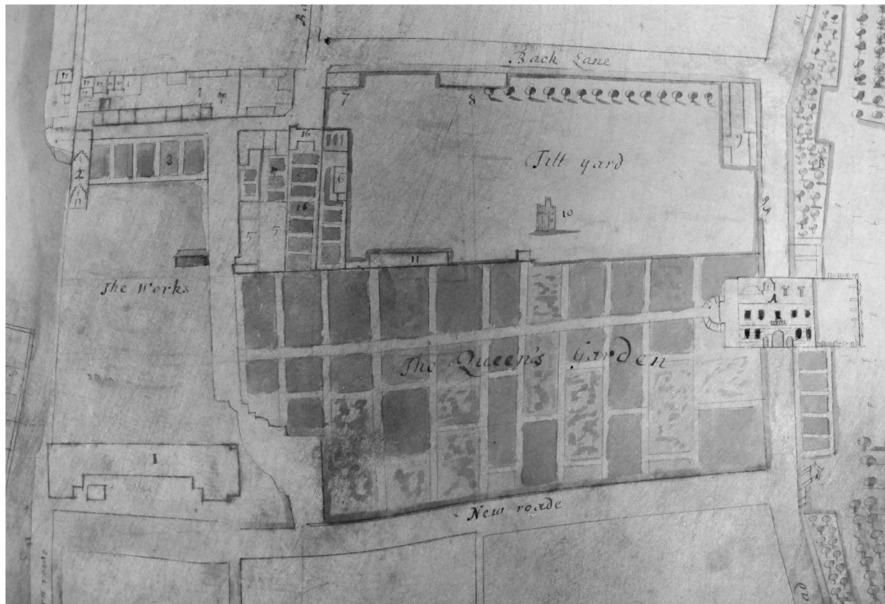
# Introduction

In 1616, Anna of Denmark (1574–1619), queen of Scots and queen consort of England, appointed Inigo Jones (1573–1652), surveyor of the king's works, as the 'accomptaunte' to continue shaping the relationship between the palace and grounds at Greenwich.[1] On the south side of the estate, in place of an old Tudor gateway, a small lodge was to be built as a retreat, where the queen could view both park and river, entertain select guests, and indulge in leisure activities (Figure I.1).[2] The resultant 'module' designed by Jones, envisioned the first truly classical building in England, and once Anna was satisfied with the plan, work began in earnest. Observing the beginnings of this new structure, John Chamberlain (1553–1628) informed Dudley Carleton (1573–1632) that 'the Quene … is building somwhat at Greenwich w[hi]ch must be finished this summer. It is saide to be some curious of devise of Inigo Jones, and will cost above 4000*li*.'[3] The building, however, was not finished by the end of the summer, or even by the close of April 1618 when work was formally stopped. Within a year, Anna was dead, and her 'curious … devise' was not completed until 1638 under the guidance of her daughter-in-law Henrietta Maria (1609–1669).[4] Now known as the Queen's House, it still stands, much altered, in Greenwich and is one of the most celebrated early modern English buildings. Its fame generally rests on it being one of the few remaining examples of Jones's ingenuity, but the building is wholly unusual and extremely significant for having been commissioned, built for, and paid for, by royal women.

A royal female consort in patriarchal early Stuart Scotland and England, Anna's ability to commission and/or fund cultural projects was subject to the largesse of her husband, King James VI and I (1566–1625). In light of her dowry and dynastic prestige, Anna's marriage treaty ensured she was granted a set of jointure possessions (including some royal residences) that yielded her an independent annual income for life.[5] Even so, she did




**I.1** Survey plan of Greenwich Palace, c. 1694–1695.

not have sole possession and/or occupancy of any of 'her' jointure properties. Although she favoured several residences in her jointure above all others – Dunfermline, Somerset House, Greenwich Palace, and Oatlands Manor – these estates routinely welcomed the king with, or without, the queen.[6] Primarily, the jointure was to protect Anna in case of widowhood, and during her life it was to cover her household costs but, as discussed in Chapter 1, it rarely proved sufficient, and all additional expenditure was sanctioned by James and paid out by the exchequer. Indeed, new or restorative building work at any residence was explicitly excluded from Anna's personal income. First outlined in 1604, when her English jointure was settled, it was reiterated in March 1616 when Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634) drew up twelve 'directions and orders' to reduce the queen's debts and increase her income. Coke's second recommendation called for the queen 'to spend but £1,000 a moneth over and above charges of diet and buildinge', which was clarified by a marginal notation in another hand that 'the king beare all the charges of diet, houskeping and of building'.[7] Yet Anna's actions that year – 1616 – show there was more flexibility and variance than titles, designations, and even rulings sometimes suggest, for she did use her privy purse for building work at Oatlands and Greenwich with payments being made for lengthy brick walls, several monumental gateways, a silkworm house, new lodgings, and the beginnings of the hunting lodge.[8]

The complex relationship between consort and crown finance, and the connective issues of patronage and authority, are a central focus of the following chapters, as this book seeks to arrive at a better understanding of the agency and activities, the cares and concerns, and the motivations of Anna of Denmark. She was, as her name suggests, a Danish princess who, following marriage, became queen of Scotland, and then also queen consort of England. A remarkable woman, her court produced a wide array of important expressive media including art, architecture, garden design, music, and theatre, which influenced the tastes and activities of her connoisseurial son Henry (1594–1612), and her daughter Elizabeth (1596–1662), and helped to reinvigorate and reorientate England's growing dialogue with European forms, styles, and traditions. Throughout it all, Anna helped facilitate James's itinerant mode of kingship, assisted his quest to be seen as both universal and pacific, and championed her natal identity for political leverage. Thus, during the protracted Habsburg-Stuart marriage negotiations, for example, Anna made visual and verbal references to her Oldenburg lineage to remind court attendees that an alliance with Great Britain would facilitate connections with her prestigious kinship network that extended from Denmark-Norway across Brandenburg, Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Electoral Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Schleswig-Holstein.

