

# A Palace Designed for Diplomacy: Atholl in 1532

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The erection of structures of a temporary nature related to royal palaces and designed for specific diplomatic and dynastic occasions is a well-recognised feature of medieval and renaissance culture in Scotland, as elsewhere in Europe.<sup>1</sup> Few were as temporary or as individual as the palace of green timber which was erected for James V of Scotland and his guests in the region of Atholl in 1532.<sup>2</sup> [Fig. 1] James had become king of Scots in 1513 at the age of one following the death of his father, James IV, at the battle of Flodden. This had been fought against the English forces of Henry VIII, his brother-in-law, in support of the King of France, Louis XII.<sup>3</sup> Henry himself was at the time engaged in an invasion of France, attacking the city of Tournai.<sup>4</sup> During the years of his personal reign following his emancipation from the regency of the earl of Angus in 1528 James had been to a considerable degree successful in re-establishing the authority of the Crown and respect for law across Scotland, where there was a particular problem in the area of the Scottish Borders with England.<sup>5</sup> The maintenance of royal authority in the domestic sphere cannot be separated from the position of Scotland on the international stage with foreign powers, particularly England, anxious to support dissident magnates in the more remote regions of the country.

1532 was a very active year for European diplomacy, for the Pope, Clement VII, a member of the Medici family, for the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, for the king of France, Francis I, and, above all for Henry VIII, king of England. It has been written that ‘throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the chief international events either are, or flow from, marriages’.<sup>6</sup> Henry was making his final attempts to divorce his first wife, Catherine, youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and aunt of Charles V, by whom he had an only daughter, later Queen Mary Tudor. The next male heir to the English throne was his nephew, James V of Scotland, son of his elder sister Margaret who had been married to James IV.<sup>7</sup> Henry’s overwhelming desire to be succeeded by a son of his own was driven in part by a fear of a repetition of the civil wars of the previous century, and his marriage to Anne Boleyn was planned in order to achieve this. The king’s desire for his divorce from 1528 onwards meant that English foreign policy was driven by his domestic concerns.<sup>8</sup> The divorce was opposed by Charles V who, to a large extent, controlled the Papacy following the Sack of Rome five years earlier.<sup>9</sup> James V was looking for a bride who would provide him with an heir and preferably a large dowry. The Franco-Scottish Treaty of Rouen in 1517 had included a provision that James would marry a French princess, a daughter of Francois I, and despite various other proposals, this was always his preferred choice.<sup>10</sup>

Scotland and France were traditional allies against England, and various treaties over the previous two centuries had maintained this link.<sup>11</sup> The interests of the Empire were frequently opposed to those of France in

- 1 Marie-Therese Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship interactions in Ireland in the late twelfth century*, Oxford 1989, pp. 194, 202 – Louise O. Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland*, Wisconsin 1991, pp. 172–191 – Michael Lynch, *Queen Mary’s Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566*, *Scottish Historical Review* 69, 1990, 1, pp. 1–21 – Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: the court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542*, Edinburgh 2005, pp. 184–194.
- 2 Robert Lindsay of Pitcottie, edited by Ae. J. G. Mackay, *The historie and cronicles of Scotland from the slaughter of King James the First to the ane thousande fyve hundreith thrie scoir fyftein zeir / written and collected by Robert Lindsay of Pitcottie. Being a continuation of the chronicles written by Hector Boece and translated by John Bellenden*, Edinburgh 1899.
- 3 Norman Macdougall, *James IV*, Edinburgh 1989, pp. 248–276.
- 4 Charles Cruikshank, *The English Occupation of Tournai*, Oxford 1971, pp. 6–12.
- 5 Jamie Cameron, *James V: the personal rule*, East Linton 1998, pp. 70–92 – Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V- VII*, Edinburgh 1990, pp. 50–52.
- 6 John R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy. An Historical Essay*, Cambridge 1895, I, p. 32.
- 7 C. Patrick Hotle, *Thorns and Thistles: Diplomacy Between Henry VIII and James V, 1528–1542*, Lanham – London 1996, p. 23.
- 8 David Loades, *Henry VIII*, Stroud 2013, pp. 196–210; Hotle (see note 7), p. 14.
- 9 William S. Maltby, *The reign of Charles V*, Basingstoke – New York 2002, pp. 36–37; Loades (see note 8), pp. 196–197.
- 10 Cameron (see note 5), p. 60.
- 11 Elizabeth Bonner, *Inheritance, war and antiquarianism: Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, 2<sup>nd</sup> seigneur d’Aubigny et de Concessault 1429–37*, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 143, 2014, pp. 339–362 (340–341).

