therefore, she is – in my view – incorrectly conflating political and cultural understandings of the term.

globally and conceive of the world as a spherical, connected, whole. Henry VIII came to the throne during the first age of globalization. His reign witnessed both an explosion in international trade and cross-cultural contact that facilitated positive relationships with foreigners and attitudes towards the foreign, and a paradigmatic shift in the global imagination heralded by the age of discovery. These things led to the rise of a culture of worldliness at the court and kindled a desire in Henry to be seen as interested in peoples, places, and cultures "generally the whole world over," to an extent not seen before in the country.

In Henry's court, to be worldly was a mark of power and status. As chapters one through three have shown, Henry VIII expressed this worldliness in a number of ways: in his adoption and celebration of foreign styles in the pageantry and everyday aesthetics of the court; in his conspicuous patronage of "stranger" merchants; in his encouragement and support of "strangers" living and trading in his country; and, above all, in his, at that time in England, unprecedented consumption of foreign goods and global knowledge. Henry VIII was not the only monarch affected by these processes. With his worldly expressions, he was participating in a broader elite Renaissance culture that tied worldliness to magnificence, status, and power. He also did not have the biggest, or even the most geographically diverse, collection of worldly goods, but what Henry *did* have he resolved to conspicuously consume, and he made the consumption of these things a key part of his royal image, as evidenced by the appearance of many foreign things and design styles in portraits of the king, which are less commonly seen in images of his closest rivals, Charles V and Francis I. Henry's anxieties about his place in the world are likely a major reason for this. When he came to the throne, England was a second-rate power, often maligned by continental Europeans for its parochialism. He spent much of his

time as king trying to bolster the reputation of his realm internationally. Having a magnificent and worldly court became a key part of this. After just a few years as king, Henry VIII had grown and leveraged his magnificence to such an extent that the English court went from being seen as a somewhat backward, uncivilized place, in the main unwelcoming to foreigners, to a worldly center of civilization where foreigners were highly visible and thriving. Henry VIII also found himself uniquely reliant on foreign goods to create the luxurious court he craved, since almost no luxuries were made in England at this time, which was not the case for the other principal European courts of the period. This gave foreign things, and the foreigners that were most often supplying them, a central and visible place at the English court. Therefore, in many ways, it was England's relative isolation and status as a second-rate power that led to the development and visibility of a culturally diverse court, where foreign things and foreigners were both welcomed and conspicuous.

It is in these expressions of Henry VIII's worldliness, and in his positive gestures towards the foreign and the global, that we find an early embodiment of culturally cosmopolitan attitudes and behaviors predicated on an interest in, curiosity about, and connection to, different cultures the world over. These qualities are at the heart of the cultural brand of cosmopolitanism first articulated by John Dee. They also provide the foundation for culturally cosmopolitan identities today that, broadly speaking, denote an orientation towards the world that shows "an interest in, a familiarity with, or appreciation of many parts and peoples" contained therein.[701] Henry VIII would not have been likely to conceive of himself as a

[701] Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought,* xi

cosmopolitan, but he certainly thought of himself as worldly, or to borrow a phrase from the pen of Thomas Elyot, a close friend of the king and influential figure at his court, as 'cosmicus.'[702] This phrase is in and of itself revelatory of the link between Henrician worldliness and later culturally cosmopolitan self-fashioning.

As explored in chapter four of this dissertation, Henry VIII's reign is also foundational for understanding how and why John Dee was able to develop a new kind of cosmopolitan self-fashioning that differed fundamentally from the classic, political, meanings of the term and was thus able to be held concurrently with national political leanings and patriotism rather than being framed against these things. Dee formulated his cosmopolitanism as a proud patriot and subject of a sovereign queen in a sovereign realm. By Dee's time this sovereignty, and the Protestant state church through which it had been achieved, had become central to England's identity as a distinct and unique people separated from Catholic Christendom and the overarching authority (and indeed cosmopolitical entity) of the papacy. It was only because of events in Henry VIII's reign – namely the Reformation - that this separation, and the subsequent effects it had on English national identity, came to be. Whilst towards the end of his reign Henry VIII had firmly rejected cosmopolitical arrangements in favor of more national ones, he retained a worldly court and outward looking persona. The confluence of these two factors, that first developed in Henry's reign and continued into Elizabeth's, provided the necessary conditions for Dee's new type of cultural, and indeed patriotic, cosmopolitanism.

[702] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyt*, Londini: In ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impress. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, [Anno .M. D. XXXVIII. [1538]]

The history of the rise of cultural cosmopolitanism at the court of Henry VIII is important for many reasons. The story of Henry's engagement with the world and peoples beyond England moves the history of the country's engagement with 'the global' back some fifty years from the time of his second daughter, Elizabeth I, where it has most commonly been argued to originate.[703] Henry VIII has largely been overlooked in scholarship that deals with these themes since he was not an active figure in the age of discovery and did not sponsor many, or any successful, imperial endeavors when he was king. Henry's significant engagement with global knowledge, however, shows a monarch that had both an ability to 'think globally,' and a desire to show this off. This reveals not only his engagement in the global moment but also highlights the fact that global interests in this period were not necessarily imperial in nature. Moreover, in Henry's court, it appears that it was proto-cosmopolitan attitudes that were fueling his consumption of global knowledge rather than imperial ones. Henry's interests in the global are also a further example of how events and processes that began in his time laid the groundwork for what would become defining features of the Elizabethan age, such as the development of a state church and its implications for English national identity.[704] Indeed, Thomas Gresham, the man who set up the Royal Exchange, was the son of Richard Gresham, who, as this study has shown, was an important and powerful merchant at Henry's court who supplied the king with a diverse mix of worldly goods. Henry's engagement with the 'foreign' also adds to our understanding of the question of xenophobia in the early modern period and the extent to

[703] See Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2009,) Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London: Penguin, 2017) and Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
[704] Elizabeth I *would* of course also show significant imperial interests.

which it did and did not exist. This question holds obvious importance in our modern day multi-cultural societies where questions about immigrants and immigration remain central in the political and cultural discourse, exacerbated in recent years by the migrant crisis in Europe. Henry's generally positive treatment of "strangers" and his encouragement of international trade, compared with the more negative, and sometimes downright hostile, attitudes towards foreigners that were common amongst some of his subjects, reminds us of the complexities of responses to cultural difference, then and now, and to reject the binary thinking that can often result from such emotive topics.

