

The Lineage of Books in Tudor Anglo-Spanish Relations

Ana Sáez-Hidalgo

ANA SÁEZ-HIDALGO, "THE LINEAGE OF BOOKS IN TUDOR ANGLO-SPANISH RELATIONS." IN "OF LATINE AND OF OTHIRE LARE": ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF DAVID R. CARLSON, EDITED BY R. GREENE AND R. F. YEAGER. TORONTO: PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES 2022: 297-317. ISBN 978-0-88844-835-4

Among the pageants exhibited before the wedding of Mary I of England and Philip, prince of Spain, celebrated in London in 1554, were a number of genealogical trees.¹ One of them

shewed their most noble genealogy from kinge Edward the third, which genealogie was most excellently and moste ingeniously set out, with a great arboure or tree ... Where also in the top of the said arbour or tre, was a quene of the right hande, and a king of the left, which presented their magesties ... ; and above that, in the height of al, wer both their armes joined in one, under one crown imperial. And finally, under the old man whiche lay under the rote of the arbour, and signified (as I have said) king Edward the third, were written these vi verses folowinge, in a field silver, with letters of gold ...

Englande, if thou delite in auncient men
Whose glorious actes thy fame abrod dyd blase,
Both Mary and Philip their offspring ought thou then
With al thy hert to love and to embrace,
Which both descended of one auncient lyne
It hath pleased God by marriage to combyne.²

While heraldic symbols and ornaments were customary in royal events at the time as visual representations of power and its legitimation, the usage of a genealogical tree on this occasion seemed to have an additional purpose: "to show that his Highness [i.e.,

¹ Research for this essay has been funded by the Spanish Research Agency (Agencia Estatal de Investigación), through the Research Project "Missions and Transmissions: Exchanges between Iberia and the British Isles during the Broad Early Modern Period" Ref: PID2020-113516GB-I00. I would like to thank Mauricio Herrero Jiménez, Christopher Warner, and Valerie Schutte for their enlightening comments and suggestions, and José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero for helpful insight on bibliographical aspects.

² John Elder, "John Elder's Letter" in *The chronicle of Queen Jane and of two years of Queen Mary and especially of the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London, 1850), 149–150.

Philip Habsburg] is no foreigner, but an offshoot of the House of Lancaster,” as Simon Renard reported, recalling the fact that Philip’s grandmother, five generations back, was Catherine of Lancaster (1373–1418).³ If gestures towards the naturalization of foreign royal spouses were not uncommon in this kind of alliance, in Philip’s case there was no need to simulate such naturalization. History was enough to bring him back “home,” and “to give his Highness a right to the throne,” as a contemporary commentator observed.⁴

The reign of Mary and Philip and the visual and textual discourse displayed through it were pervaded by references evoking the past, as was the message conveyed through material objects. The focus of this essay is an object which combines the textual, the visual, and the material – a book of history *with* a history, one could say. Its text recounts the English past, its images symbolize dynastic ancestry, and its owners embody the history of a lineage in the sixteenth century. It is a manuscript of Rodrigo de Cuero’s *Historia de Inglaterra con el Fructo de los tiempos*, a Spanish translation from the *Cronycles of Englonde with the Fruyte of Tymes* (as printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1502) commissioned by Catherine of Aragon.⁵ One of only two extant copies, this manuscript is of particular interest: Catherine’s own, it passed to her daughter Mary, and thence into Philip II’s royal library in the monastery of El Escorial.⁶ As José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero has pointed out, the volume connects Philip and Mary with their religious heritage.⁷ And probably more than that. The historical, political, and even affective sides to three monarchs’ successive ownership of this manuscript throw light on its meanings, not only textually and literarily, but also as an object correlative with royal lineage. This essay analyses the resignifications of this manuscript through its royal owners, in light of an observation of David Carlson’s:

³ Simon Renard, ambassador of Charles V to England, to the emperor, 6 May 1554; *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain* [hereafter CSPA], ed. G.A. Bergenroth et al. (London, 1862–1954), 12: 242. On the use of heraldic symbolism in these events, see Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 2004).

⁴ According to Renard, this was Lord Paget’s interpretation of the device; see CSPA, 12: 242.

⁵ The work was partially edited by Cesare V. Malfatti in two different volumes: *The Descrypcyon of Englonde, an Addition to St. Albans Chronicle* (Barcelona, 1973), and Rodrigo de Cuero, *Historia de Inglaterra, llamada, Fructo de los tiempos: Última parte, años de 1461 a 1509; A Continuation of the St. Albans Chronicle* (Barcelona, 1975).

⁶ The other copy, now in the Historic library of the University of Salamanca (Biblioteca Histórica Universitaria, MS 18504), was copied from the Escorial manuscript.

⁷ José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, “Philippus, rex Hispaniae & Angliae: La biblioteca inglesa de Felipe II,” *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional* 160 (2004): 14–33.

Writings exist not in the abstract, but only in the form of particular texts – real, material objects, products of the labours of various individuals, working together, within historically determined institutions and class structures. Writings always have material, social contexts that inform their meanings; the means by which pieces of writing are built and circulated are themselves meaningful, and impinge on the sense of the writings.⁸

English History for a Spanish Princess, Widow, and Queen of England

The Escorial copy of the *Historia de Inglaterra* is a mostly paper manuscript of the early sixteenth century, generally agreed to have been written in Cuero's own hand.⁹ As in Wynkyn de Worde's edition, it combines two different texts. The first, known as *Historia de Inglaterra con el Fructo de los Tiempos*,¹⁰ is a much-abbreviated historical account of England and its monarchs, presented as a "world chronicle," i.e., starting with the Creation. Its prologue, by the translator, explains the circumstances behind the Spanish version. The second part is the *Relaçion de los reynos y provinçias de Ynglaterra, Gales, Escocia τ Yrlanda* (*The descrypcyon of Englonde* in Wynkyn de Worde's text), an incomplete description of the lands, laws, ecclesiastical and institutional organization, languages, manners, and people in the four kingdoms.¹¹

Along with the above-mentioned prologue, Cuero expanded the work in other ways. He added descriptions of royal reigns past Henry VI, where de Worde had stopped, to Henry VII, and six other chapters dedicated to the Spanish monarchs and to Catherine

⁸ David R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475–1525* (Toronto, 1993), 3.