the sixteenth century, but Scotland's relations with Burgundy and the Low Countries had always been close.<sup>12</sup> Henry's desire for the divorce led to various short-term changes in policy, and to attempts to destabilise James' rule and the alliance with France by sending raiders and encouraging disorder in the Borders and the west of Scotland.<sup>13</sup> There was intense diplomatic activity between the different monarchs. In the interests of forwarding his divorce Henry was maintaining close relations with France and James was growing closer to the Pope and the Emperor, while preserving his links with France, where he wished to find a bride, and where he eventually married Madeleine, the elder daughter of Francois I, in 1537.<sup>14</sup> Charles V admitted James to the Order of the Golden Fleece in April 1532. The Pope granted James extensive rights of taxation over the Scottish church ostensibly to pay for the newly instituted College of Justice, but also from a strong desire to avert the kind of ecclesiastical changes which were taking place in England.<sup>15</sup> James presided over the inauguration of the College in May 1532, an event which may have been attended by both papal and imperial envoys. The papal ambassador, Sylvester Darius, had extensive diplomatic experience, having served as nuncio in England since 1522, and came to Scotland in May 1532.<sup>16</sup>

James, at twenty years old, found himself courted by France, the Emperor and the Pope with Henry VIII trying to apply pressure by encouraging rebels in the more outlying parts of his kingdom.<sup>17</sup> As an element in establishing his prestige he decided to show off Scotland, in an individual and impressive light. [Fig. 2] The Scottish kings had married across the royal houses of Northern Europe and considered themselves with their long royal descent the equal of the other kings in Europe. James' mother was the elder daughter of Henry VII of England [Fig. 3], his grandmother, the elder daughter of Christian I of Denmark and his great grandmother was Mary of Gueldres, the nearest marriageable female relative of Philip the Good of Burgundy. Various princesses had been proposed for James, including Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII; Mary of Hungary, Charles V's sister; Christiana or Dorothea, daughters of the deposed king of Denmark and nieces of Charles V; and Catherine de Medici, the niece of both Pope Clement VII and, by marriage, of James' nearest male heir, John Stewart, Duke of Albany.<sup>18</sup> In 1531 negotiations for the renewal of the Hundred Years Mercantile Treaty with Charles V through the Regents of the Netherlands were rapidly concluded and, while a proposal of marriage with Mary of Hungary was rejected, one, with the elder daughter of Christian of Denmark, was encouraged by the Emperor. James' envoy, the herald and poet, David Lindsay, brought back portraits of both Danish princesses to Scotland.<sup>19</sup> There was a considerable amount of pretence in all these discussions about marriages and they were always dependent on the current state of other alliances, with, for example, instructions given by the imperial negotiators that a gracious letter should be written to the Cardinal of Ravenna, Protector of Scotland, entertaining him with fine words until English affairs, that is the progress or otherwise of Henry VIII's divorce, were more clearly understood.<sup>20</sup> Letters to the Scottish king carrying word that the treaty had been concluded were intercepted by the English and promises of the despatch of munitions caused concern on the Borders and in London.<sup>21</sup>

In common with other European monarchs with their desire for honour, James welcomed the recognition of his status provided by the award of knighthood in prestigious chivalric orders.<sup>22</sup> Charles V admitted James to the Order of the Golden Fleece in April 1532.<sup>23</sup> He was subsequently admitted to the Order of the Garter by Henry VIII in 1535 when that monarch was trying to arrange a personal meeting with his nephew and wished to conciliate him.<sup>24</sup> Francois I made James a member of the Order of St Michael in 1536 as an element in the