Cultural shifts that took place in Henry VIII's reign, manifested in attitudes and behaviors that developed around his consumption of foreign things and of global knowledge, provided the foundations for a *new* kind of cosmopolitan identity and conception of 'world citizenship,' that would become the prototype in England. The legacies of this specific notion of cosmopolitanism are still with us today. In the early twenty-first century, it is common for an individual to see themselves as a 'citizen of the world' due to their interest in its peoples and places and the resulting connection they feel to the broader society of human beings, rather than as a literal statement of 'world citizenship' that reflects their primary identification with, and support of, structures that operate beyond the nation. Accordingly, it is also not uncommon for people to hold culturally cosmopolitan beliefs alongside patriotic ones, when for someone like Diogenes this would have seemed paradoxical. This is a fact that has echoed particularly loudly in England during the time of Brexit.[705] In his interactions with the foreign

[705] For example, during the pre-referendum campaign, now prime minister Boris Johnson, invoked a culturally cosmopolitan identity as a reason for leaving the European Union, a vote that was unquestionably patriotic and also, somewhat ironically, a repudiation of cosmopolitics, in favor of national ones. For an example see Boris

and the global, and in his creation of the sovereign English nation, Henry VIII can be seen as an early embodiment of this kind of patriotic cosmopolitanism that, as shown in recent events, can still prove to be a powerful force in England.

Johnson, 'The Liberal Cosmopolitan Case to Vote Leave,' 2016, *http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/boris_johnson_the_liberal_cosmopolitan_case_to_vote_leave.html*

List of Maps and Figures.

Figure fourteen. *The sacrifice of Isaac, from the series 'The story of Abraham,'* Brussels, c.1540, wool, silk and gilt wrapped thread, (488x792cm). ©The Royal Collection, Hampton court palace, lent by her majesty Queen Elizabeth II (1008).

Figure fifteen. A Military Camp in Slovenia from the frieze Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz (Customs and Fashions of the Turks), After Pieter Coecke Van Aelst, printed 1553, woodcut on paper 35.2 × 53.2 cm (13.8 × 20.9 in), ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure sixteen, *Festival of the New Moon from the frieze Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz (Customs and Fashions of the Turks)*, After Pieter Coecke Van Aelst, printed 1553, woodcut on paper 35.2 × 53.2 cm (13.8 × 20.9 in), ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure seventeen, *A Turkish Funeral from the Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz*, After Pieter Coecke Van Aelst, printed 1553, woodcut on paper 35.2 × 53.2 cm (13.8 × 20.9 in), ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure eighteen, *Procession of Sultan Süleyman through the Atmeidan from the frieze Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz (Customs and Fashions of the Turks),* After Pieter Coecke Van Aelst, printed 1553, woodcut on paper 35.2 × 53.2 cm (13.8 × 20.9 in), ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure nineteen, '*Unloading of Goods,' from The Voyage to Calicut*. Early 16th century, tapestry. © Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas, Lisbon, Portugal.

Figure twenty, *"Cortege of the Giraffes," from The Voyage to Calicut*. Early 16th century, tapestry. © Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas, Lisbon, Portugal.

Figure twenty-one, *Drawing for a chimney and fireplace*, Hans Holbein, c.1537-1543, ink and paper, © The British Museum, London.

Figure twenty-two, Set of Henry VIII's armor, example of damascene metal work, c.1530, © The Royal Collection.

Figure twenty-three*. Portrait of Henry VIII*, Hans Hobein, c.1537, © Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain.

Figure twenty-four, *Selection of Patterns from Morysse and Damashin renewed and increased, very profitable for Goldsmythes and Embroderars*, Thomas Geminus, 1548, engravings on ink and paper, © The Victoria and Albert Musuem, London.

Figure twenty-five, *Pattern from cloth baldachin in Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons and Eastern Patter from Thomas Geminus Morysse and Damashin renewed and increased, very profitable for Goldsmythes and Embroderars.*

Figure twenty-six, *Contemporary Image of Francis I gallery at Fontainebleau.*

Figure twenty-seven, *L'Unite de L'Etat*, Rosso, c.1536, Fresco painting, (C) RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Fontainebleau).

Figure twenty-eight, *Portrait of the Merchant Georg Gisze of Danzig*, Hans Holbein, c.1532, Oil and tempera panel painting © Gemaldegalerie, SMPK, Berlin.

Figure twenty-nine. *Allegory of Charles V as ruler of the world* by Peter Paul Rubens, c.1604 ©Residenzgalerie, Salzburg, Austria.

Figure thirty. *The Mughal Emperor Jahangir holding a globe* by Abu'l-Hasan, c.1622-1623, ©National Musuem of Asian Art, Washington D.C, USA.

Figure thirty-one. *The Armada Portrait*, Unknown English Artist c.1588, Oil on Oak panel ©The National Portrait Gallery, London, United Kingdom.

Appendix:

Figure one. Map showing the geographical origins of items in the 1547 Inventory. Made using ©Nodegoat

Figure two. Image from Maximillian I's *Freydal,* ©Kunsthistorisches Museum. In this image the dancers have their faces covered in black netting in order to give the impression that they are

mores. These dances also appear to be performing a Morris (the moors dance), as indicated by the bells around their ankles.

Figure three, Morsikentänzer, one of sixteen (now ten) set of Moresca Dancers by Erasmus Grasser, ©Munich Stadtmusuem, 1480.

Figure four. ‘Holbein’ Carpet, 15th–16th century, Turkey, Wool; symmetrically (?) knotted pile, L. 109 in. (276.9 cm) W. 80 in. (203.2 cm), © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift from the Collection of Hillary Black Dumas and Dr. D. Gilbert Dumas, 2009.

Figure five. *The Procession of King Edward VI 1547*, James Basire the elder (1730 - 1802), 1787, Pen and Ink, ©The Royal Academy, London. Note the carpets and textiles hung from buildings along hit route.

Figure six. *The Ambassadors*, Hans Holbein, c.1533, Oil and Wood Panel, ©The National Gallery, London.