⁹ Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, MS X-II-20. For more details, see the online library catalogue, accessed 31 August 2021, <https://rbmecat.patrimonionacional.es>. See Manuel F. Miguélez, ed., *Catálogo de los códices españoles de la Biblioteca del Escorial, 2: Relaciones históricas* (Madrid, 1925), 32. Antonio M. Contreras Martín and Lourdes Soriano Robles, "La *Historia de Inglaterra* de Rodrigo de Cuero: Fuentes y elaboración," *Revista de Literatura Medieval* 30 (2018): 121–152, at 122. Not much is known about Rodrigo de Cuero: he might have come to England with Catherine, being her treasurer's nephew (Contreras Martín and Soriano Robles, "La *Historia de Inglaterra*," 123–124).

¹⁰ This title, different from Wynkyn de Worde's, has been deduced from the first page of the manuscript and widely adopted as the shorthand reference for the work, although Cuero refers to his own translation as "Chronica de los reyes de Inglaterra" (fol. 7r), which better reflects the perspective of the original title and the contents of his Spanish text.

¹¹ Fols. 126–128 are missing. The table of contents of the history lists the same thirty chapters as in de Worde's original, but the text is abruptly interrupted at the end of fol. 125v, with chapter 27 merely started. For a complete description of the manuscript, see Contreras Martín and Soriano Robles, "La *Historia de Inglaterra*," 122.

as princess of Wales, from her betrothal to Arthur till her wedding with Henry VIII, when she became queen. Evidence also exists that Cuero included a translation of the statutes of the Order of the Garter and a “Breve razonamiento en desprecio del mundo” (“Brief Discussion of the Contempt for the World”), although both are missing from the Escorial copy.¹² Notable also are two parchment folia (the only two), one at the beginning, showing the Tudor heraldic achievement with a descriptive text (fig. 17.1), the other, at the end, the Garter arms with an explanation of their symbolic meaning and a brief history of the Order (fig. 17.2). These two folios embrace the volume with heraldic symbolism and its elucidation.

Fig. 17.1. Tudor coat of arms at the front of the holograph manuscript of Cuero's Crónica de Inglaterra. ©Patrimonio Nacional, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, X-II-20, fol. 1r.

Fig. 17.2. The Garter insignia and its elucidation at the back of the holograph manuscript of Cuero's Crónica de Inglaterra. ©Patrimonio Nacional, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, X-II-20, fol. 129v.

Both manuscript and text have been dated 1509, based on the *explicit* following the chronicle: “fue hecha esta obra en la muy ynsigne çibdad de londres cabeça del reyno de ynglaterra τ acabose en veynte andados de mes de [di]ziembre del año que nos dio vida de mill τ quinientos τ nueve años” (This work was done in the very eminent city of London, capital of the kingdom of England, and was finished on the twentieth of the month of December of the year of our redemption 1509).¹³ However, to assign this date to the whole manuscript is problematic: very likely it obscures crucial aspects of its production and significance. In the prologue, the translator describes Catherine's commissioning of the work:

yo rodrigo de cuero deseando cunplir el mandamiento de la muy esclareçida τ ylustriçima Señora doña catalina, prinçesa de gales ... que me mandó tornase en

¹² These sections are listed in the table of contents of the Escorial manuscript, and their content is still extant in the Salamanca copy. The Escorial manuscript notes they form a “compendioso cuaderno” (compendious quire), perhaps suggesting detachability.

¹³ Escorial X-II-20, fol. 115r. Translation from the Spanish manuscript, unless otherwise stated, is mine. The transcription of the text respects the original spelling, expanding abbreviations.

lengua castellana sumariamente las coronicas de todos los reyes que en ynglaterra han seydo que en su natural lengua ynglesa estan ...¹⁴

I, Rodrigo de Cuero, wishing to fulfil the commandment of the most distinguished and illustrious lady Catherine, princess of Wales ... who asked me to compendiously translate into Spanish the chronicles of all the kings of England which are in their native English language ...

Thus, when the translation was started – or at least when the prologue was written – Catherine was princess of Wales, a title earned through her marriage with prince Arthur in 1501, and which she maintained as a widow after his death in April 1502. By December 1509, when the *explicit* of the chronicle was written, Catherine was no longer a princess, as she had been queen of England for more than six months, having married Henry VIII in June 1509.¹⁵ Neither Cuero’s carelessness nor faulty knowledge of Catherine’s titles could have caused this *decalage*. Rather, it suggests how the volume was produced. The process is dramatically apparent in the manuscript, whose pages are full of corrections, annotations, expansions and, most evidently, marginalia expanding the translated text, and frequently resulting in awkwardly crammed pages (an effect further enhanced by hapless trimming for a subsequent binding). Conceivably explained by Cuero’s use of additional sources to advance Wynkyn de Worde’s text beyond Henry VI to the wedding of Henry and Catherine,¹⁶ most of the marginal annotations in *Fructo de los tiempos* nevertheless respond to a different process of amplification. As Antonio Contreras and Lourdes Soriano have pointed out, the Escorial manuscript evinces a two-stage production, the first entailing the translation and condensation of the original sources, and the second, adding references to the history of France and its monarchs.¹⁷ All are in Cuero’s hand.

Nothing explicit establishes when or how these two stages took place. A close look at these corrections can give some clues, however, to one important phase of the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol.7r.

¹⁵ This disparity in Catherine’s title is further confirmed by the *explicit* of the Salamanca manuscript: “fue hecho a ynstancia de la serenissima reyna de ynglaterra mi señora” (BHUSal MS 18504, fol. 235r).

¹⁶ In the *explicit* to the chronicle, Cuero cites Froissart’s *Chronicles*, Werner Rolewinck’s *Fasciculus temporum*, William Caxton, and Bartolomeo Sacchi’s *Vitae pontificum* (Escorial X-II-20, fol. 115r). Contreras Martín and Soriano Robles have identified a significant number of other undeclared sources for the account of the latest events in the text (“La *Historia de Inglaterra*,” 134–135.).

¹⁷ Contreras Martín and Soriano Robles, “La *Historia de Inglaterra*,” 126.

composition process. The manuscript, though nowadays having a messy appearance, was originally laid out neatly and quite consistently, with sizeable margins, regular line spacing, centred chapter headings with additional spacing before and after them, and paraps to indicate new sections. In this earlier form, the margins were reserved for the names of relevant characters like kings or popes, by way of *ordinatio*. Cuero's expansions flooded the space of the margin, most noticeably in those sections where continental politics could be relevant for British history. By contrast, the section dedicated to Catherine, her parents and siblings, and her marriage to, and loss of, Arthur are also neat, clean pages, with sparse corrections and only *ordinationes* in the margins. But in the last two chapters of the work overwritten corrections, shrunken line spacing, and reduced margin and text size graphically attest a shift in the composition of the manuscript.¹⁸ All these signs indicate a finished (or virtually finished) text, with little space planned for new material.¹⁹ When eventually additions became necessary, they had to be squeezed into the few available folios.