12 Richard Vaughan, London 1970, pp. 111, 243.

13 Hotle (see note 7), p. 48.

14 Hotle (see note 7), pp. 42–43; Janet Hadley Williams, Of officaris serving thy senyeorie: David Lyndsay's diplomatic letter of 1531, in: L. A. J. R. Houwen – A. A. MacDonald – S. L. Mapstone (eds.), *A palace in the wild: essays on vernacular culture and humanism in late-medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, Leuven 2000, pp. 125–140 (125).

15 William Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: a Survey to 1707*, Edinburgh 1994, p. 57.

16 Andrew Godfrey, *Civil Justice in Renaissance Scotland: the origins of a Central Court*, Brill 2009, pp. 126, 130, 131; Hotle (see note 7), pp. 47.

17 Donaldson (see note 5), pp. 50–52.

18 Cameron (see note 5), pp. 60, 151.

19 Hadley Williams (see note 14), 131–132.

20 *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, edited by Pascual de Gayngos, London 1882, Volume 4, Part 2, no. 115.

21 *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, V, edited by James Gairdner, London 1880, no. 443.

22 Robert Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France 1483–1610*, Oxford 2001, p. 90 – Loades (see note 8), pp. 61–62 – Maltby (see note 9), p. 29.

23 Cameron Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542*, Edinburgh 2005, pp. 205–210.

24 Hotle (see note 7), pp. 84–85 – Cameron (see note 5), p. 287.

negotiations for a French marriage.<sup>25</sup> These honours, along with the armorial of James' own Order of the Thistle, were celebrated in the carvings above the triumphal arch which forms the outer gateway to Linlithgow Palace built for James when a new ceremonial approach to the palace was constructed.<sup>26</sup> [Fig. 4]

James V had a considerable interest in other forms of ceremonial which would enhance the status of the monarchy in Scotland and Europe, including the remaking of the crown jewels and symbolic gifts from the Pope, such as the blessed cap and sword awarded to the king in 1536.<sup>27</sup> He was an extremely active builder, altering and extending his four major palaces and introducing Renaissance elements into their decoration.<sup>28</sup> The gardens around his residences were also maintained and developed.<sup>29</sup> In his reign the palace in Stirling Castle was built and major additions were made to Falkland Palace, Linlithgow Palace and Holyrood in Edinburgh. By late 1532 work had been completed on the residential tower for the king at Holyrood and considerable progress made on the east wing of Falkland where the royal apartments were situated. Major works at Linlithgow and Stirling were still to come.

While the formal receptions of ambassadors would take place in the Presence Chambers of the palace where James was resident, the use of outdoor meetings in palace gardens could serve specific purposes. At Stirling James would inhabit the King's House, built for his father, James IV, which lay immediately adjacent to the garden within the castle. It was in this garden at Stirling that James IV had met the envoys of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The tenor of this meeting emerges in a letter from Ferdinand and Isabella to their ambassadors in Scotland in which the Catholic Monarchs regretted their treatment by the king during an interview in the garden in the winter of 1496.<sup>30</sup> Ferdinand and Isabella had been trying to detach James IV from his alliance with France and despatches had reached Scotland indicating that the Catholic Monarchs had no serious intention of arranging a marriage with one of their daughters. The king was understandably annoyed at the deception. Mary Queen of Scots, James V's daughter, is recorded as receiving envoys in gardens.<sup>31</sup> Various reasons can be advanced for this practice: gardens provided a degree of privacy without secrecy; members of the court and council could see the meeting of the monarch with foreign envoys, but not necessarily hear what was said; the weather could provide a useful excuse for terminating meetings. Such meetings also had their problems. There is a vivid description by the English ambassador from Henry VIII, Ralph Sadler, of his reception in March 1543 by the Earl of Arran who was governor or regent of Scotland for the infant Mary Queen of Scots:

'Upon my arrival I repaired forthwith to the govenour whom I found in a garden at the palace of Holyrood-house and delivered unto him your majesty's letters... There was a great company of noblemen and gentlemen about him, which pressed so near him, as it seemed to me, that either he would fain [wanted] have had me in another place, where he might secretly have communed with me, or else to take counsel before he entred further with me.'<sup>32</sup>

Henry wanted to marry Mary to his son, the future Edward VI, while the Scots were moving towards an alliance with France and the marriage of Mary to the Dauphin.