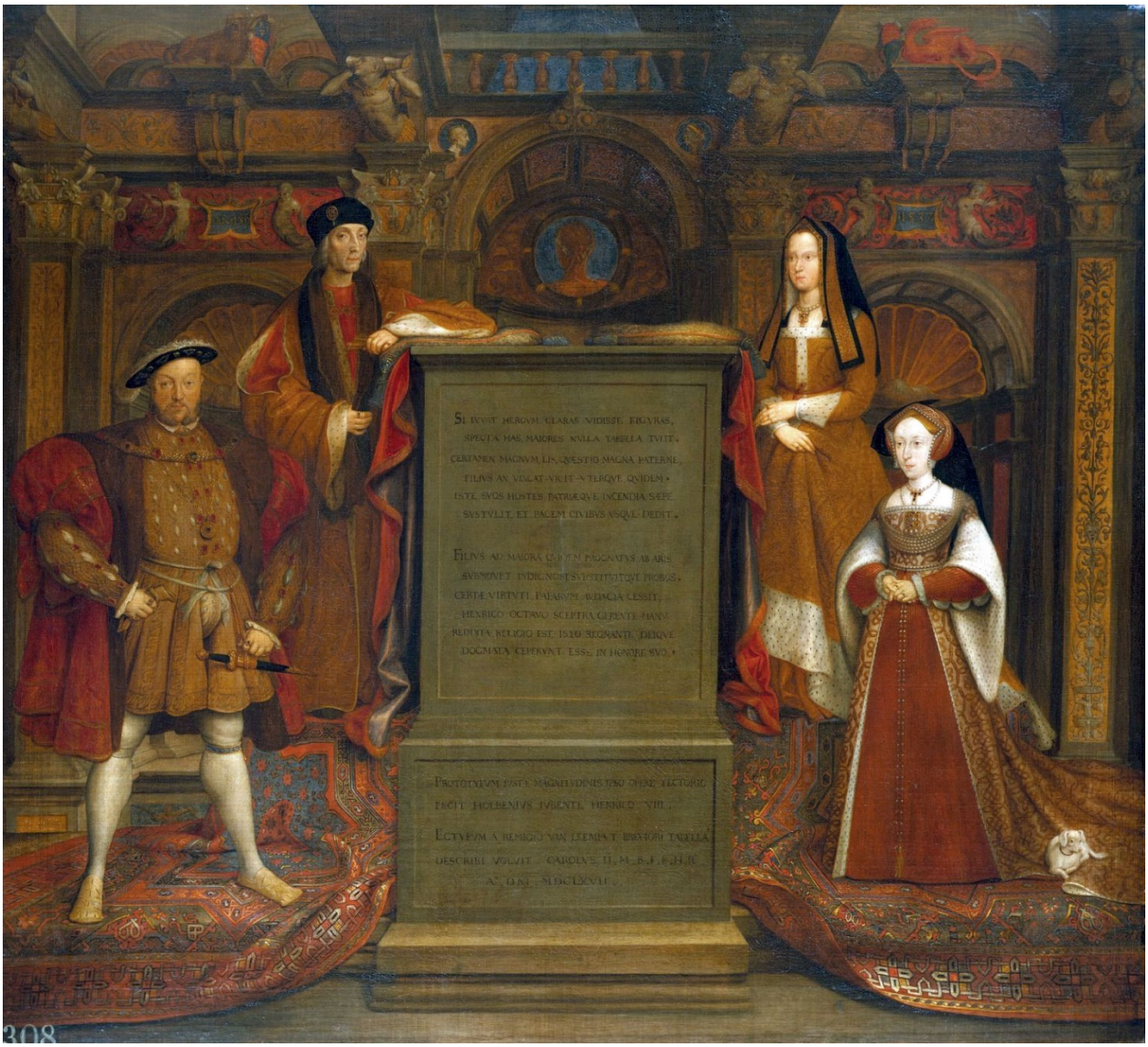

Figure seven. *The Whitehall Mural,* Remigius van Leemput, after Hans Holbein the Younger, Whitehall Mural, 1667 (original 1537), oil on canvas, 88.9 × 99.2 cm, ©The Royal Collection.

Figure eight, *Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons*, Hans Holbein c.1543; additions and rewordings mid-16th century and 17th century, oil on oak wood, 108.3 cm (42.6 in), Width: 312.4 cm (10.2 ft), © The Worshipful Company of Barber Surgeons.

Figure nine, *The Family of King Henry VIII*, British School, c.1545, Oil on canvas, 144.5 x 355.9 cm, ©The Royal Collection.

Figure ten. *Design for a cup for Jayne Seymour*, Hans Holbein, c.1536 © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK.

Figure ten A. *Detail of Antique portions of Holbein's cup*.

Figure ten B. *Detail of Moresque/Arabesque Portions of Holbein's cup*.

Figure eleven. *Doge Leonardo Loredan*, Giovanni Bellini, c.1501-1502, oil on panel, 61.6 cm (24.2 in); Width: 45.1 cm (17.7), © The National Gallery, London.

Figure twelve. Examples of silk damasks. Left: *Length of velvet Damask*, silk and metal-wrapped thread (186.7x 66 cm,) Turkey late C16 ©The Metropolitan museum of art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.22.8b). Right: *Silk damask with pattern of palmettes* and roses, Italy or Spain c.1500. Velvet with silk and metal thread (279.4 x 167.6 cm), ©The Metropolitan museum of art, New York. Bequest of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1966, (67.55.101).

Figure thirteen. *Contemporary picture showing how tapestries would have been hung in the great hall of Hampton Court Palace*, ©Hampton Court Palace.

Figure fourteen. *The sacrifice of Isaac, from the series 'The story of Abraham,'* Brussels, c.1540, wool, silk and gilt wrapped thread, (488x792cm). ©The Royal Collection, Hampton court palace, lent by her majesty Queen Elizabeth II (1008).

Figure fifteen. A Military Camp in Slovenia from the frieze Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz (Customs and Fashions of the Turks), After Pieter Coecke Van Aelst, printed 1553, woodcut on paper 35.2 × 53.2 cm (13.8 × 20.9 in), ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure sixteen, *Festival of the New Moon from the frieze Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz (Customs and Fashions of the Turks)*, After Pieter Coecke Van Aelst, printed 1553, woodcut on paper 35.2 × 53.2 cm (13.8 × 20.9 in), ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure seventeen, *A Turkish Funeral from the Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz*, After Pieter Coecke Van Aelst, printed 1553, woodcut on paper 35.2 × 53.2 cm (13.8 × 20.9 in), ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure eighteen, *Procession of Sultan Süleyman through the Atmeidan from the frieze Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz (Customs and Fashions of the Turks),* After Pieter Coecke Van Aelst, printed 1553, woodcut on paper 35.2 × 53.2 cm (13.8 × 20.9 in), ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure nineteen, '*Unloading of Goods,' from The Voyage to Calicut*. Early 16th century, tapestry. © Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas, Lisbon, Portugal.