## Mobility and translation

Anna of Denmark's life, as with many of her royal female contemporaries, was one of mobility. This necessitated her negotiation of multiple ethnic, national, social, and religious customs, traditions, and beliefs. In the examination of Anna's agency at the multiple Stuart courts then, this book is broadly concerned with processes and patterns of transcultural exchange, and with the uses and meanings of identifying labels. It confirms that Anna's experiences at the Danish-Norwegian court – tightly connected to much of the German lands – were a key influence on the cultural forms, traditions, and aesthetics that she chose to support in Scotland and England. Yet as the following chapters discuss, Anna did not replicate or transplant the spaces, structures, and fashions of her natal kingdom. Rather, they were adapted and modified as she encountered the practices, expectations, and resources (material and human) of her new marital environs, thereby affirming Peter Burke's theory of cultural translation.[9] Beyond her personal experience, Anna's knowledge of Oldenburg modes and fashions, and her keen sense of natal pride and identity, was reinforced through the high level of contact that she maintained with her siblings and members of her wider familial network through the exchange of letters and gifts, through personal visits and the movement of formal and informal diplomatic envoys.

Contributing to the growing number of studies focused on the role played by northern European, Hanseatic, and Baltic cultural traditions on the development of the early modern British milieu, this book further helps to balance the earlier predominance of attention on Italian modes and precepts.[10] It confirms the existence of a broadly European pre-modern culture largely facilitated by travel and kinship, where artefacts, trends, and traditions spilled across regional divisions, confessional conflicts, and general intolerance. Increasingly gathering acceptance – and fruitfully employed by scholars of architecture, theatre, and festivals – this perspective is yet to become widespread in visual and material histories of the early modern Stuart courts.[11]

The following chapters build on theorisations of the paradigmatic ‘queen’s court’ in early Stuart England, highlighting the fluidity and paradox that was regularly at play in royal women’s negotiation of position and influence.[12] Early modern identities are shown to be more multivalent, fluid, and porous than we often give credit, bearing out Ulinka Rublack’s observation that ‘people across early modern society were not absorbed in large collective cultures dictating uniformity such as “peasants”, “artisans”, or “Protestants”.’[13] Such labels were also inherently subjective, so that notions of what Spanish fashion or Lutheranism looked like varied from court to court and region to region but also from individual to individual. Nevertheless, modern scholars have been quick to assign labels to early modern identities – whether that be religious, national, or dynastic – and they are too often applied in oppositional binaries. Thus, an early modern person was either Catholic or Protestant, Spanish or English, Medici or Habsburg. The tendency to binarise, rather than capture the labile, palimpsestic, and multiple nature of early modern identities has been articulated by Bernard Capp and Barbara Harris, who isolate a similar tendency in scholarship on early modern elite and common English women, who are often characterised as either meekly accepting, or dangerously subverting, the patriarchal status quo.[14]

## Anna through history

Anna, like many queens consort before and after her, has suffered a traditionally negative, trivialising historiography that persisted well into the late twentieth century.[15] By this time, however, building on the work of feminist scholars, some historians were also seeking a broader reassessment of early modern women. Central to their efforts has been a redefinition of what constituted the political, moving away from the public/private binary in order to develop an understanding of how women could achieve political value through cultural means and social mores.[16] In the case of Anna of Denmark, literary scholars have been particularly significant to the growing appreciation of the queen as a cultural agent who supported and

patronised a range of expressive media that often ran counter to the interests of King James. First articulated by Leeds Barroll and continued in the work of James Knowles, Clare McManus, and Sophie Tomlinson, among others, Anna's masquing activities have been recognised as a central component of early Stuart court culture, and have provided a fertile platform for a reconsideration of her wider political import.[17] As is now well known, the masque was an important occasion in the court calendar, and beyond its cultural significance, it had far-reaching political, diplomatic, and social ramifications.[18] For her part, Anna successfully marshalled the art form to gather together a highly select, influential courtly audience; she strictly guarded invitations, which turned them into a sign of monarchical favour, and carefully selected jewellery and apparel to visualise her support of specific policies and alliances. Moreover, contemporaries acknowledged her determinative guidance of the art form. Ben Jonson (1572–1637) unequivocally credited Anna with the conceit of *The Masque of Blackness*, alleging that it was 'her Majesty's will' to have the masquers presented as 'blackamores at first'.[19] Later, when the paired masque – *The Masque of Beauty* – was danced by the queen and her ladies in 1608, onlookers explicitly ascribed the occasion to Anna and the Venetian ambassador identified her as the 'authoress of the whole'.[20] By controlling or influencing the content and performance site, scholars have shown that Anna challenged concepts of authorship, authority, and female beauty; complicated notions and boundaries of race, gender, and imperialism; staged female marital power; allegorised James, and his monarchy, as a harmonising yet omnipotent force; and even, as McManus states, 'interrogated the very notion of the masque as *court* masque'.[21] Beyond the costly, visionary spectacle of the masque, however, Anna gave ample time, consideration, and money to a host of other art forms including architecture, garden design, painting, music, and jewellery, which have been comparatively overlooked. It is the mode and manner of Anna's engagement with these visual and material goods that forms the heart of this book which, read in conjunction with the extensive socio-political and literary scholarship on early Stuart theatre, provides a more comprehensive understanding of the personal iconography, aims, interests, and alliances of the Stuart consort.