Temporary buildings for diplomatic meetings or attempts to arrange a treaty were not uncommon and often took place on the borders of two countries or territories. The most relevant precedent for the hunt in Atholl was probably the meeting between Henry VIII and Francois of France which became known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. [Fig. 5] It was designed to repair a non-aggression treaty, but seems to have become the occasion for competitive display. It took place near Guisnes to the south of Calais between the seventh and twentieth of June in 1520.<sup>33</sup> Calais was an English possession before 1558, so the meeting was on the margins of English ground. The event derived its name from the magnificence of the materials used for the tents, pavilions and

25 Thomas (see note 1), p. 207.

26 Thomas (see note 1), pp. 207–209.

27 Andrea Thomas, *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland*, Edinburgh 2013, p. 186.

28 John Dunbar, *The Scottish Royal Palaces: The Architecture of the Royal Residences in the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Periods*, Edinburgh 1999.

29 Marilyn Brown, *Scotland's Lost Gardens: From the Garden of Eden to Stewart Palaces*, Edinburgh 2012, pp. 76–83.

30 Macdougall (see note 3), pp. 121–122.

31 *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the reign of Elizabeth 1561–2*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, London 1866, Volume 4, no. 777.

32 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, ed. by James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, London 1901, Volume 18, Part 1, no. 305.

33 Knecht (see note 22), pp. 89–90 – Loades (see note 8), pp. 112–114.



other furnishings which the kings brought with them to form temporary palaces. It was a spectacle of the greatest magnificence and the records and a painting in the Royal Collections (RCIN 405794) are believed to provide a fairly accurate visual picture of the setting for the various festivities that took place during the meeting of the two kings. It shows in the right hand foreground a palace, specially erected for the occasion by six thousand men from England and Flanders sent on ahead of the royal party. It was set on brick foundations with the walls and roof made of canvas painted to look like a solid structure. The framework was of timber imported from the Netherlands, presumably a re-export from somewhere further north. The windows were of glass and the facade was decorated with sculpture. Two fountains in front of the palace provided wine and beer. Behind the temporary palace were the King's golden dining tent and the ovens and tents in which the King's meals were prepared. The formal meeting between Henry VIII and Francois I took place in the rich tent at the centre background. The Field of Cloth of Gold with its feasting and tournaments provided a spectacle of magnificence, an important attribute of a monarch. Little of practical value emerged from the meeting of the monarchs: they were at war within two years, but a more positive assessment of the event is that the two monarchs demonstrated their participation in a common Renaissance culture, renowned across Europe.