Other aspects in these last chapters, suggesting that the original text was to conclude in 1506, corroborate this assessment. The narrative account at the end of the penultimate chapter bewails the death of Catherine's mother, Isabella of Castille, in 1504 and describes the formal betrothal of Catherine to prince Henry. It is followed by a final chapter –announced as such²⁰– dealing with “como fue prinçipiada la Guerra en Africa y de la yda en España de los serenissimos Rey [Philip the Handsome] y Reyna [Juana] de Castilla, y el fallesçimiento deste Rey” (how the war in Africa started and the trip to Spain of the king and queen of Castile, and the death of the king), with some commentary on Juana's and Philip's brief stopover in England in 1506, providing an opportunity for Catherine to see her sister Juana. Thereafter the text moves rapidly through the death of Philip in 1506 to the year 1509, with Ferdinand's conquest of Oran, the death of Henry VII, and a detailed account of Henry VIII's wedding to Catherine, inserted as described above. A good indication that this post-1506 material was not originally planned is evident in the heading: what would elsewhere be a pristine blank area around the title is, in this last chapter, a lump of corrections, added lines so jammed over and under it that

¹⁸ Escorial X-II-20, fols. 113r–v. For codicological and palaeographical analysis of the manuscript, I've benefitted from the invaluable expertise of Mauricio Herrero Jiménez.

¹⁹ This is corroborated in Cuero's prologue, which indicates the arrival of Catherine in England as the end of the work (Escorial X-II-20, fol. 7r). See below.

²⁰ Ibid., fol. 113r: “Porque este es el ultimo capitulo de las presentes ystorias ...” (Because this is the last chapter of these stories ...).

the heading remains barely distinguishable. Part of this expands the title: “y de la yda en Napoles del catolico rrey don Fernando y de su buelta en España y de la tomada de Oran y de la çysma en tiempo del papa ... y de la muerte del Rey de Ynglaterra y del casamiento y coronacion destos señores prinçipes” ([also] king Ferdinand’s trip to Naples, and his return to Spain, and the conquest of Oran, and the schism from the Pope ... and the death of the king of England, and the wedding and crowning of the prince and the princess).²¹ Moreover, besides the original *ordinatio* in the margin, “Prinçesa de gales,” a new one has been included, “henrrique otavo,” marking the new reign – though Catherine’s previous title has not been updated or erased, in an anachronical coexistence of the old princess and the new king.

Thus, the expansions in these last folios suggest that the chronicle had at least two compositional stages, the first written at some point between 1502 – the date of publication of the source – and 1506, when Catherine’s situation was shaky and meagre; this explains the plain, unadorned paper manuscript.²² The second stage, with the add-on account of Catherine’s and Henry’s crowning and wedding, corresponds to the last months of 1509. The time gap separating both stages is significant. Though usually remembered for the tragic manner in which Henry VIII annulled their marriage and unqueened her, Catherine of Aragon endured significantly dire periods throughout her life, and the years between 1505 and 1509 were particularly grim. Three years after becoming a widow, her engagement and marriage to prince Henry uncertain, having lost her mother – her main financial support – and betrayed by her closest and longest friend in London, Elvira Manuel, she was variously ignored and manipulated by her father – not always in her best interests – and reduced to performing diplomatic tasks as the only way to protect herself. With no money and a much-reduced household, and having had to pawn part of her dowry, she suffered rudeness after rudeness from Henry VII, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Philip I of Castile. Her few surviving letters from this period show a totally exposed woman, but one who never gave up.²³ Looking at the two stages in the composition of this manuscript through the prism of these circumstances adds new

²¹ Ibid.

²² Cuero might have been in England at the time: he’s mentioned in connection with her household in a letter from ambassador Rodrigo González Puebla to King Ferdinand of Spain. “Spain: August 1505,” in CSPS, 1: 367.

²³ On Catherine’s precarious situation after 1502, see Theresa Earenfight, “A Precarious Household: Catherine of Aragon in England, 1501–1504”, in *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2018), 338–356.

nuances to Catherine's commission of the translation and encourages a revised understanding of the work.

The *Historia de Inglaterra con el Fructo de los tiempos* has been generally understood as representing Catherine's aspirations for integration into the country she would serve as queen by learning its history. However, if most of the manuscript was written during her fraught widowhood, before she was queen, the uncertainties confronting her at the time must have influenced the initial impulse for the work. Clearly, Cuero's translation provided knowledge of English history, as it did with the detailed explanations of the Tudor arms at the front of the volume and of the symbolic meaning of the Garter at the end of it. Nevertheless, part of the manuscript's contents lacks an exclusively English focus. Cuero's plan, stated in his prologue, was to conclude with Catherine's arrival in England: “[poniendo] por rremate τ cerradura la venyda de su exçelente persona [Catherine] en este Reyno” (crowning it with the arrival of her excellency to this kingdom).²⁴ The subsequent addition, then, of a newly created section about Catherine as princess of Wales suggests a shift of purpose, away from the merely educational. Instead, the added final section effectively writes Catherine into the history of England, making her an integral part of it.

The importance of this, after Arthur's death, cannot be overstressed. Her personal, marital, institutional, and financial situation was increasingly precarious. As Theresa Earenfight has pointed out, although widows under English law could have significant authority, and even manage property, Catherine owned nothing in England.²⁵ Income from Wales, Cornwall, and Chester she might have claimed as Arthur's widow eluded her.²⁶ She depended entirely on others' support – primarily her mother-in-law, Elizabeth of York; her own parents, Isabella and Ferdinand; and Henry VII, who was often unwilling to pay her expenses, especially after Isabella of Castille's death lessened Catherine's dynastic value.²⁷

It does not seem coincidental, then, that Catherine's ancestry, her position in the Spanish succession line, and the strategic and military power of her relatives feature

²⁴ Escorial X-II-20, fol. 7r.

²⁵ Earenfight, “A Precarious Household,” 339.

²⁶ According to Garrett Mattingly, Catherine renounced her dower rights; see Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (Boston, 1941), 62.