## Patronage and agency

A significant difficulty faced by scholars seeking to argue for the cultural agency of early modern women is the lack of documentary evidence surrounding their purchase, commission, and acquisition of visual, textual, and material goods. Among the English formal structures that favoured men and marginalised or excluded women, one of the most detrimental was the common law doctrine of coverture, which ruled that a married woman was an adjunct of her husband, not her own individual person in

any economic, social, or legal sense.[22] In practice though, as Harris and Amy Erickson have persuasively demonstrated, this was not a blanket ruling, and it was not enforced on an everyday basis. On the one hand, it was to the benefit of many men to ensure their wives had property rights or wills, and to allow them to manage the household finances and staff. On the other, economic power remained with the husband, who not only fared better in the jointure settlement but was able to sanction (or revoke) his wife's economic independence and control any assets and reserves.[23] It was slightly different for Anna, who, as a royal woman, was not subject to coverture and had her own independent jointure income.[24] But, as mentioned, this income was solely intended for running her establishment and it rarely proved sufficient even for that.[25] Thus, numerous surviving warrants under privy seal clearly show that James routinely ordered large supplementary sums for Anna's use, although it is unclear where this money went. Formally, James was also expected to cover all other costs relating to Anna's household as well as those of her wardrobe, stables, and residences.[26] Furthermore, under this system Anna's wish for new or restorative work to be carried out on her buildings or gardens, or her requests for pieces of furniture, soft furnishings, decorative objects or items of apparel were to be financed by James personally, or sanctioned by him and paid through the exchequer, leaving the queen routinely absent from court records. Thus, if we follow the traditional theory of a patron being 'the person or group who ordered and subsequently paid for the work', then we will naturally preclude Anna of Denmark and most early modern women.[27]

Since the early 2000s, scholars have increasingly recognised that women 'often existed outside the bounds of financial accountability or legal strictures', subsequently advancing patronage studies by questioning the definition, process, and very constituents of patronage. In particular, the pioneering work of Roger Crum on secular female Renaissance patrons persuasively expanded earlier concepts of patronage to include those people 'in charge of its preservation, daily use, and perhaps its display'.[28] For, as Crum maintains, it was the needs, wants, activities, and tastes of these people, who not only frequently occasioned the initial purchase or commission but who had a decisive impact on the materials and aesthetic.[29] Significantly, 'these people' were often women. In turn, Sheryl Reiss and David Wilkins have robustly supported this argument and, coining the term 'conjugal patronage', have asserted that patronage was often a joint endeavour, and that the joining was most commonly between husband and wife.[30] Thus, as Wilkins elaborates, 'a more comprehensive approach to patronage' must be followed – one that allows for the discussion of undocumented works and includes 'those who requested and/or needed the work, as well as those who were intended to use it'.[31] Turning from Italy to England, this patronage model has been fruitfully applied to Anna's daughter-in-law, and successor, Henrietta Maria, who

was rarely in the position of directly settling the bills of artisans and tradesmen. Nevertheless, Caroline Hibbard and Erin Griffey have persuasively demonstrated the importance of her 'directorial responsibility', for her approval was required for the building and garden work completed at her palaces, the layout and decoration of her rooms, and the style of her clothing, so that it was her interests, ideas, and tastes that coloured the choice of craftsperson and the choice and look of the finished product.[32] This is similarly true of Anna of Denmark, who was actively involved in shaping her own visual persona; commissioning articles of jewellery and pieces of apparel that she owned and wore; choosing the nature and type of gifts to be given to servants, familial members, and foreign elites; ordering building and refurbishment work for the properties she principally inhabited; and selecting the visual and material goods that furnished those properties. These cultural endeavours, unlike the court masque, rarely solicited contemporary commentary about agency or direction but they did hold intrinsic political value. This was outlined by Harris in a seminal essay of 1990, which she subsequently developed in numerous publications, and which has been employed by cultural and political historians as a framework for the reconceptualisation of female political power in early modern England.[33] Consequently, the concept of conjugal patronage is used throughout this study to provide a richer understanding of the breadth of Anna's interests and some of the meanings generated by her actions, associations, and possessions. This approach moves beyond the socio-cultural restrictions placed on Anna as a woman, and the way in which court finances were structured and controlled in the early Stuart period. In doing so, a more comprehensive evaluation of Anna's role and significance as a cultural patron is provided, which is not hampered by narrow models, or obscured by the bureaucratic mechanics of courtly financial control and distribution.

## Visual display

A paucity of evidence likewise affects our knowledge of the audience and reception of Anna's visual display. The role of inference is often therefore inevitable, but surviving inventories and accounts, coupled with contemporaneous opinions do offer valuable insights into the virtues, aims, and allegiances that Anna endeavoured or managed to project. As queen consort, she was a visual symbol of the Stuart monarchy and her appearance and comportment were repeatedly held to political account.[34] Having been privy to the 1608 performance of the *Masque of Beauty*, for example, the Venetian ambassador stated that 'what beggared all else, and possibly exceeded the public expectation was the wealth of pearls and jewels that adorned the Queen and her ladies, so abundant and splendid that in everybody's opinion *no other court* could have displayed such riches.'[35] If Anna's

physical presence was scrutinised at the Stuart court, it was similarly analysed throughout the European courtly community through epistolary networks and the ritual exchange of portraits. Beyond monarchical power and prestige, however, recent scholarship has shown how early modern royal women could – and did – make conscious sartorial decisions to legitimise their position, demonstrate national and dynastic belonging, and illustrate political intentions and alliances.[36] This has been observed of Élisabeth of Valois (1545–1568), Élisabeth of Bourbon (1602–1644), and Maria de Médici (1575–1642), for instance, and the same is true of Anna of Denmark who used bodily display in the form of familial badges, miniatures, and specific colours and styles of clothing, to visualise her verbal concerns, ensuring that her onlookers were made well aware of her dignified lineage, influential kinship networks, Spanish favour, and of her wish for Prince Henry to marry the Infanta Ana María (1601–1666).