Figure twenty, *"Cortege of the Giraffes," from The Voyage to Calicut*. Early 16th century, tapestry. © Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas, Lisbon, Portugal.

Figure twenty A. *Detail form the Cortege of the Giraffes showing mix of peoples and goods.*

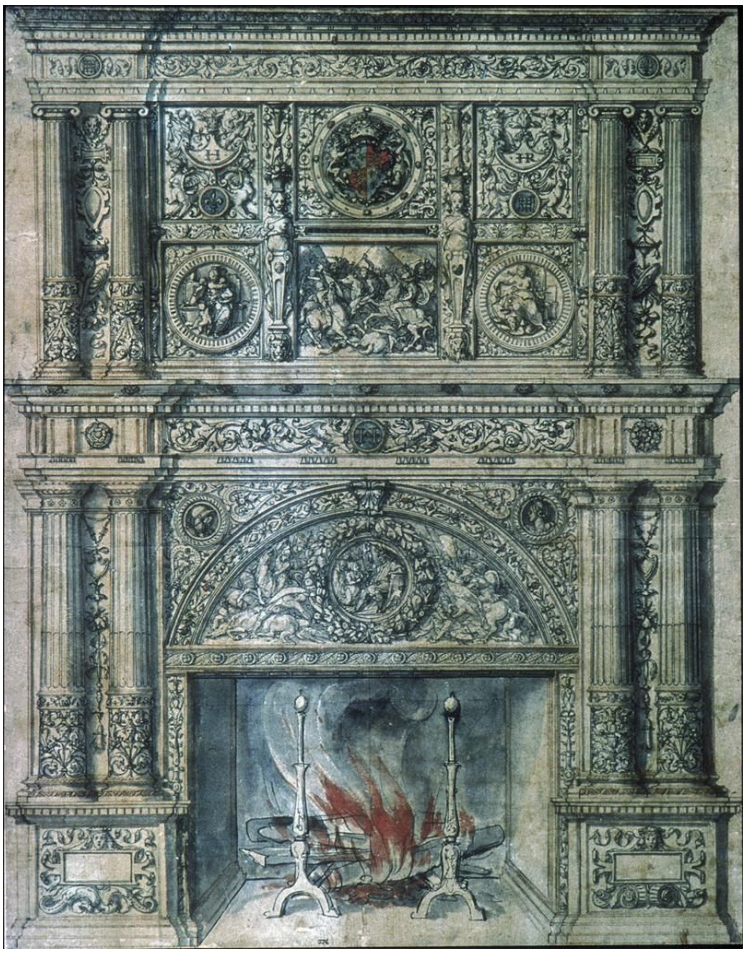

Figure twenty-one, *Drawing for a chimney and fireplace*, Hans Holbein, c.1537-1543, ink and paper, © The British Museum, London.

Figure twenty-one A, *Close up of the antique patterns on Holbein's fireplace drawing*.

Figure twenty-two, Set of Henry VIII's armor, example of damascene metal work, c.1530, © The Royal Collection.

Figure twenty-three. *Portrait of Henry VIII*, Hans Hobein, c.1537, © Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain.

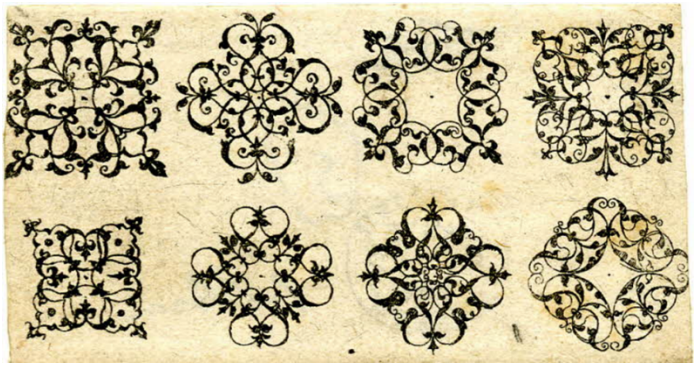

Figure twenty-four, *Selection of Patterns from Morysse and Damashin renewed and increased, very profitable for Goldsmythes and Embroderars*, Thomas Geminus, 1548, engravings on ink and paper, © The Victoria and Albert Musuem, London.

Figure twenty-five, *Pattern from cloth baldachin in Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons and Eastern Patter from Thomas Geminus Morysse and Damashin renewed and increased, very profitable for Goldsmythes and Embroderars.*

Figure twenty-six, *Contemporary Image of Francis I gallery at Fontainebleau.*

Figure twenty-seven, *L'Unite de L'Etat*, Rosso, c.1536, Fresco painting, (C) RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Fontainebleau).

Figure twenty-eight, *Portrait of the Merchant Georg Gisze of Danzig*, Hans Holbein, c.1532, Oil and tempera panel painting © Gemaldegalerie, SMPK, Berlin.

Figure twenty-nine. *Allegory of Charles V as ruler of the world* by Peter Paul Rubens, c.1604 ©Residenzgalerie, Salzburg, Austria.

Figure thirty. *The Mughal Emperor Jahangir holding a globe* by Abu'l-Hasan, c.1622-1623, ©National Musuem of Asian Art, Washington D.C, USA.

Figure thirty-one. *The Armada Portrait*, Unknown English Artist c.1588, Oil on Oak panel ©The National Portrait Gallery, London, United Kingdom.

Bibliography.

List of Abbreviations:

BL - The British Library

BM - The British Museum

TNA/PRO - The National Archives, London (formerly the Public Records Office)

VA - The Victoria and Albert Museum, London

BHO – British History Online

CSPV – Calendar of State Papers, Venetian

LPH8 – Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic from the Regin of Henry VIII

STR – Statutes of the Realm

PA – Parliament Archives, London

Primary Sources (originals):

BL: Egerton MS 2623

BL: Harley MS 1419

BL: Harley MS 2284

BL: Harley MS 2286

BL: Harley MS 6798

BL Harley MS 7638

BL: MS 31922

BL: MS 7C.XVI

BL: Royal MS 20 B XII

BL: Royal MS 2 A XVI

BL: Royal MS. 20 E. IX.