²⁷ Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, 66–73.

prominently in Cuero's account. The first chapter dedicated to Catherine is particularly striking in this regard, presenting Catherine's parents' titles, her siblings' marriages with European rulers (or, in the cases of her only male brother and two of her older sisters, their demise), as well as the military campaigns and political connections of the Spanish monarchs in North Africa, Naples, and elsewhere.²⁸ Thus the *Historia de Inglaterra* strongly argues for Catherine's genealogical and dynastic value for England, both in the past as princess of Wales and at the time of its composition, projecting towards a future that is conceived of as wholly English. The parchment pages encompassing the volume front and back with the Tudor arms and the Garter, the most significant symbols of royal and political power in England, anchor such a reading by integrating Catherine graphically into the English ruling dynasty and physically locating her at the seat of the country's most respected dignity.²⁹ When eventually the heretofore uncertain marriage with Henry VIII took place in June 1509, the account of Catherine's queenship grafted into the manuscript thus represents the textual embodiment, on the one hand, of the achievement of her personal and political aspirations, and on the other, of the consummation of her dynastic legitimation, further reinforced by Henry's own legitimacy.³⁰

The importance her legitimation would have for Catherine when, in the late 1520s, Henry VIII decreed their marriage unlawful and her an illegitimate wife and queen, is worth recalling when considering the subsequent life of the Escorial copy of the manuscript. Cuero's work represents Catherine's ambitions throughout her life in England, first as wife of Arthur; then as widowed princess of Wales; later renewed as wife, queen, and mother; and, finally, as "princess dowager," disowned and deserted. The *Historia de Inglaterra*, then, a book Catherine likely had as a widowed princess throughout her near isolation at Durham house, must have resonated importantly when she was repudiated by Henry. The volume, in short, possessed significant sentimental, and political, value for Catherine.

²⁸ Escorial X-II-20, fols. 110v–111r.

²⁹ Juliette Vale, "Image and Identity in the Prehistory of the Order of the Garter," in *St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), 35–50.

³⁰ For Catherine's queenship, see Escorial X-II-20, fols. 113r–115r. When presenting Henry VIII's succession to the throne, Cuero vehemently states him as the legitimate heir and the embodiment of peaceful end of the War of the Roses, as a child of the union of the two houses (fol. 114v).

The Mother-Daughter Legacy: A Textual Memento of Legitimacy

At an unknown date, the Escorial manuscript of Cuero's work was given by Catherine to her daughter Mary, according to Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero.³¹ The value of the work for Catherine, with its important legitimating message for her daughter and herself, undoubtedly influenced the gift. Although books appear listed in the 1536 postmortem inventory of Catherine's property, it seems unlikely that *Historia de Inglaterra* would be one of the "three bookes covered withe red leather, garnysshid with golde foyle, and tyed with grene reabande," books that James Carley believes were devotional.³² Notably, the original binding of the Escorial manuscript was green velvet.³³ Also mentioned in the postmortem inventory were books left in Baynard's castle: "seevyntene other bookys, smalle and greate, lockid in a cheste."³⁴ In the absence of titles, Carley has compared Catherine's interests and their number with the 1542 Westminster inventory, concluding that all seventeen must have gone to Henry, rather than to Mary.³⁵ Moreover, that other items in this inventory have a note naming the person who claimed or inherited them, Henry or the queen rather than Mary, seems to confirm that those books were not received by the princess. Cuero's work, then, was probably given to Mary before Catherine's death, whether in person or, as was done with other books, sent to her during the time when Catherine was not allowed to see her daughter. That was the case for two religious books, Ludolph of Saxony's *De vita Christi* and a copy of the *Epistles of St Jerome*, which Mary received in 1533, accompanied by a letter from her mother.³⁶

In many ways, a gift of *Historia de Inglaterra* from mother to daughter would capture the essence of their personal, political, and intellectual connection. Catherine of

³¹ Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, "Philippus, rex Hispaniae & Angliae," 16. On Catherine's gift giving, see Michelle L. Beer, *Queenship at the Renaissance Courts of Britain: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503–1533* (Suffolk, 2018), 105–115.

³² "The Wardrobe Stuff at Baynard's Castle of Katharine, Princess Dowager," in *Inventories of... Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond: And of the wardrobe stuff at Baynard's Castle of Katharine, Princess Dowager*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London, 1855), 23–41, at 40. See also James P. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and His Wives* (London, 2004), 120.

³³ See below on Philips's donation of the book to El Escorial Library.

³⁴ "The Wardrobe Stuff at Baynard's Castle," 40.

³⁵ Carley, *Books of King Henry VIII*, 115–117. For the 1542 Westminster inventory, see James P. Carley, ed., *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London, 2000), 30–226.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 110. John Edwards has commented on the medievalizing religiosity encapsulated in these books: *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven, 2011), 228–229. See Valerie Schutte, "Queen Mary I's Books at Lambeth Palace Library," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 14 (2014), 349–351.

Aragon's relationship with her daughter Mary had an important "bookish" side to it, deeply rooted in learning and education.³⁷ Catherine's role in the advancement of humanism in England is well known, as is her own humanist education in Castile, a model that she chose for her daughter as well.³⁸ Although the Tudors also had started to bring humanist tutors to court, as Carlson has demonstrated,³⁹ Catherine's impulse is distinctly matrilineal and can be traced back to her own mother, Isabella of Castile. Elisa Ruiz García has demonstrated Isabella's investment in written culture, from production to reading – and even sharing, one could say, as the queen often gave books to her daughters. Many were devotional, but not all: when Catherine travelled to England, Isabella sent her twenty-two books, among them a printed copy of the pseudo-Senecan proverbs glossed by Pedro Díaz de Toledo, and a regiment for princes.⁴⁰

This humanistic stimulus shaped Catherine's childhood, and her maturity. Isabella's retinue included women who combined intellectual pursuits with the sewing, spinning, etc. expected of royal and noble ladies.⁴¹ She employed humanist tutors for all of her children, boys and girls both, and surrounded herself with humanist scholars and writers, some of them women.⁴² The Italian humanist Alessandro Geraldini, who wrote

³⁷ On the bookish influence of Catherine on Mary see Valerie Schutte, "Under the Influence: The Impact of Queenly Book Dedications on Princess Mary." In Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte, eds., *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I* (Basingstoke, 2016), 31–47; and Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion* (New York, 2015), esp. ch. 1.

³⁸ Timothy G. Elston, "Transformation or Continuity? Sixteenth-Century Education and the Legacy of Catherine of Aragon, Mary I, and Juan Luis Vives." In *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. C. Levin, J.E. Carney, and D. Barrett-Graves (New York, 2003), 11–26, at 13.

³⁹ David R. Carlson, "Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991), 253–279.

⁴⁰ According to Ruiz García, this was probably the immensely popular *De regimine principum* by Giles of Rome, either in Latin or in the Spanish translation by Juan García de Castrojeriz. See Elisa Ruiz García, *Los libros de Isabel La Católica: Arqueología de un patrimonio escrito* (Salamanca, 2004), 429. The pseudo-Senecan proverbs, *Proverbios de Séneca, glosados por Pedro Díaz de Toledo*, were perhaps a 1495 or a 1500 edition. See also Ruiz García, *Los libros*, 500; on the books given to her daughters, 56, 120–122, 280–283. On Isabella as a book lover, see Víctor Infantes de Miguel, "La reina que amaba los libros," *Ínsula: Revista de letras y ciencias humanas* 691–692 (2004), 19–21.