Beyond her physical body, Anna's visual display extended to her properties of primary occupancy in England: Greenwich Palace, Oatlands Manor, and Somerset House. These residences regularly hosted local and international elites, both singularly by the queen and jointly by the monarchical couple, although James's frequent absences from London coupled with their separate calendars meant that Anna probably presided over more state audiences than most consorts. Yet visitors to Anna's court rarely, if ever, record their impressions of the interiors. Rather, the increasing importance of precedence and courtesy fostered an almost obsessive focus on these matters to the neglect of just about everything else. Rather than relaying details of fashion or setting at any one reception or event, ambassadorial dispatches are generally filled with information concerning whether it was 'for publicke, or for private', the route that was taken, the type of seating provided, their position in the room relative to others, and their proximity to the royal person.[37] The squabbles over precedence between the Spanish and French ambassadors in this period are legendary, and it is no coincidence that James was the first English monarch to create a formal post for strictly regulating issues of status and access – a master of ceremonies – held by Sir Lewis Lewknor (*c.*1560–1627) from 1605 and assisted by Sir John Finet (1570/71–1641) who took over from Lewknor on his death in the Caroline period.[38] These concerns are palpably apparent in the lengthy description by Horatio Busino of the 'audience of the queen' enjoyed by his master – the Venetian ambassador extraordinary, Pietro Contarini – at Oatlands in September 1618. Contarini must have been provided with an account of the expected proceedings, for Busino notes that 'it would have been exceedingly grand and pompous by the instructions given, but on the appointed day a provoking rain fell incessantly.' Nevertheless, the occasion was still considered 'most stately and grave' due to the identity, order, and seating arrangements of the guests. Modes of entry and the royal touch also drew Busino's attention,

who was pleased to report that Contarini 'was led by the Lord Chamberlain into the presence chamber and was graciously received by her Majesty, who gave him her hand.' After the audience, 'they led his Excellency [Contarini] to dinner', and of the dinner itself, Busino happily recalls that 'the table was distributed beautifully and profusely.'[39] However, on the specifics of the foodstuffs, of Anna's formal attire, or the decoration of the room, he is regrettably quiet, and the same is true of earlier ambassadors. Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, who, having 'passed into the Queen's [Anna] apartments', merely sighed that 'it would be tedious to describe her splendour', while the chief concern of Francesco Contarini and Marcantonio Correr was that they be 'most courteously received' – as an indication of the queen's favour for Venice – and are pleased to report that Anna 'caused us to be seated, and engaged us in conversation for some time'.[40]

Despite the dearth of eyewitness descriptions, an analysis of the extant inventories, accounts, and objects make it clear that the placement of functional and decorative goods at Anna's palaces – as with other Tudor and Stuart residences – was determined by the guiding principles of suitability, audience, and precedence.[41] These documents further demonstrate that, in the same manner as her bodily attire, the queen's household goods operated as 'complex visual codes' signifying her social standing and financial position – and therefore that of the Stuart kingdom – together with her interests and aesthetics, piety, factional leanings, and dynastic pedigree.[42] The hierarchy of the queen's rooms was made manifest in a sliding scale of the fabric types and dyestuffs used for textiles and upholstery, and in the manner and quantity of furniture and decorative objects.[43] Thus, the state apartments and other important reception rooms such as the Great Gallery at Somerset House were equipped with suites of furniture in crimson velvet, complete with a canopy of state and a large quantity of portraits of local and foreign elites that showcased the power and breadth of the Stuart network. Comparatively lesser rooms, such as the library at Oatlands, sported furniture upholstered in silver camlet with green flowers and special tables made to hold and display books. Rooms with restricted access, such as the cabinet or closet, contained more personalised, intimate objects such as pieces of porcelain, agate, and coral, as well as curios and a select number of books. The cabinet at Oatlands even touchingly contained a portrait of Anna's deceased brother Hans, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein (1583–1602). In the relatively private rooms of her residences, Anna placed goods that invited close inspection, while in the chambers and galleries that accommodated formal audiences, and at court more generally, she took care to visualise her factional and familial connections, her political loyalties and opinions, and her tastes and connections. This was communicated through the iconography of the jewels and the colour of the clothes that she chose to wear; in the portraits that she hung; in the unusual and imported objects and pieces of furniture that

she displayed; in the heraldry that branded her palaces (her cipher, motto, and the Danish-Norwegian arms); and in the visual persona she crafted.[44]

## Terminology and sources

A central intention of this study has been to move beyond the Anglo-centric approach traditionally applied to studies of Anna of Denmark. Remarkably, despite Anna's geographical and cultural mobility, she is consistently referred to as queen consort of England, and her time at the Stuart court in England is almost the sole focus of research.[45] This approach has obfuscated our understanding of how Anna's Oldenburg birthright and European connections shaped her role and value at court and impacted Stuart foreign policy, and how her transnational experiences underpinned her aims, activities, networks, and behaviour. Concerted effort has therefore been made to include Anna's time as queen consort in both Scotland and England, and to consider the influential role that her childhood experiences in Denmark-Norway had on her cultural endeavours and conception of status. This book draws on a wealth of untapped archival material primarily held in the collections of the National Archives (London) and the National Records of Scotland (Edinburgh) but including those from other repositories in Austria, Denmark, the United Kingdom, and Sweden. These manuscripts – household lists, accounts, warrants, bills, inventories, and letters – have been supplemented by a range of printed primary materials that have not heretofore featured in studies of Anna of Denmark and are contextualised within the secondary source literature relating to the two Stuart courts. However, it does not claim to be an exhaustive study of Anna of Denmark, and it is hoped that the new material uncovered here will encourage future cross-cultural research that looks to encompass additional sources still waiting to be found in other European repositories.