James V was neither geographically or financially in a position to compete with the kings of England and France, particularly after the mismanagement of his minority. At the age of twenty, he wished to make his mark on the European stage. The events of 1532 gave him an opportunity to present his country and himself as something distinct and different. Scotland was honoured for its long line of independent kings and this was celebrated in other rulers' spectacles, such as the entry of Charles V into Brussels in 1549. It was generally recognised that the country was divided in two parts, the south inhabited by English speaking civil Scots and the north by wild Gaelic speakers who wore different clothes. James took the opportunity to demonstrate the different characters of his country and his control over it. The occasion of the visit by papal envoys, Sylvester Darius and his companion, provided an occasion for display. James was accompanied by his mother, Henry VIII's sister. At this point in 1532, when Henry had ended his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, Margaret's position as a presumptive heir to England would have become more obvious, although Henry did not have his daughter, Mary Tudor, declared illegitimate until the following May. James' host in Atholl was his cousin, John Stewart, Earl of Atholl; they shared a common great great grandmother, Jane Beaufort, a member of the English royal family. The detailed account of the event was given by the not always accurate chronicler, Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, probably writing in the 1570s, some forty years after the event.<sup>34</sup> The existence of the hunting party is confirmed by the contemporary entry in the *Treasurers' Accounts* for the fifth day of September 1532 of a payment to David Crichton of the king's wardrobe for two carriage horses to transport the king's bed and other possessions to the hunt in Atholl.<sup>35</sup> [Fig. 6] The king went from Perth, where there was a royal lodging, with his mother Margaret Tudor and the papal ambassador to hunt in Atholl in the Highlands. The names of the mountains, Beinn Ghlo, Beinn Iutharn Mhor and Beinn Coire Chruinn-bhalgeinn, where the hunt took place suggests a location in Glen Tilt, an impressive narrow valley to the north-west of the Earl of Atholl's castle at Blair. The earl had enlarged his castle about 1530 and it could have provided accommodation for the royal party if it had been wanted. Pitscottie describes the site of the temporary palace as a fair meadow. He writes:

'The Earle of Atholl heirand of the kingis coming maid ane great provisioun ffor him in all thingis pertening to ane prince, that he was as weill servitt and eassit witht all thingis necessar pertening to his estaitt as he had bene in his awin palice in Edinburgh. He wantit no thing ffor I hard say this nobill Earle of Atholl gart mak ane curieous palice to the king and to his mother and to the ambassadour quhair they war honourabill ludgit as they had ben in Ingland France, Itallie and Spaine ffor thair huntingt and pastyme quhilk was buildit in the midis of ane fair medow ane faire palice of greine tymmer wond witht birkis that war grein batht wnder and abone, quhilk was fesnitt in foure quarteris and everie quarter and nuike thairof ane greit round as it had bene ane blokhuse quhilk was loftit and iestit the space of thrie house hight ; the fluir laid witht greine cherittis, witht prattis, medwartis and flouris. Then no man knew quhairon he zeid bot as he

34 Lindsay (see note 2), pp. 335–338.

35 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (=TA) VI*, ed. by Thomas Dickson and Sir James Balfour Paul, Edinburgh 1877, p. 103.

had bene in ane gardin. Farder thair was tua great roundis in ilk syde of the zeit and ane greit portculis of trie falland doune the maner of ane barrace witht ane greit draw brege, and ane great owsie and strak of watter of sextene foot deipe and xxx futte braid of watter and also this palice withtin was weill syllit and hung witht fyne tapistrie and arrasis of silk, and sett and lightit witht fyne glassin wondowis in all airttis [so] that this palice was allis pleisantlie decoirit witht all necessaris pertenant to ane prince as it had bene his awin palice royall at hame. Farder this earle theearieof gart mak sic provitioun ffor the king and his mother ane bankitto and that stranger the ambassadour that thai had all maner of meittis, drinkis, deliecatiss that was to be gottin at that tyme in all Scotland either in burght or in land that might be gottin for money; that is to say, all kynd of drink, as aill, beir, wyne, batht quhyte wyne and clairit, mallvesie musticat and allacant, inchethrist and accquitie. Ffarder thair was of meittis, of breid quhyte breid maine breid and gingebreid, witht flesches, beif, muttun, lambes, cuning, cran, suan, wile guse, pertrick and plever, duke, Brissill cok and powins togither witht blak cok and murefoull and cappercallzes and also the tankis that was round about the palice was sowmond full of all deliecat fishes, as sallmond, troutis and perches, pykis and eilis and all wther kynd of deliecat fishes that could be gottin in fresche watteris was all redy to be prepairit for the bancat. Syne was thair proper stewartis and cuning baxteris and also excellent cuikis and potiseris witht confectiounis and drogis ffor thair desairtis. All thir thingis beand in order and prepairit as I haue schawin, hallis, chameris and witht costlie beding, wesshell and naiperie according for ane king, nathing deminischit of his ordour more nor he had bene at hame in his awin palice. The king remanit in this present wildernes at the huntting the space of thrie dayis and thrie nightis, and his companie as I haue schawin to zow affoir. I hard men say that ewerie day was the Earle of Atholl in expenssis ane theearieof thowsand pound. This ambassadour of the paipis seand expenssis this great bancat and treumph being maid in ane wilderland considerand that it was bot the erse of the warld be wther contries, thair sould be sic honestie and pollicie in it and spetiall in the hieland, quhair their is bot wode and wildernes. Bot maist of all this ambassadour merwellit quhene the king depairtit and all his men tuike thair leif, the hieland men sett all this fair palice in ane fyre that the king and his ambassadouris might sie thame. Then the ambassadour said to the king, ‘ I merwell that ze sould tholl zone fair palice to be brunt that zour grace hes ben so weill ludgit into.’ Than the king ansuerit the ambassadour and said, ‘ It is the wse of our hielandmen thocht thay be newer so weill ludgit, to burne thair ludging quhene they depairt’ This being done, the king turnit to Dunkell that night and on the morne to S. Johnstoun. How money I hard say the king at that tyme in the boundis of wyld beistis Atholl and Stretherne, that is to say Benglow, Benewrne and Bencrwine, betuix the hillis and in the boundis forsaidis slew xxx scoir [600] of heartis and hyndis witht wther small beistis as re and rebuke, 2 wolf and fox, and wyldcattis, 3.’<sup>36</sup>