⁴¹ Theresa Earenfight, "Regarding Catherine of Aragon," in *Scholars and Poets Talk About Queens*, ed. Carole Levin (Basingstoke, 2015), 137–157, at 141. See also Earenfight, "Raising Infanta Catalina de Aragón to Be Catherine, Queen of England," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 46 (2016): 417–443, at 422, where she proposes Catherine of Lancaster, Queen of Castile, as another royal female model for Catherine.

⁴² María Isabel del Val Valdivieso, "La educación en la corte de la Reina Católica," *Miscelánea Comillas: Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales* 69, 134 (2011): 255–273. On Isabella's humanism, see Juan Gil Fernández, "El Humanismo en Castilla en tiempos de Isabel la Católica," in *Arte y cultura en la época de Isabel la Católica*, ed. Julio Valdeón Baroque (Valladolid, 2003), 15–75. For the female intellectuals in Isabella's court, see Vicenta M. Márquez de la Plata, *Mujeres renacentistas en la corte de Isabel la Católica* (Madrid, 2005).

the now lost *De eruditione nobilium puellarum* (1501) at Isabella's request, exemplifies the continuity of Catherine's humanist upbringing, as he was one of her tutors while in Spain and then accompanied her to England as her confessor.⁴³ In Timothy Elston's words, "the seeds of female educational success planted by both Isabel's example of an educated monarch and Catherine's tutors took root in Catherine, and, once queen of England, she indulged her passion for learning and patronage."⁴⁴ Catherine cultivated her friendship with Thomas More and Erasmus. The latter openly expressed his admiration for her learning.⁴⁵ The Spanish Juan Luis Vives famously dedicated *De institutione foeminae christianae* (1523) to Catherine; other humanists subsequently did the same.⁴⁶ Also in that year, and as part of his duties as tutor to princess Mary, Vives published *De ratione studii puerilis*, a brief treatise whose first part sets out basic principles for the education of girls, thinking of Mary in particular. Though largely focused on grammar, Vives establishes a reading canon for the young princess, ranging from Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and Plato to contemporary works such as Erasmus's *Institutio principis christiani* and Thomas More's *Utopia*. (He also included Jerome's epistles, and historians Justinus, Florus, and Valerius Maximus, though cautioned to read them "non anxie" [not with anxiety]).⁴⁷ Thus, the classical learning promoted by humanists at the court of Isabella of Castile extended to Mary Tudor through the female royal line.

Just as Catherine "learned the art of self-fashioning from her mother, Isabel, who carefully controlled the discourse in chronicles to mask her exercise of power and authority,"⁴⁸ so Mary took from Catherine not only books and education, but life lessons as well, of patience, resilience, and rulership. The manuscript of Cuero's *Historia de Inglaterra*, as a textual repository of Catherine's legitimacy and memento of her endurance, formed a part of this. When Mary became queen of England, her need to

⁴³ However, his position in England ended soon after arriving; see Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, 9–10.

⁴⁴ Elston, "Transformation or Continuity?," 13

⁴⁵ Erasmus to Paolo Bombace, 26 July 1518: "The queen is astonishingly well read, far beyond what would be surprising in a woman, and as admirable for piety as she is for learning"; see *Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 842–992, 1518–1519*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson (Toronto, 1980), 63. On Catherine's learning, see Emma Luisa Cahill Marrón, "Una Lucrecia del siglo XVI: Los libros de Catalina de Aragón," in *El Imperio y las Hispanias de Trajano a Carlos V: Clasicismo y poder en el arte español*, ed. Sandro de Maria and Manuel Parada López de Corselas (Bologna, 2014), 419–428.

⁴⁶ Valerie Schutte, "'To the Illustrious Queen': Katherine of Aragon and Early Modern Book Dedications," in *Women during the English Reformations*, ed. J.A. Chappell and K.A. Kramer (New York, 2014), 15–28.

⁴⁷ Juan Luis Vives, *De ratione studii puerilis*, in *Opuscula* (Lyon, 1532), sig. L5 v. Note that the second section of the work, dedicated to the education of boys, presents a different curriculum. On the debate on Vives's progressive view of female education, see Elston, "Transformation or Continuity?"

⁴⁸ Earenfight, "Raising Infanta Catalina de Aragón," 437.

reinforce her legitimacy in many ways replicated Catherine's. The annulment of her parents' marriage immediately rendered her an illegitimate child, although the designation of bastardy did not officially come until 1536. Paradoxically, when Mary's and her half sister Elizabeth's rights to the crown were reinstated in the 1544 Act of Succession, their bastard status was not removed; Edward VI did not take that step either.⁴⁹ Mary pursued redress both in the courts and in parliament, seeking to reestablish the legality of the union of Henry and Catherine, to revoke the divorce, and thus to bolster her right to rule.⁵⁰

The similarity of the hardships of both mother and daughter suggests the emotional value that Cuero's history must have carried for the newly anointed queen in 1553.⁵¹ That value may help explain the significant body of work in print and manuscript produced under Mary resuscitating her mother. This ranged from reissued editions and translations of works by humanists written or dedicated to Catherine,⁵² to hagiographies of St Catherine,⁵³ morality plays like *Anglia Deformata and Anglia Destituta* (1553), and even a Catherine "biography" adapting Boccaccio's story of Griselda.⁵⁴ Popularized in English by Geoffrey Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*, the story of the patient and obedient wife and her tyrant husband sufficiently resembled Catherine and Henry for William Forrest to recast it in 1558 as *The History of Grisild the Second*.⁵⁵ Forrest's *Grisild* presents Catherine as model of virtue, a virtue which reflects on Mary herself, as the relationship between mother and daughter is portrayed in very close terms.⁵⁶ In a way,

⁴⁹ See Mary Hill Cole, "The Half-Blood Princes: Mary I, Elizabeth I, and Their Strategies of Legitimation," in *Birth of a Queen*, 71–88.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 76–80.

⁵¹ Edwards, *Mary I*, 87–122. See also Valerie Schutte, "A Ballad of Treason for Queen Mary I's accession," *SEDERI* 31 (2021), forthcoming.

⁵² The English translation of Luis Vives's *The Office and duetie of an husband* was not printed until 1555, although the Latin original had been published 26 years earlier. Also, his *Instruction of a christen woman* and *Introduccion to wysedome* were reprinted in 1557 and 1558, respectively, as well as several works by Thomas More. For the image of Catherine through the sixteenth-century editions of Vives's works, see Betty S. Travitsky, "Reprinting Tudor History: The Case of Catherine of Aragon." *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 164–174.