## Chapter structure

This book is a sustained examination of the role, activities, and significance of Anna of Denmark, as Stuart queen consort in Scotland and England. Anna is, therefore, the primary focus while other important historical figures including King James, the royal children, and powerful male courtiers – such as Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628), Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (1540–1614), Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612), and Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset (*c.*1587–1645) – are not subject to detailed analysis but feature only when they serve to elucidate the actions or agency of the queen.[46] On the one hand, such parameters are dictated by the practical matter of space but, on the other, they intentionally recognise that these

figures have all received individual, focused studies that can, and should, be read in conjunction with this book if the aim is for a comprehensive understanding of the Stuart courts.

In approaching the Stuart courts through the lens of the queen consort, this study is underpinned by three key themes: translating cultures; female agency and clientage; and the role of kinship networks and genealogical identity for early modern royal women. Taking a thematic approach, it follows a spatial trajectory beginning with Anna's exterior spaces, before moving to the interior furnishings of her palaces, the material adornment of the royal body, an examination of Anna's visual persona, and finishing with a discussion of Anna's performance of extraordinary rituals that follow her life cycle. While this introduction has presented the key methodological pathways used throughout this book, the following chapter builds on this foundation by examining the role of the queen consort, contextualising Anna's place and value within the wider socio-political environment of the Stuart courts in Scotland and England, and introducing the reader to Anna's consanguineous and affinal kingship networks that were valued by both Stuart king and queen consort, and serviced through letters, gifts, and travelling personnel.

Chapter 2 examines the ways in which Anna conceived of, and transformed, her court spaces in Scotland and England. It uncovers the significance of setting – both immediate and further afield – to Anna's conception of a palace, discusses her strong sense of possession, and traces notable consistencies in taste and style across her projects. The importance of Anna's Danish upbringing is approached as a source for her knowledge of, and interest in, innovative gardens and buildings while a detailed examination of Anna's jointure, income, and modes of mobility furthers our understanding of the financial, geographic, and hierarchic structures that made up the Stuart court.

In Chapter 3, the male-dominated tradition of collecting and display at the Stuart court, and the use of the Italianate as the standard for cultural sophistication, is complicated through the examination of Anna's preference for Dutch and Flemish artworks that were concurrently favoured at the Oldenburg court. Our knowledge of cultural transfer operating between the courts of the Oldenburg siblings is extended through a consideration of their parallel tastes, interests, and patronage, which is particularly noticeable in the realms of painting and music. Importantly, the discussion of Anna as a figure of exchange is approached through Burke's framework of 'cultural translation', acknowledging that modes, traditions, and fashions were not transferred wholesale between kingdoms but were dynamically reshaped in line with the trends, materials, and resources already in practice at the destination.[47] The chapter further uncovers Anna's role as a representative of the monarchy and her use of space, access, and visual and material goods to strategically showcase amity and consanguinity.

Situated across the sartorial landscape of Denmark-Norway, Scotland, and England, Chapter 4 draws on textual and pictorial evidence to critically evaluate the ability of garments and jewellery to make statements of identity, allegiance, and belonging. The discussion extends beyond the body of the queen to consider the apparel of her householders – many of whom were issued with garments in distinct, denotative colours, fabrics, and styles – and the place that clothing and jewels held for Anna in the highly politicised world of gift-exchange. This chapter presents new evidence concerning the Stuart consort's relationship to the almost mythic sartorial legacy of her predecessor, Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603), and charts the political significance of Anna's apparel at key junctures including her international journeys from Denmark-Norway to Scotland in 1590 and from Scotland to England in 1603. It specifically extends our understanding of the type and frequency of Anna's jewellery purchase and argues that she continued Danish traditions in the strategic use of bodily display to visualise her dynastic identity and support her political aspirations.

Chapter 5 examines easel and miniature portraits of Anna produced in Scotland and England, to track the queen's increasing control over her own image in the development of a highly individualised iconography that formed around familial pride, court networks, and personal interests. It uncovers Anna's patronage of European artists – notably Isaac Oliver (1565–1617), Marcus Gheeraerts (1561–1636), and Paul van Somer (1577–1621) – to secure a cosmopolitan mode of representation that radically contrasted with the artists and styles supported by James and his court, and those favoured by Queen Elizabeth. The chapter argues that in portraiture, as in architecture and garden projects, Anna's outward-facing stance helped to establish a new direction for royal patronage, aligning England with its European counterparts and setting an important precedent for Prince Henry, who was quick to patronise the same artists as his mother and to adopt a comparative manner of presentation. Anchored within the domestic and international socio-political context, this chapter unpacks the intention and significance of format, iconography, and display in Anna's portraits, and it increases our general understanding of the ability of portraiture to connect with wider cultural, dynastic, and diplomatic issues.