In readiness for the royal visit the earl had constructed a palace of green timber, wound around with birch branches that were also green, creating a green castle, perhaps reminiscent of the green castles of the *sidhe* or fairy folk of the Highlands. It was surrounded by a moat thirty foot across (10 metres) and sixteen foot (5 metres) deep which was used for keeping freshwater fish such as salmon, trout, perch, pikes and eels ready for the banquet. The entrance was flanked by two round towers with a drawbridge and a great portcullis of timber. There were four ranges with a round tower at each corner like a blockhouse. It stood three storeys high and the windows were of glass. Inside, the palace was hung with tapestries and arrases of silk. The floor was laid with green turf and with rushes, meadowsweet and flowers, so that it seemed like a garden. There was costly bedding, table ware and linen so that everything was in the proper order as it might have been in the king’s own palace. There were stewards, cooks, bakers and confectioners to prepare the banquet. Although the site was more than twenty miles from any town, nothing was lacking and the cost to the Earl of Atholl was supposed to have been a thousand pounds a day. The detailed lists of the food and wines provided might suggest something about Lindsay’s source for the account. Much information is given about the numbers and kinds of animals slain during

36 For those unfamiliar with Scottish orthography, the online *Dictionary of the Scottish Language* ([www.dsl.ac.uk](http://www.dsl.ac.uk)) may be consulted.

the three days of the hunt. These would be driven from a wide area around by men and dogs with barriers and nets into a gradually smaller area in which they could be shot by the noble participants from fixed stands, a type of hunting with which James and his nobility would be very familiar.<sup>37</sup>

The description of the building of green timber might indicate a square or rectangular structure probably four ranges set round a courtyard with towers at the corners and the internal angles, resembling, in miniature, the plan of James' palace of Linlithgow. [Fig. 7] Alternatively it might be on the plan of the residential tower James had completed at Holyrood which was more like a blockhouse. [Fig. 8] There are no records of large scale timber buildings in Scotland in the 1530s, although there were many lean-to structures and external staircases and galleries, which would be built of seasoned timber probably at this date brought in from Norway.<sup>38</sup> The timber palace seems to have been one of a kind.