⁵³ *The life of the glorious and blessed virgin and martyr Saincte Katheryne* [1555?] is a new edition of Richard Pynson's 1505 text.

⁵⁴ *Decameron* 10.10. For book production under Mary, see Alexander Samson "Culture under Mary I and Philip," in *Birth of a Queen*, 155–178.

⁵⁵ Forrest, *The History of Grisild the Second: A Narrative, in Verse, of the Divorce of Queen Katharine of Arragon*, ed. W.D. Macray (London, 1875).

⁵⁶ Thomas Betteridge, "Maids and Wives: Representing Female Rule during the Reign of Mary Tudor," in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (New York, 2011), 138–152. Ursula Potter sees a trifold purpose in Forrest's poem: to propose Catherine's beatification, to reinforce both Mary's legitimacy, and her promotion of Catholicism in England ("Tales of Patient

Forrest seems to be applying Vives's advice to the young Mary in *De ratione studii puerilis*: "delectabitur fabellis, quae vitam erudiant, quas ipsa aliis referre possit, ut de Papyrio Praetextato puero apud Gellium, de Josepho in sacris libris, de Lucretia in Livio, de Griselide vulgate jam fabula; et aliis ... quae pertinebunt ad aliquam commendationem virtutis, aut detestationem vitii" (She will delight in stories which are instructive for life and which she can tell others, like the story of the child Papirius Praetextatus from Aulus Gellius, of Joseph from the sacred books, of Lucretia from Titus Livius, of Griselde in the vernacular, as well as others ... which tend to recommend virtue or to avert vices).⁵⁷ Certainly, Vives's lessons to Mary had a lifelong influence on her, perceptible at all levels, from her motto "Veritas temporis filia," literally meaning "the truth is the daughter of time" or "the truth will out," to her usage of history, to which she turned when needed.⁵⁸ She reportedly resisted parliamentary pressure to marry an English nobleman instead of a foreigner. Offended, Mary countered:

Parliament was not accustomed to use such language to the kings of England, nor was it suitable or respectful that it should do so. *Histories and chronicles* would show that such words had never been spoken, for even when the kings had been in childhood they had been given liberty in questions of marriage, wherefore they ought always to enjoy the same.⁵⁹

The report does not specify what "histories and chronicles" the queen had in mind on this occasion, but the *Historia de Inghlaterra*, with its focus on the kings of England, could have furnished sufficient examples. It is tempting to imagine her turning to it, though Mary left no discernible trace of her reading there.⁶⁰ As an object, however, a memorabilium of her mother, and as a repository of her extended lineage, the manuscript

Griselda and Henry VIII," *Early Theatre* 5 [2002], 11–28, at 13). Nancy Warren, *Chaucer and Religious Controversies in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (Notre Dame, IN, 2019), notes that Forrest advocates for a "feminine, Catholic, nonthreatening mode of queenship," at 78. See also A.S.G. Edwards, "William Forrest: Poetry, politics, script and power," *SEDERI* 29 (2019): 163–178.

⁵⁷ Vives, *De ratione studii puerilis*, sig. L2 v. My translation.

⁵⁸ The motto "Veritas temporis filia" was published in Vives's *Satellitium animi, sive symbola* (1524), no. 90. Fritz Saxl noted that the motto was used by several Tudor monarchs in allusion to contrasting religious positions: "Veritas Filia Temporis," in *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, ed. R. Klibansky and H.J. Paton (Oxford, 1936), 197–222; see also Donald Gordon, "'Veritas Filia Temporis': Hadrianus Junius and Geoffrey Whitney," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 3 (1940): 228–240. For the motto in emblems, see the SYMBOLA database at <https://www.bidiso.es/Symbola/divisa/246>.

⁵⁹ Simon Renard to the emperor, 17 November 1553, in "Spain: November 1553, 16–20," *CSPS*, 11: 364. My emphasis.

⁶⁰ There are some blurred-out scribbles in the first page of the volume and a proverb in the back flyleaf.

channelled Mary's recursion of her maternal ancestry both historically and symbolically. As Alexander Samson has shown in an outstanding staging of this lineage, Mary's coronation and wedding ceremonies echoed those of her mother's marriage to prince Arthur, itself a very careful celebration of her ancestry.⁶¹ And precisely against the backdrop of her lineage evoked through Catherine of Aragon is Mary's gift to her husband Philip of the manuscript of Cuero's history best understood.

Family Heirloom: Devising English Lineage

Precisely how or when Mary gave Philip the manuscript of Cuero's translation isn't known, but a wedding gift seems unlikely.⁶² Whatever sentimental importance it may have held for Mary, the manuscript's cluttered unsightliness speaks against ceremonial presentation. Moreover, the book was rebound soon after Philip's donation of it to El Escorial: the library's 1574 inventory describes a binding of "green velvet" – most likely the original covering – which must therefore have been in poor condition.⁶³ Nor is it cited as a bequest to Philip in Mary's testament. Notably, too, Philip recovered none of the objects left in England after his last visit in July 1557.⁶⁴ As an informal gift, then, the *Historia de Inglaterra* must have passed from Mary to Philip, though that informality requires careful contextualization. As Felicity Heal has remarked, gifts – whether formal or not – "enhance bonds between individuals and families ... express loyalty and deference ... and ... demonstrate power," including what she calls "gifts of words," that

⁶¹ Winchester Cathedral was replicatively decorated on the accession day, and the pageants' usage of genealogical symbology created for the matrimonial entry of Philip and Mary also recalled Catherine's first wedding: see Alexander Samson, "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor July-August 1554," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36 (2005): 761–784, esp. 762, 766; on the commemorations of Catherine's marriage to Arthur, see Sydney Anglo, "The London Pageants for the Reception of Katharine of Aragon: November 1501," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963): 53–89.

⁶² Mary's wedding gifts to Philip were a richly ornamented wedding suit and a collar with the Order of the Garter; he gave her a spectacular diamond. Alexander Samson, *Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester, 2020), 110–111. Hilary Doda, "Of Crymsen Tissue: The Construction of a Queen; Identity, Legitimacy and the Wardrobe of Mary Tudor," PhD diss. (Dalhousie University, 2011), 87–89.

⁶³ "Entrega de la librería real de Felipe II (1576)," in *Documentos para la historia de El Escorial*, ed. Gregorio de Andrés (Madrid, 1964), 7: 191, no. 3346; José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia biblioteca: El libro en la corte española de Carlos V* (Mérida, 2005), 2: 425.