BL: Royal MS 20 B VII

BM: Item No.1878,1101.113

CSPV 1520-6 No. 607

Dee, John (1577). *General and rare memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of nauigation*, London: Iohn Daye.

Dee, John (1577). "Letter from John Dee, Mortlake, to Abraham Ortelius", January 16th 1577, *The Morgan and Library Museum*, Unbound English Dee, John MA 2337.

Drapers' Hall Court of Assistants Minutes and Records (1515–1529), MB 1 A

Elyot, Sir Thomas (1538). *The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyt*. Londini: In ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impress. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, [Anno .M. D. XXXVIII. [1538]]

England's Immigrants 1330 – 1550 (www.englandsimmigrants.com, version 1.0), http://www.englandsimmigrants.com/

Epictetus, *The Discourses*.

Gesner, Conrad (1565). *De Omne Rerum Fossilium.* London: British Museum Department of Printed Books.

Giustiniani, Agostino (1537). Castigatissimi Analli. Genoa.

Guildhall Library: Ms. 3313

Henry VIII, King of England (r.1509-1547):

- *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, 1521
- *The Act of Apparel* 1509 (STR, PA)
- *An Act Concerning Hats and Capps*, 1511 (STR, PA)
- *The Act of Apparel* 1514, (STR, PA)
- *The Mayntenance of the Kings Navye 1515* (STR, PA)
- *An Acte that the Appeles in suche Cases as have ben used to be pursued to the See of Rome shall not be from hensforth had ne used but wythin this Realme (The Act in Restraint of* Appeals), 1532 (STR, PA)
- Act Concerning the Merchants of the Hans, 1534 (STR, PA)
- *The Statute of Proclamations*, 1539
- *Pricing Meats 12 May 1544* (STR, PA)

Johnson, Boris (2016). 'The Liberal Cosmopolitan Case to Vote Leave' *http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/boris_johnson_the_liberal_cosmopolitan_case_to_vote_leave.html*

Emmanuel Kant (1795), Zum ewigen Frieden : ein philosophischer Entwurf (1 ed.). Königsberg: Friedrich Nicolovius.

Nicols, Thomas (1652). *A Lapidary: or, the History of Pretious Stones, with Cautions for the Undeceiving of All Those That Deal with Pretious Stones*. London: T.Buck.

Paxi, Bartolomeo (1521). *Tariffa de pesi et mesure correspondenti dal Levante al Ponente: da una terra a l ' altra: e a tutte le parte del mondo: con la noticia delle robe che se trazeno da una Paese per laltro* [sic], Venice.

Pius V (157), *Regnans in Excelsis*.

PRO/TNA: E36/85

PRO/TNA E 36/214, f.109

PRO/TNA: E36/217

PRO/TNA: E 36/228

PRO/TNA: E 36/229

PRO/TNA: E 101/217/2

PRO/TNA: E/101/417/6

PRO/TNA: E 351/3027 STATUTES I. Henry VIII c.17.

PRO/TNA: Treaty Roll 178, membr.8.

Shakespeare Folger Library: PA6295.A3 1502

The Records of the Court of Requests, 3/192

Unknown Author (1533). *The Noble Triumphant Coronation of Queen Anne, Wife Unto King Henry the Viiith.*

Primary Sources (reprints):

Armstrong, Clement (c.1535). *Howe to Reforme the Realm in settying them to worke and to restore Tillage*, in Reinhold Pauli (1878). *Drei volkswirthschaftliche Denkschriften aus der Zeit Heinriches VIII von England*. Leipzig.

Arnold, Richard (1521). *The Customs of London, Otherwise Called Arnold's Chronicle*, Francis Douce (ed.) (1811). London: Printed for F.C and J. Rivington.

Thomas Blount (1661), *Glossographia, or, A dictionary interpreting all such hard words of whatsoever language now used in our refined English tongue with etymologies, definitions and historical observations on the same : also the terms of divinity, law, physick, mathematicks and other arts and sciences explicated.* London: Printed by Thomas Newcombe for George Sawbridge.

Blount, William (1509). "William Blount Lord Mountjoy to Desiderius Erasmus," in *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters, 142 to 297 Volume 2 of Collected Works of Erasmus,* ed. D.F.S Thomson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), letter 215.

Brandt Sebastian and Barclay, Alexander (1509). *The Ship of Fools*. Reprint. London: A. Pompen, Longmans Green and Co., 1925.

Brown, Rawden (1867). *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 2-4, 1509-1519*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Castiglione, Baldesar (1528), *The Book of the Courtier*. Reprint. London, Penguin Classics.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *De Officis*.

Coles, Elisha (1663). *An English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

De Galonifontibus, Johann (1404), *Svedeniia o narodakh Kavkaza* (Iz sochineniia 'Kniga poznaniia mira') [Information about the peoples of the Caucasus (1404) (From the work 'The book of the knowledge of the world')]. Baku: Elm (1980).

Erasmus, Desiderius (1521). *The Complaint of Peace*. United States: Cosimo Classics. 2004.

Cavendish, George (c.1557). 'The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey,' in Richard S. Sylvester and Davis P. Harding (ed.) (1962). *Two Early Tudor Lives: The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish; The Life of Sir Thomas More by William Roper*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Diogenes Laërtius (1915). *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, translated by C.D Yonge. London: G. Bell and Son's.

Elyot, Thomas (1531). *The Book Named the Governor*. Menston: The Scholar Press Limited, 1970.

Gairdner James (ed.):

- (1880). "*Henry VIII: Privy Purse 'Expences,'"* in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531-1532*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- (1880). "Henry VIII: Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts,'" in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531-1532*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Gairdner, James and Brodie, R. H. (eds.) (1898). *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volumes 1-21*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Giustinian, Sebastian (1519), *Four Years at The Court of Henry VIII*: *1515-1519*, Rawdon Brown (ed.). London: Smith and Elder and co. 1854.