The final chapter focuses on the extraordinary rituals that Anna of Denmark underwent in Scotland and England: birth, baptism, churching, and the marriage of her only daughter who survived to adulthood, Elizabeth. It concludes with her final performance for the Stuart monarchy with the magnificent state funeral that was mounted in honour of her death in March 1619. Throughout, the high diplomatic, dynastic, and socio-cultural importance of the figure of the queen consort to the Stuart monarchy is uncovered. While there is a substantive body of literature on death, mourning, and burial rites and practices in early modern England, those

staged for Anna of Denmark have not been subject to sustained discussion. Much of the material on the queen's funeral is therefore presented here for the first time, with close attention to the material goods provided for Anna's mourning, the form and nature of the procession, and the socio-political hierarchy and cultural identity of her household as seen through the funerary accounts. The event is importantly contextualised within the international political climate of 1619 – when Europe teetered on the brink of the Thirty Years' War – and argues that King James marshalled the occasion as a diplomatic strategy intended to secure a Stuart–Habsburg marriage that would, in turn, secure European peace. This chapter highlights Anna's role as a figure of negotiation and mediation which is, perhaps, most significantly demonstrated by the fact that Kings James VI and I and Christian IV of Denmark-Norway (1577–1648) acknowledged her death as having removed the familial element between their dynasties and the resultant need for a formal agreement. This was the first alliance signed between the Houses of Oldenburg and Stuart since James had become the head of a composite monarchy in 1603.

By exploring the impact that Anna's Danish experiences and connections had on her later patronage and collecting, this book challenges us to rethink the influence that the Stuart queen consort had – and the Baltic had – on the formation of early modern culture in Scotland and England. While Anna is the prime focus, the analyses help more generally to extend our knowledge of the myriad ways in which early modern royal women used visual and material culture to communicate political aims, support, and allegiances together with their sense of factional, dynastic, or religious belonging. This book does not intend to have the final word on Anna of Denmark but to analyse her prevailing historiography and ensure that far from being 'one of the least attractive courts in history', the early Stuart courts are seen as characterised by a unique and compelling diversity of styles, policies, values, and factions.[48]

## Notes

1 TNA, E351/3389; TNA, AO1/2487/356.
2 TNA, E351/3250; TNA, E351/3251; TNA, SC6/JASI/1653; H. Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, 6 vols (1485–1660) (London, 1982), vol. 4, 113–114.
3 N. E. McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2 vols (Philadelphia, 1939), 1: 83, no. 268 (21 June 1617). Anna spent £2,400 on the building before her death, at which point only the foundations and a couple of layers of brick had been completed. Henrietta Maria was to spend a further £7,600 on the building and an additional £500 on the gardens. Overall, this was not a significant amount, and comparisons can be drawn with Jones's Banqueting House at Whitehall, which cost the Crown £15,000. See Colvin, *King's Works*, 114–115; S. Thurley, *Somerset House: The Palace of England's Queens, 1551–1692* (London, 2009), 31.
4 Colvin, *King's Works*, 119–122. The very last account for the Queen's House is 1639/40, but the majority of the building work was completed by 1638, and interior decoration began as early as 1633.

5 A major difference was the common law principle of coverture, which did not apply to royal women. Receiving an income was not restricted to royal women, and many elite and middling women were allocated annual 'pin money' to manage the household: B. Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003), ch. 2, esp. 29–30; A. Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London, 1993), 24–26; B. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford, 2002), 17–26.

6 Somerset House was the major exception to this pattern, as discussed in Chapter 2.

7 TNA, SP14/86 fols 173r–v (24 March 1616); TNA, SP14/86, fols 175r–v (March 1616), here fol. 175r. See also J. Cramsie, *Kingship and Crown Finance under James VI and I, 1603–1625* (London, 2002), 143.

8 TNA, SC6/JASI/1653; TNA, AO1/2485/344, fol. 1r.

9 P. Burke, 'Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures', in M. North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2009), 69–77, esp. 69–71. See also B. Roeck, 'Introduction' in H. Roodenburg (ed.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe: Forging European Identities, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, 2007), vol. 4, 1–29: 2–5.

10 See, in particular, the essays of R. Malcolm Smuts ('Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I') and Pauline Croft ('Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court') in L. L. Peck (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991); L. L. Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption* (London, 1993); R. M. Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1987).

11 T. D. Kaufmann has been particularly influential in calling attention to the multidirectional cultural exchange constantly at work across the interconnected European courts. Other scholars who have been instrumental to my thinking about cross-cultural paradigms include Mara Wade, Krista De Jonge, Konrad Ottenheym, and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly. Specific mention must also be made of two collections of essays: *Reframing the Danish Renaissance: Problems and Prospects in a European Perspective* (Copenhagen, 2011) and *Queens Consort: Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500–1800* (London, 2017), which focus on exchange processes underpinning case studies of sculpture, theatre, architecture, interior furnishings, and the pictorial arts in Europe, while the latter uncovers the central role played by female consorts as agents and facilitators of transfer. Publication details are provided in the following chapters and bibliography.

12 For Jacobean and Caroline England, this has been explored most extensively by scholars of literature and theatre and considered discussions are found in, for example, L. Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia, 2001), esp. chs 1 and 3; C. McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590–1619)* (Manchester, 2002); C. McManus, 'Introduction: The Queen's Court', 1–17: 1–12 and J. Knowles, '"To Enlight the Darksome Night, Pale Cinthia Doth Arise": Anna of Denmark, Elizabeth I and the Images of Royalty', 21–48: 21–24, 30–42, both in C. McManus (ed.), *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens* (Basingstoke, 2003); S. Tomlinson, *Women on Stage in Stuart Drama* (Cambridge, 2005); K. Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge, 2006); E. Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Aldershot, 2008); E. Griffey, *On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence* (New Haven, 2015). For later Stuart and Hanoverian England, see C. Campbell-Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Britain, 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester, 2002).

13 U. Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010), 11.

14 B. Capp, 'Separate Domains? Women and Authority in Early Modern England', in P. Griffiths et al. (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*

(Basingstoke and London, 1996), 117–145, esp. 125; Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, 31–36; Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, 14–15.