⁶⁴ Philip gave Elizabeth the jewels of her half sister: see David Loades, "Philip II and the Government of England," in *Law and Government under the Tudors*, ed. Claire Cross, David Loades, and J.J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge, 1988), 194.

is, books.⁶⁵ Certainly, the bonds of family, loyalty, and power came to be symbolically represented in Cuero's work, though probably for Philip these had different resonances than for Mary. For the queen, her legitimation required the erasure of her bastardy and her mother's divorce, as well as – in order to address the political difficulties resulting from her being a “sole queen” (to use Judith M. Richards's terms) –precisely establishing the terms of the co-monarchy.⁶⁶ Vexing contradictions arose from the authority attached to traditional gender roles in matrimony and monarchy.⁶⁷ A significant number of political and symbolic gestures during Mary's reign were aimed at settling these issues.

Issues of legitimation faced Philip as well, but his circumstances were very different. Highly aware of the resistance to a foreigner marrying the English queen and the limitations imposed on his role in the marriage contract,⁶⁸ he had also to pave the way for a possible future as king of England. Thus, his legitimation was carefully orchestrated using an “Englishing” strategy. Even before first setting foot on English soil Philip was made Knight of the Garter and given “a rich garter, with two large faceted diamonds, a large pearl, five flat diamonds set in a rose pattern, twelve flat rubies round the garter, set two by two, and twenty-four pearls set two by two.”⁶⁹ Though not the first Spaniard to become a Garter knight (his father, his grandfather, and great-great-grandfather preceded him), his appointment surpassed the purely honorary.⁷⁰ In his second period in England, in 1557, on St George's day, he presided over the procession of the Order at Whitehall and knighted three new members.⁷¹ Mary's sense of the importance of Philip's Garter membership is very clear. She used the Garter to display her authority, abolishing Edward

⁶⁵ Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), 4, 43–50.

⁶⁶ Judith M. Richards, “Mary Tudor as ‘Sole Quene’?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy,” *Historical Journal* 40 (1997): 895–924.

⁶⁷ Alexander Samson, “Power Sharing: The Co-Monarchy of Philip and Mary,” in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. A. Hunt and A. Whitelock (New York, 2010), 159–172; and further Glyn Redworth, “Matter Impertinent to Women: Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary,” *English Historical Review* 112 (1997): 597–613.

⁶⁸ Anna Santamaría Lopez, “‘Great Faith Is Necessary to Drink from This Chalice’: Philip II in the Court of Mary Tudor,” in *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, ed. Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez (Farnham, 2016), 115–138.

⁶⁹ “Memorandum of the Jewels that Lie in a Coffe at Whitehall,” CSPS, 13: 441. He also received “a chain of fifty-eight links, each link carrying diamonds or rubies, two stones on each, together with a St George in armour made of diamonds, and the dragon formed by a pearl.”

⁷⁰ Much to the dismay of later propagandists like John Foxe, who disseminated the story of Philip's attempt, frustrated by the English lords, to replace the arms of England with those of Spain in St George's chapel; see Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1570), 10.25.

⁷¹ Matthew Tibble, “Sovereignty and Spectacle in 1557: The Reunion of Philip II and Mary I,” *Historical Research* 92 (2019): 305–317, at 313–314.

VI's version of the statutes and reinstating knights he expelled. The appointment of Philip as her first new knight was a deliberate gesture of power.⁷²

Thus, the manuscript of the *Historia de Inglaterra* must have borne a special value for Philip, as it provides a Spanish summary of the origins and foundation of the Order that Cuero called a rank “de tanta nobleza & dignidad y de tan estendida fama por todo el mundo” (of such a nobility and dignity, and of a widespread fame all over the world).⁷³ The explanation of the symbolism of the arms of the Garter and the Spanish translation of the statutes of the order originally included in the manuscript, though now lost, would have apprised Philip of its meaning and significance, supplementing the Latin version he was offered by the earl of Arundel's son.⁷⁴ Indeed, Cuero's description would have had special appeal for Philip:

propuse de escreuir en cabo deste libro todo lo tocante a la dicha orden por que quien lo leyere siendo persona de estado y tal commo en el capitulo segund dize que a de ser gentil ombre de sangre y cauallero sin reproche aquel que a de entrar en esta caualleria que procure con mucha soliqitud de ser rresçebido en ella pues lo an seydo muchos extranjeros ... por que en ello dos prouechos se siguen, el uno spiritual que es gozar en el cabo de sus días de tantos sacrificios commo por su anima..., el segundo temporal que es entrar en tan onrrrosa y alta hermandad y compañía de caualleros.⁷⁵

I determined to write at the end of this book everything regarding this order so that the person who reads it would keenly try to be accepted into it, just as many foreigners have been. This should be a person of high state, according to the second chapter, which says that one needs to be a gentleman of noble blood to join this order, and an irreproachable knight ... Two benefits derive from it, first the spiritual, because at his death many masses are said for his soul ... and the second

⁷² George Frederick Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1841), c.

⁷³ Escorial X-II-20, fol. 129r.

⁷⁴ “A book of the Order of the Garter, bound in red leather” (CSPS, 13: 441), which has been identified by Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero as a manuscript in the Hispanic Society; see Sánchez-Molero, “Philippus, rex Hispaniae & Angliae,” 16. On this copy of the *Institutio ordinis garterii in Anglia*, see C.L. Penney, *The Hispanic Society of America: An Album of Selected Bookbinding* (New York, 1967), xii, fig. 34.

⁷⁵ Escorial X-II-20, fol. 129r.

is temporal, to enter such an honourable and high brotherhood and company of knights.

Both Arundel's gift with the Latin statutes and Cuero's *Historia* obtained from Mary (and thereby Catherine also) found their places in what Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero has called Philip's "English library," the books given and/or dedicated to him while in England or as king of England. Many of these, he asserts, reflect upon Philip's English cultural integration; hence the epithalamic poems and volumes written to Philip and Mary in 1554.⁷⁶ But Philip's Englishing is also evidenced by religious works, such as books presented by Cuthbert Tunstall and Reginald Pole.⁷⁷ These identified him with Mary's re-Catholicization of England. Even cartography was harnessed to transmit this Englishing: Samson has demonstrated how visual emblems on matching Geminus maps, "Britanniae insulae nova descriptio" and "Nova descriptio Hispaniae" (1555), extended the Englishing to the representation of Iberia.⁷⁸