Hunts in the Highlands were held over several days and were occasions for displays of hospitality and power. Usually participants would be lodged in tents as James V was on later hunts.<sup>39</sup> Thirty years later, in 1562 Mary Queen of Scots was also entertained for fourteen days at a hunt in Glen Tilt by a later Earl of Atholl with a similar extravagance of food and drink and an even greater quantity of game.<sup>40</sup> There is no record of the building of a hunting lodge for Mary and the building constructed for James V would seem to be unique and designed for a foreign audience. The climax of the event came when the royal party was leaving and the highland men set the palace on fire. The papal ambassador said to the king, 'I marvel that you should allow that fair palace where your grace has been so well lodged to be burnt.' And the king answered that, 'It was the custom of our highland men to burn their lodging when they depart.' There are no accounts of any such destruction being customary in the Highlands or elsewhere in Scotland and, as with the construction of the green palace, this would seem to be a performance designed to impress. In its extravagance it recalls the banquet of Agostino Chigi in 1518 when he had his silver plate thrown into the River Tiber following a banquet for the cardinals of the Sacred College at the Villa Farnesina in Rome, silver that was afterwards retrieved by his servants, an aspect of the affair unknown until the seventeenth-century publication of his biography by one of his descendants.<sup>41</sup> A similar story is told of Andrea Doria who, following a banquet for Charles V at Genoa in 1533, threw his silverware into the sea, from where it was subsequently recovered by fishermen.<sup>42</sup> It is easy to imagine the contents of the Earl of Atholl's palace being carried out behind a smokescreen provided by the burning of green timber. Pitscottie provides another Scottish example of conspicuous waste in 1543 when the Earl of Moray entertained the Venetian patriarch of Aquileia, Marino Grimani, who was visiting Scotland during another period when there was potential for a change in the traditional alliances between Scotland, England, France and the Empire following the death of James V at the end of 1542 and the birth of Mary Queen of Scots. The earl set out on his cupboard all sorts of glasses of the finest crystal and arranged for a servant to pull on the cloth covering the cupboard as if by negligence so that all the vessels were broken and, to make the cardinal understand that there was an abundance of glassware in Scotland (and by extension) further wealth, he had another cupboard brought out with even more crystal.<sup>43</sup>

James' purpose in exhibiting his amicable relations with the Highlands and his control of the 'hieland men' had a more serious point. He and his cousin were setting out to impress the wider European world by producing a spectacle which would be novel to the ambassador and unique to Scotland. The Field of Cloth of Gold provides a model for a diplomatic meeting of which the palace in Atholl can be seen as an extreme variant and, with its overtones of a fantastic magical castle in the wilderness, outdoing the costly meeting of Henry VIII and Francois I. James V was demonstrating his wealth and power both in the creation of the palace set in a wilderness and by the casual way in which he could destroy it.

37 Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution*, Edinburgh 2000, pp. 210–215; Thomas (see note 1), pp. 52–54.

38 Dunbar (see note 28); Charles McKean, *The Scottish Château*, Stroud 2001, pp. 67, 275.

39 *TA*, 6 (see note 34), p. 192.

40 John, seventh Duke of Atholl, *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine families* 1, Edinburgh 1908, Volume 1, p. 36.

41 Rembrandt Duits, Art, Class and Wealth, in: Kim Woods – Carol Richardson – Angeliki Limberopoulou (eds.), *Viewing Renaissance Art*, London 2007, p. 21.

42 Georgina Masson, *Italian Gardens*, London 1961, p. 243.

43 John Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland from the death of King James I in the year Mccccxxvi to the year Mdlxi*, Edinburgh 1838, pp. 178–180.





1. Relief map of Scotland showing the location of Blair Atholl in relation to James V's major residences.

Photo: D. Gallagher



2. James V, sixteenth-century oil painting by an unknown artist.

Photo: National Galleries of Scotland. Licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk)





3. James IV and Queen Margaret from the Seton Armorial, 1591.

Photo: National Library of Scotland. Licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk)





4. The outer gate of Linlithgow Palace showing the badges of the orders of which James V was a member.

Photo: D. Gallagher



5. The Field of Cloth of Gold, circa 1545, Royal Collection at Hampton Court.

Photo: Royal Collection Trust: © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2014





## 6. Glen Tilt: Aerial View.

Photo: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland





## 7. Linlithgow Palace: Aerial View.

Photo: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland



8. Holyrood Palace: James V Tower.

Photo: D. Gallagher