15 For Maurice Ashley, she was 'a dumb blonde', *House of Stuart: Its Rise and Fall* (London, 1980), 116; Michael Lynch labels her 'a largely anonymous figure' in *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991), 233; and, as late as 1997, Timothy Wilks characterised her patronage as being influenced by the fact that she was 'subject to extreme mood swings, and though given to gaiety and frivolity, could lapse into a depressed state in which brooding and rage alternated' in his 'Art Collecting at the English Court from the Death of Henry, Prince of Wales to the Death of Anne of Denmark (November 1612–March 1619)', *Journal of the History of Collections* 9 (1997), 31–48: 42.

16 For England, the work of Barbara Harris is foundational. See her 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England', *The Historical Journal* 33 (1990), 259–281. Later scholarship that has driven forward Harris's findings include O. Hufton, 'Reflections of the Role of Women', *The Court Historian* 5 (2000), 1–13; C. Hibbard, 'The Role of a Queen Consort: The Household and Court of Henrietta Maria, 1625–1642', in R. Asch and A. Birke (eds), *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility* (Oxford, 1991), 393–414; E. Griffey, 'Introduction', in Erin Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria* (Aldershot, 2008), 1–11; R. M. Smuts and M. J. Gough, 'Queens and the International Transmission of Political Culture', *The Court Historian* 10 (2005), 1–13.

17 See those publications listed in n. 12.

18 Beyond those texts already cited by Barroll, Knowles, McManus, and Tomlinson, others that specifically focus on Anna's theatrical activities include (alphabetically): H. Aasand, '"To Blanch an Ethiop and Revive a Corse": Queen Anne and *The Masque of Blackness*', *Studies in English Literature* 32 (1992), 271–285; B. Andrea, 'Black Skin, The Queen's Masques: Africanist Ambivalence and Feminine Author(ity) in the *Masques of Blackness and Beauty*', *English Literary Renaissance* 29 (1999), 246–281; L. Barroll, 'Inventing the Stuart Masque', in D. Bevington and P. Holbrook (eds), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1998), 121–143; M. Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge and New York, 2008); B. K. Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, MA, 1993); C. McManus, 'When is a Woman Not a Woman? Or, Jacobean Fantasies of Female Performance (1606–1611)', *Modern Philology* 105 (2008), 437–474; K. L. Middaugh, '"The Golden Tree": The Court Masques of Queen Anna', Unpub. PhD diss. (Case Western Reserve University, 1994); B. Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume and Music* (New York, 2006); K. Schwarz, 'Amazon Reflections in the Jacobean Queen's Masque', *Studies in English Literature* 35 (1995), 293–319.

19 M. Wynne-Davies, 'The Queen's Masque: Renaissance Women and the Seventeenth-Century Court Masque', in S. P. Cerasano and M. Wynne-Davies (eds), *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private in the English Renaissance* (Hemel Hempstead, 1992), 79–104; McManus, *Renaissance Stage*, 4.

20 *CSPV*, vol. 11, no. 154: 24 January 1608.

21 C. McManus, 'Memorialising Anna of Denmark's Court: *Cupid's Banishment* at Greenwich Palace', in C. McManus (ed.), *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens* (Basingstoke, 2003), 81–99: 82–87; quote from 83.

22 Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, 18, 61–62; Erickson, *Women and Property*, 99–101, 104–106, 146–151.

23 Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, 17–19; Erickson, *Women and Property*, 24–28, 119–122, 224–229. See also Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, 71–72, 78–80; H. Wunder, *He Is the Sun, She Is the Moon*, trans. T. Dunlop (Cambridge, MA and London, 1998), ch. 4.

24 It is beyond the scope of this study, but it should be pointed out that while ordinary women were always subject to coverture, many were able to broker marriage settlements that shielded them from 'the more incapacitating aspects', see Erickson, *Women and Property*, 102–113, 224–227, quote from 225.