This strategy, Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero has argued, required an understanding of lawmaking and legal practice in England, alongside a workable knowledge of English history.⁷⁹ Philip's book collection was notably equipped to supply both. The inventory of his books donated to El Escorial in 1576 lists copies of *Actes made at a Parliament ... in the fyrste and seconde yeare of the reigne of ... Philip and Mary*⁸⁰ and "Ioannis Maioris historia Scotiae, et Grafidi Monemutensis historiae Britanniae,"⁸¹ a composite volume containing John Mair's *Historia Maioris Britanniae, tam Angliae quam Scotiae*⁸² and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Britanniae utriusque regum et principum origo et gesta insignia*.⁸³ Knowing history had several uses, among them looking back to, and matching,

⁷⁶ These included works like Hadrianus Junius's *Philippeis* (1554), Nikolaus Mameranus's *Gratulatorium in ... Philippi ... et Epithalamium nuptiarum eiusdem cum Maria Sereniss. Regina Angliae* (1555) and Francesco Pietranera's *Britannicarum Nuptiarum libri tres* (1559). See Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, "Philippus, rex Hispaniae & Angliae," 20–21, 24, 30. Further on Mameranus's books given to Mary, see J. Christopher Warner, "A Gift of Books from the Emperor's Poet Laureate to Queen Mary I," *Library* 11 (2010): 345–349.

⁷⁷ Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia bibliotheca*, 2: 413–414.

⁷⁸ Alexander Samson, "Mapping the Marriage: Thomas Geminus's 'Britanniae Insulae Nova Descriptio' and 'Nova Descriptio Hispaniae' (1555)," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 31 (2008): 95–115.

⁷⁹ Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, "Philippus, rex Hispaniae & Angliae," 16.

⁸⁰ London, 1555; the binding of the copy at El Escorial is identified as the work of the King Edward and Queen Mary Binder. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, "Philippus, rex Hispaniae & Angliae," 19.

⁸¹ "Entrega de la librería real de Felipe II (1576)," no. 845.

⁸² Paris, 1521.

⁸³ Paris, 1517.

English royal models as a manner of projecting Englishness. Such knowledge was in evidence during Philip's second stay in England in 1557, when his public behaviour pointedly recalled earlier English monarchs.⁸⁴

The presence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work in Philip's collection illuminates another use he and Mary made of history: connecting him with England's legendary past, the Arthurian world. As Samson has pointed out, narrative accounts of Philip's and Mary's wedding are replete with Arthurian clichés; coterminous courtly entertainments and tournaments pointedly flourished their connection with England's mythical past.⁸⁵ Here the *Historia de Inglaterra* would have provided significant help, as a sizeable section is dedicated to England's legendary history.⁸⁶ Arthur of course also anchors Cuero's description of Edward III's foundation of the Order of the Garter, the emblem of which so prominently closes the manuscript.⁸⁷

And finally, there is one addition to the Escorial manuscript rendered under Philip and Mary: an inset page with a genealogical tree. Clearly replicating the Jesse tree of Christ's lineage, it culminates in Philip and Mary. The image deliberately combines Hapsburgian gestures with an expansive English historical narrative, a construct that would become central to Philip's agenda in the last decades of the century.⁸⁸ The root of this tree is not, as might be expected, Edward III, founder of the Order of the Garter and, following the Wars of the Roses, promoted as foundational monarch of the Tudor line,⁸⁹ but rather Rollo, first count of Normandy. The purpose seems to be to show all the branches and houses in between – English (Anjou, Plantagenet, Lancaster, York, Tudor), Spanish, and even Portuguese – emanating from the same origin. Even the Castilian

⁸⁴ *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Philippe II*, ed. K. de Lettenhove and J.M.B. Constantin (Brussels, 1882–1900), 1: 61 (no. 66); *apud* Tibble, 310–311.

⁸⁵ Samson, *Mary and Philip*, 107–108, 206–207. See also Santamaría Lopez, “Great Faith is Necessary,” 115–138.

⁸⁶ Chapters 34–39, according to Soriano Robles, “La *Historia de Inglaterra con el fruto de los tiempos* de Rodrigo de Cuero (1509),” in *Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, ed. Armando López Castro and María Luzdivina Cuesta Torre (León, 2007), 2: 1055–1068, appendix 2 (1065–1066).

⁸⁷ Escorial X-II-20, fol. 129r–v.

⁸⁸ Freddy Cristóbal Domínguez has studied Philip's use of genealogy in his dynastic claims to the throne of England; see Freddy Cristóbal Domínguez, *Radicals in Exile: English Catholic Books during the Reign of Philip II* (University Park, 2020), 153–181. On the usage of the Jesse tree by Habsburgs, see Víctor Mínguez and Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *El tiempo de los Habsburgo: La construcción artística de un linaje imperial en el Renacimiento* (Madrid, 2020), 325–340.

⁸⁹ Ian Mortimer has discussed the idealization of Edward III in *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III, Father of the English Nation* (London, 2006).

House of Burgundy appears branching out of Henry II Plantagenet through his daughter Eleanor, who married the Castilian king Alphonsus VIII. The tree thus visually represents the multigenerational interconnection of all the branches, their originary “Englishness” emphasized by the Norman beginnings, insofar as aristocratic England traced its lineages to Norman, not Anglo-Saxon, ancestry. (Not incidentally, Catherine of Aragon, named after queen Catherine Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt and wife of Enrique III of Castile, here is “Englished,” herself.) In effect – and perhaps intentionally – this tree, added to the manuscript of Cuero’s English history, recalls the genealogical device prominent at the wedding of Philip and Mary, which declared them “both descended of one auncient lyne.”⁹⁰



As text, as visual reference, and as presented object, then, the Escorial manuscript of Cuero’s *Historia de Inglaterra con el Fructo de los tiempos* embodies a lineage of attempted legitimacies for three different monarchs: while for Catherine, bereft “dowager queen” abandoned in a hostile country, the work voiced her claims to the rights at risk after her widowhood, for Mary, resuscitated “bastard” daughter, it proclaimed the legitimation of her rightful sovereignty, and for Philip it encapsulated strategies to legitimate his place as joint monarch of England, graphically tracing his ancestry from the English monarchs, identifying him with the Garter and England’s highest dignity derived therefrom, and recalling earlier Anglo-Iberian royal marriages. Any possible sentimental value aside, the book’s place in his personal library seems altogether justified. Truly, the humanist Juan Luis Vives, so close to Catherine and to Mary, and writing in a more general context, offered an apt description of this extraordinary artifact when he said, “In these bokes shall you se the resemblance of your mynde.”⁹¹

⁹⁰ Elder, “John Elder’s Letter,” 150.

⁹¹ Juan Luis Vives, dedication to Catherine of Aragon in *A very frutefull and pleasant boke called the Instruction of a Christen Woman ... turned out of Laten into Englysshe by Rycharde Hyrd* (London, 1529), sig. B iv r.