Hakluyt, Richard (c.1589-1600). *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*. Reprint, E. and G. Goldsmid. Edinburgh: E and G Goldsmid [1885-1890])

Hall, Edward (1548). *Hall's Chronicle*. London: J.Johnson, F.C and J. Rivington, T. Payne, Wilkie and Robinson, Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, Cadell and Davies and J. Mawman, 1809.

Hayward, Maria (2004). *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall: The Palace and its Keeper Vol 2: The Manuscript*. London: Illuminata Publishers.

Kant, Emmanuel (1914). Eternal peace, and Other International Essays. Boston: The World peace Foundation.

Larkin, J. F and Hughes, P. L. (ed.) (1964). *Tudor Royal Proclamations Vol. 1: The Early Tudors 1483-1547.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Maximillian 1, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1508-1519), *Freydal* (c.1512-1515). Quirin Von. Leitner (ed)*, Freydal. Des Kaisers Maximilian I. Turniere Und Mummereien, Herausgegeben ... Von Quirin Von Leitner, Mit Einer Geschichtlichen Einleitung Einem Facsimilirten Namensverzeichnisse Und 255 Heliogravuren,* 1880.

More, Sir Thomas:

- (1509). *Coronation Ode of Henry VIII* in *Latin Poems of The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, eds. C. H. Miller, L. Bradner, C. A.Lynch, and R. P. Oliver, Volume 3.2. Connecticut: Yale University press, 1984).
- (1516). *Utopia*. Reprint, George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nichols, J. G (ed.):

- (1845). *The Chronicle of Calais in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to 1540*. London: The Camden Society.
- (1852). *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*. Camden Society Old Series: Volume 53. London.
- (1857). Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth. London.

Nicolas, N.G (1827). *Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII 1529-1532*. London: William Pickering.

Rastell, John (c.1510-1520). *The Nature of the Four Elements*, Reprint. London: T.C and E.C Jack.

Roberts, Edward and Parker, Karen (eds.) (1992). *Southampton Probate Inventories 1447-1575*. Southampton: Southampton University Press.

Roper, William (1626). "The Life of Sir Thomas More," in Richard S. Sylvester and Davis P. Harding (ed.) (1962). *Two Early Tudor Lives, The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish and The Life of Sir Thomas More by William Roper*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Schuster Gerald (ed.) (2003), *John Dee: Essential Readings*. Berkley: North Atlantic Books.

Skelton, John (c.1515-1523), *Magnificence*, Paula Mass (ed.) (1980). Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Smith, Sir Thomas (c.1549). *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England* in Elizabeth Lamond (ed.) (1954). A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Ralm of England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sneyd, Charlotte Augusta (c.1500). *A relation, or rather a true account, of the island of England: with sundry particulars of the customs of these people, and of the royal revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the year 1500*. London: The Camden Society, 1857.

Starkey, Sir. David, (ed.) (1998). *The Inventory of King Henry VIII Vol 1. The Transcript*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers.

Taylor, E. G. R., and Mercator (1956), "A Letter Dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee," *Imago Mundi*, 13, 56-68.

The Great Chronicle of London (1540). Thomas, A. H and Thornley ID (eds). London: Printed by G. W. Jones at the Sign of the Dolphin.

The Chronicle of London (1569). London [modern ed., 1809.

Unknown (c.1530-1539), "How the Comen People May be Set to Work an Order of a Commen Welth," in William Cunnningham (1969). *Alien immigrants to England.* London: Cass, 1969.

Vasari, Giorgio (1550). *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*. New York: Random House, 2006.

Secondary Sources:

Abulafia, David (2008). *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Andrews, Kenneth R. (1984). *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire 1480–1630*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anglo, Sydney (1969). *Spectacle Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Anthony Appiah, Kwame (1997). "Cosmopolitan Patriots," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 23, No. 3, Front Lines/Border Posts, 617-639.

Armesto, Felipe Fernández (2006). *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration*. Oxford University Press.

Armitage, David (2000). *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Armstrong, John A. (1982). *Nations Before Nationalism*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Atasoy, Nurhan, Denny, Walter B., Mackie, Louise W., and Tezchan, HÜlya (eds.) (2001). *Ipek: The Crescent and the Rose, Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*. London: Azimuth Editions Limited.

Axton, Richard (ed.) (1979). *Three Rastell Plays.* Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer Ltd.

Barbour, Richmond (2003). *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East 1576-1626*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barron, Caroline M. (2004). *London in the Later Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bedford Series in History and Culture (2017). 2nd edition. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins Macmillan Learning.

Biddle, Martin (1966). 'Nicholas Bellin of Modena: An Italian Artificer at the Courts of Francis I and Henry VIII.' *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, Volume 29, 106-121.

Biedermann, Zoltán, Gerritsen, Anne and Riello, Giorgio (eds.) (2017). *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biggar, H.P. (2016). *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*. Sydney: Wentworth Press.

Bindoff, S. T. (1944). 'Clement Armstrong and his Treatise of the Commonweal.' *The Economic History Review*. Vol a14 Issue 1 64-73.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Distinction; A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard UP.

Bramston, John (2011). *The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston: K.B., of Skreens in the Hundred of Chelmsford 1835*. Charleston: Nabu Press.

Brashear, Ronald, Lewis, Daniel and Gingerich, Owen (ed.) (2001). *Star Struck: One Thousand Years of the Art and Science of Astronomy.* San Marino: The Huntington Library.

Brears, Peter (2011). *All the Kings Cooks: The Tudor Kitchens of King Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace.* London: Souvenir Press

Brigden, Susan (1991), *London and the Reformation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Brotton, Jerry –

(2006). *The Renaissance: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

(2017). *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World*. London: Penguin.

Brown, Jonathan and Elliott, J. H (2004). *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retrio and the Court of Philip IV*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Brown, Jonathan (1986). "Enemies of Flattery: Velazquez' Portraits of Philip IV." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17, no. 1, 137-154.

Brown, Garrett Wallace (2009). *Grounding Cosmopolitanism: From Kant to the Idea of a Cosmopolitan Constitution*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Burkhardt, Jacob (1990). *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. Penguin Classics edition. London: Penguin, first edition 1860.

Burke, Peter (1994). *The Fabrication of Louis XVI*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Calmette, Joseph (2001). *The Golden Age of Burgundy: The Magnificent Dukes and their Courts* London: Phoenix.