25 T. Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot … Scottish–Danish Relations c.1450–1707*, 2 vols (Odense, 1988), 1: 272, 274–278; A. Juhala, 'The Household and Court of King James VI', Unpub. PhD diss. (The University of Edinburgh, 2000), 63–64, 172.
26 TNA, SP14/86, fol. 175r; E. Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography and Manners in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I … etc.*, 3 vols (London, 1791), 3: 207.
27 D. G. Wilkins, 'Introduction', in S. E. Reiss and D. G. Wilkins (eds), *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy* (Kirksville, 2001), 1–17: 1.
28 R. J. Crum, 'Controlling Women or Women Controlled? Suggestions for Gender Roles and Visual Culture in the Italian Renaissance Palace', in S. E. Reiss and D. G. Wilkins (eds), *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy* (Kirksville, 2001), 37–51: 38.
29 Crum, 'Controlling Women', 37–38, 41–43; Wilkins, 'Introduction', 1, 6, 12–13.
30 This observation is directed at secular Italian Renaissance women generally, using the model of 'conjugal patronage' to 'encourage scholars to move yet further 'beyond Isabella' in their assessment of women's patronage of art and architecture'. See 'Prologue', in their edited collection *Beyond Isabella*, xv–xvii.
31 Wilkins, 'Introduction', 12.
32 C. Hibbard, '"By Our Direction and For Our Use": The Queen's Patronage of Artists and Artisans seen through her Household Accounts', in E. Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Aldershot, 2008), 115–139; Griffey, *On Display*, 14–21, 118–132; quote from 18.
33 Harris, 'Women and Politics'; 'The View from my Lady's Chamber', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60 (1999), 215–247; 'Aristocratic Women and the State', in C. Carlton, R. L. Woods, M. L. Robertson, and J. S. Block (eds), *State, Sovereigns, and Society in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of A. J. Slavin* (Stroud, 1998), 3–24; *English Aristocratic Women*. See also those essays in J. Daybell (ed.), *Women and Politics* (Aldershot, 2004) and particularly Daybell's 'Introduction', 1–21; those publications cited in n. 16, and A. Morton and H. Watanabe-O'Kelly (eds), *Queens Consort: Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500–1800* (London and New York, 2017).
34 R. M. Smuts, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty', in R. M. Smuts (ed.), *The Stuart Court and Europe* (Cambridge, 1996), 86–112: 90–94, 107.
35 *CSPV*, vol. 11, 86, no. 154 (emphasis mine).
36 E. Andersson, 'Foreign Seductions', in T. E. Mathiassen et al. (eds), *Fashionable Encounters: Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress in the Early Modern Nordic World* (Oxford, 2014), 15–31; L. O. Santaliestra, 'Isabel of Borbón's Sartorial Politics', in A. J. Cruz and M. G. Stampino (eds), *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2013), 225–243; S. Édouard, 'The Hispanicization of Elisabeth de Valois', in J. L. Colomer and A. Descalzo (eds), *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 2014), 237–266: 239–241; I. Paresys, 'The Dressed Body: The Moulding of Identities in Sixteenth-Century France', in H. Roodenburg (ed.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe: Forging European Identities, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, 2007), vol. 4, 227–258.
37 J. Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis: som choice observations of Sr. John Finett knight, and master of the ceremonies to the two last Kings … etc.* (London, 1656), 12, 13, 19–20, 200; here 12. The terms 'public' and 'private' referred to whether the event was to be seen by others at court. See also, Griffey, *On Display*, 21–23.
38 J. Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400–1625* (Cambridge, 2010), 80–81. This was a first for England, but it was a well-established tradition in Europe.
39 *CSPV*, vol. 15, no. 535: 14 September 1618 (to the Signori Giorgio, Francesco and Zaccharia Contarini).

40 *CSPV*, vol. 10, no. 102: 30 July 1603; *CSPV*, vol. 11, no. 801: 25 February 1610.
41 Griffey, *On Display*, 13–26, 63–79, 97–109. Tara Hamling's work shows that these values likewise governed the layout and furnishing of rooms in Protestant gentry houses, see her *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven and London, 2010), 67–85, and Chapter 4. On the signification of household objects see Smuts, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty', esp. 86–87, 90–96, 107; and for portraiture see J. Peacock, 'The Politics of Portraiture', in K. Sharpe and P. Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), 199–228: 215–226, esp. 213, 215–216.
42 Smuts, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty', 112.
43 The physical and hierarchical structure and function of the early Stuart court has been well mapped by Neil Cuddy, who demonstrates sensitivity to the bonded politics of access and patronage. His analyses do not extend to material furnishings or decoration, but he provides a sound spatial framework on which the politics of these choices and goods can be determined. See his 'The Revival of the Entourage', in D. Starkey (ed.), *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), 173–225; 'Reinventing a Monarchy', in E. Cruickshanks (ed.), *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud, 2000), 59–86. For further information on the topography of early modern palaces in England, see D. Starkey, 'Introduction', 1–25 and 'Intimacy and Innovation', 71–119, both in D. Starkey (ed.), *The English Court* (London, 1987). The classic piece on the layout and function of royal apartments remains H. M. Baillie's 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces', *Archaeologia* 101 (1967): 169–199. See also E. Cole, 'The State Apartment in the Jacobean Country House, 1603–1625', unpub. DPhil Thesis (University of Sussex, 2010), esp. 55–120.
44 See various entries in the palace inventories: ESRO, Glynde MS 314; ESRO, Glynde MS 317; ESRO, Glynde MS 320; M. T. W. Payne, 'An Inventory of Queen Anne of Denmark's "Ornaments, Furniture, Householde Stuffe, and Other Parcells" at Denmark House, 1619', *Journal of the History of Collecting* 13 (2001), 23–44; O. Millar (ed.), 'Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue', *The Thirty-seventh Volume of the Walpole Society* (1958–1960), 196–198. This was a relatively common practice, and can be observed of both Prince Henry and Henrietta Maria, for example, but the quantity of Anna's badges in her palaces, and those worn about her person, were pronounced. For Henry, see T. Wilks, 'Introduction', in T. Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England* (London, 2007), 10–22: 12; for Henrietta Maria, see Griffey, *On Display*, 69, 79, and S. A. Sykes, 'Henrietta Maria's "house of delight"', *Apollo* 133 (1991), 312–336: 332–334.
45 Exception is found in McManus's study of Anna's masquing activities, which includes Scotland, and in the few chapters by M. R. Wade and M. Meikle. See, for example, McManus, *Renaissance Stage*; M. Meikle, 'Anna of Denmark's Coronation and Entry into Edinburgh, 1590: Cultural, Religious and Diplomatic Perspectives', in J. Goodare and A. MacDonald (eds), *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, 2008), 277–294; 'A Meddlesome Princess: Anna of Denmark and Scottish Court Politics, 1589–1603', in J. Goodare and M. Lynch (eds), *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 2000), 126–140; Wade, 'The Queen's Courts: Anna of Denmark and Her Royal Sisters – Cultural Agency at Four Northern European Courts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in C. McManus (ed.), *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens* (Basingstoke, 2003), 49–81. However, even Wade opens the latter chapter by stating that it was at the 'London' court that Anna 'made an indelible mark on arts and learning', 49.
46 These publications are included in the bibliography.
47 Burke, 'Translating Knowledge', 69–71.
48 Starkey, 'Introduction', 2.