Carley, James P. (2004). *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives*. London: The British Library.

Campbell, Gordon (ed.) (2006). *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts*: *Volume I Aalto to Kyoto Pottery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Campbell, Thomas P.:

- (1998). *The English Royal Tapestry Collection 1485–1547*. 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, Courtauld Institute.
- (2002). *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and magnificence*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- (2007). *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court*. London: Paul Mellon Centre for British Art.

Caspari, Fritz (1968). *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England*. New York: Teacher College Press.

Chontiner, Issac (2009). “From Little Englanders to Brexiteers,” *The New Yorker*, www.newyorker.com, November 11th, 2009.

Cosgrove, Dennis (2001). *Apollos Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination.* Maryland: John Hopkins University Press.

Dalton, Heather (2016). *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500–1560*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davies, Hugh W. M. (1911). *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his journey to the Holy Land 1483-4: a Bibliography*. London: J & J Leighton.

Dillon, Janette (2002). *Performance and Spectacle in Halls Chronicle*. London: The Society for Theatre Research.

Dode, Zvezdana (2013). 'On the Issue of silk Weaving in Genoese Kaffa and Textiles from the Belorechenskaia Kurgans,' *The Silk* Road, vol.11 13-123.

Doran, Susan and Richardson, Glenn (eds.) (2005). *Tudor England and its Neighbors*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education UK.

Dursteler, Eric R. (2013). *A Companion to Venetian History 1400-1797*. Leiden: Brill.

Elias, Nobert (1983). *The Court Society*. New York: Pantheon.

Elliott, J. H. (2006). *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830*. London: Yale University Press.

Encyclopedia Britannica (2007). Edition, 32nd ed. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica.

Erdmann, Kurt (1970). *Seven Hundred Years of Oriental Carpe*ts. Berkeley: University of California Press (translated from the German Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppich by May H. Beattie and Hildegard Herzog).

Farmer, Alan B. (2007). "Cosmopolitanism and Foreign Books in Early Modern England," *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 35, 58-65.

Finlay, Robert (1998). "The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History," *Journal of World History*, 9, no. 2, 141-187.

Fleming, John and Honour, Hugh (1977). *Dictionary of the Decorative Arts*. London: Penguin.

Fletcher, Anthony (2004). *Tudor Rebellions*. London: Pearson Longman.

Forest, John (1999). *The History of Morris Dancing 1458-1750*. Cambridge: James Clarke and Co Ltd.

Fusaro, Maria (2015). *The Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Games, Alison (2009), *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion 1560-1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Giles-Watson, Maura (2013). "John Rastell's London Stage: Reconstructing Repertory and Collaborative Practice." *Early Theater*, 16.2, 171–184.

Grafton, Anthony (1992). *New Worlds Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Graves, Michael A. R. (2003). *Henry VIII: A Study in Kingship*. London: Pearson Longman.

Greenblatt, Stephen (1991). *Marvelous Possessions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Greene, Jack P. and Morgan, Philip, D (eds.) (2009). *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Greenfield, Liah (1993). *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity.* Boston: Harvard University Press.

Harkness, Deborah E. (2008). *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hastings, Adrian (1997). *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hayward, Maria:

- (2017). *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*. London: Routledge.

- (2012) with Ward, Phillip (ed.). *The Inventory of Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers.

Helgerson, Richard (1994). *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heaney, Michael and Forrest, John (1991). *Annals of Morris*. Sheffield: Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, University of Sheffield in Association with the Morris Ring.

Hertel, Ralf (2014). *Staging England in the Elizabethan History Play: Performing National Identity. Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Hilfstein, Erna, Czartoryski, Pawel, Grande, Frank D. and Van Helden, Albert (eds.) (1978). *Science and History: Studies in Honour of Edward Rosen*. Ossolinium Orbis.

Hodgkins, Christopher (2002). *Reforming Empire: Protestant Colonialism and Conscience in British Literature*. Columbia: University of Missouri.

Howard, Jean E. (2007), "Introduction," *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 35, 19-23.

Howarth, David (1997). *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance 1485-1649*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Hunt, Alan (1996). *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Hunt-Yungblut, Lara (1996). *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England*. London: Routledge.

Irving, Clive (2016). "The Rise of Hateful Little England," *www.thedailybeast.com*, October 15th, 2016.

Ives, Eric (2005). *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*. London: Wiley.

Jacob, Margaret (2006). *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Jacobs, Jane (1994). *Systems of Survival: A Dialogue on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics*. New York: Vintage.

Jacobson, Karen (ed.) (1994). *The French Renaissance in Prints*. Los Angeles: Grunwald Center UCLA.

Jardine, Lisa (1996). *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Jardine, Lisa and Brotton, Jerry (2000). *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West*. London: Reaktion Books.

Jones, Howard (1998). *Master Tully: Cicero in Tudor England*. Netherlands: De Graaf Publishers.

Jowitt, Claire, and McInnis, David (eds.) (2018). *Travel and Drama in Early Modern England: The Journeying Play*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kamps, Ivo and Singh, Jyotsna G. (eds.) (2001).*Travel Knowledge: European Discoveries in the Early Modern Period*. New York: Palgrave.

Kaufman, Miranda (2017). *Black Tudors: The Untold Story*. London: Oneworld.

Keen, Maurice (2005). *Chivalry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Kemp, Peter (ed.) (1976). *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kerridge, Eric (1985). *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Kleinschmidt, Harald (2004). *Charles V: The world Emperor*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing.

Knecht, Robert J. (2008). *The French Renaissance Court*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Koeman, Cornelius (ed.) (1980). *Land-und Seekarten im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. Münich: Kraus International Publications.

Lemire, Beverly (2018). *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: The Material World Remade c.1500–1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Licence, Amy (2020). *1520: The Field of Cloth of Gold*. London: Amberley Publishing.

Loades, David (1992). *The Tudor Court*. Gwynedd: Headstart History.

Lock, John Goodwin (1854). *Booke of the Lockes*. Boston: James Munroe and Company.

Lockey, Brian (2016). *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth.* Oxford: Taylor and Francis.

Mack, Rosamond (2001). *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art 1300-1600.* Berkley: University of California Press.

Martin, Allen and Davies, Matthew (ed.) (2016). *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton*. London: University of London Press.

Martindale, Joanna (1985). *English Humanism: From Wyatt to Cowley*. London: Croom Helm.

Matar, Nabil:

- (1999). *Turks Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- (2005). Britain and Barbary 1589-1689. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

Mendieta, Eduardo (2009). "From Imperial to Dialogical Cosmopolitanism," *Ethics & Global Politics*, 2:3, 241-258.

McFarlane, Anthony (1994). The British in the Americas 1480–1815. New York: Longman Publishing.

Morison, Samuel Eliot (1971). *The European Discovery of America: Northern Voyages A.D. 500–1600*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mottram, Stuart James (2008). *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature*. Rochester: Woodbridge.

Nauert, Charles G. (2006). *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Necipoğlu, Gülru (1989). "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3.

Norwich, John Julius (2018). *Four Princes: Henry VIII, Francis I, Charles V, Suleiman the Magnificent and the Obsessions that Forged the Modern World*. New York: Grove Press.

Nussbaum, Martha C. (1994), "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," *The Boston Review*, http://bostonreview.net/martha-nussbaum-patriotism-and-cosmopolitanism.

Oldenburg, Scott:

- (2014). *Alien Albion: Literature and Immigration in Early Modern England*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- (2009). "Toward a Multicultural Mid-Tudor England: The Queen's Royal Entry Circa 1553, "The Interlude of Wealth and Health", and the Question of Strangers in the Reign of Mary I." *ELH 76*, no. 1, 99-129.

Osborne, Harold (ed.) (1975). *The Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ostovich, Helen, Silcox, Mary V. and Roebuck, Graham (eds.) (2008). *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Panayi, Panikos (1996). *Germans in Britain Since 1500*. London: Bloomsbury.

Peck, Amelia (ed.) (2013). *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade 1500-1800*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Petegree, Andrew (1987). *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-century London*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pollnitz, Aysha (2015). *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Porter, Roy (ed.) (1991). *The Renaissance in National Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Quinn, Alison M. and Hillier, Susan (ed.) (1979). *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612 vol. I*. New York: Arno Press.

Quinn, David (1974). *England and the Discovery of America 1481-1620*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Ramachandran, Ayesha (2015). *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ramaswamy, Sumathi (2007). 'Conceit of the Globe in Mughal Visual Practice." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49, 751-782.

Rappaport, Lee (1989). *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life Within Sixteenth Century London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richardson, Glenn

- (2020). "The Field of Cloth of Gold," *History Today*, Volume 70, www.historytoday.com.
- (2013). *The Field of Cloth of Gold*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rublack Ulinka (2011). *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in the Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Russell, Jocelyn G.

- (1969). *The Field of Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520*. London: Routledge.
- (1986). *Peacemaking in the Renaissance*. London: Duckworth Ltd.

Scarisbrick, J.J (2011). *Henry VIII*, New Haven Yale University Press.

Sherman, William (1997). *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.

Schlereth, Thomas J. (1977). *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought*. London: The University of Notre Dame Press.

Schuster Gerald (ed.) (2003). *John Dee: Essential Readings*. Berkley: North Atlantic Books.

Shakespeare Studies (2007). Vol. 35.

Sharpe, Kevin (2009). *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Shields, David S. (2013). "John Rastell's The IIII Elements," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol 107, no.3, 297–309.

Sicca, Cinzia M. (2002). "Consumption and Trade of Art between Italy and England in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: The London House of the Bardi and Cavalcanti Company." *Renaissance Studies*, 16, no. 2, 163-201.

Singh, Jyotsna G. (ed.) (2009). *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion.* Chichester: Wiley and Blackwell.

Skovgaard-Smith, Irene (2017). "To be Cosmopolitan you don't have to be rootless or a member of the global elite," *The Conversation*, November 9, 2017, https://theconversation.com/to-be-cosmopolitan-you-dont-have-to-be-rootless-or-a-member-of-the-global-elite-85636 accessed on 12/22/2020

Smiles, Samuel (2006). *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland*. Ontario: Global Heritage Press, [first edition 1868]).

Starkey, Sir. David (1991). *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*. London: Abbeville Press.

String, Tatiana C. (2008). *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII*. London: Routledge.

Strong, Roy:

- (1984) *Art and Power in the Renaissance 1450-1650*. London: Woodbridge.
- (2003). *Gloriana.* London: Pimlico.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay (2012). *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Suleman, Fahmida (ed.) (2007). *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'an and its Creative Expressions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sutton, Anne F. (2005). *The Mercery of London: Trade Goods and People 1130-2578*. London: Ashgate.

Szönyi, György E (2005). "John Dee and Early Modern Occult Philosophy", *Literature Compass*, Vol 1 (December 2005), 1-13

Taylor, E. G. R (1968). *Tudor Geography 1485–1583*. 2nd edition. New York: Octagon Books, Inc.

Thurley, Simon (1993). *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Towns Lydia (2020). "Merchants, Monarchs, and Sixteenth-Century Atlantic Exploration: New Insight into Henry VIII's Planned Voyage of 1521." *Terrae Incognitae*, 2020, 52:2, 214-228.

Trollope, Edward (1883), "Henry VIII's Jewell Book," *Architectural societies of Northampton, York and Lincoln etc, Reports and Papers*, Vol. 17.

Vertovec S. and Cohen, R. (eds.) (2002). *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Viktus, Daniel (2003). *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Walker, Daniel S. (1997). *Flowers Underfoot: Indian Carpets of the Mughal Era*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Warnicke, Retha (2000). *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Tudor England* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weardon, Jennifer (2003). *Oriental Carpets and Their Structure: Highlights from the Victorian and Albert Museum.* London: The Victoria and Albert Museum.

Weir, Alison (2001). *Henry VIII: The King and His Court*. London: Random House.

Williams, Steven J. (2003). *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian text in the Latin Middle Ages*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Williamson, James Alexander (1929). *The Voyages of the Cabot's and the Discovery of North America Under Henry VII and Henry VIII*. London: The Argonaut Press.

Woodward, David (ed.) (2007). *The History of Cartography Vol 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Wubs-Mrozewicz, Justyna (2013). *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Boston: Brill.

Younger-Dickenson, Joan (1968). *The Book of Pearls*. London: Bonanza Books.

Zemon Davies, Natalie (2000). *The Gift in Sixteenth Century France*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.