

Did the Sons of Edward IV Outlive Henry VII?

JACK LESLAU

AS A RESULT of considerable study of some seventy-three portraits by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543), the conclusion has been reached that they conceal within them hidden messages, political and personal. Among these is a categorical statement that the two sons of Edward IV survived the reign of Richard III and lived into the reign of their nephew, Henry VIII. The following article sets out to substantiate this view.

The messages are concealed in the portraits by an hitherto unsuspected use of a pictorial covert rebus. The overt rebus, which may be defined as 'an enigmatical representation of a name, word, or phrase, by figures pictures, arrangement of letters etc., which suggest the syllables of which it is made up' has a long and interesting history. It was (and is) used to a considerable extent in heraldry, both in coats of arms and in badges, this latter use being the rebus proper. An example is found in Westminster Abbey in the chapel of Abbot John Islip, where the Abbot represented himself by carvings of an eye over a branch (slip). This is an overt rebus. The covert rebus adds the element of secrecy to the transformation. A French language example is 'Ga' ('G' grand, 'a' petit) an homophone of '*J'ai grand appétit*' or, 'I am very hungry'.

Holbein, according to observations made over several years, developed the covert rebus in a manner and to a degree which was hitherto unsuspected. It had long been known that 'Holbein often presents us with riddles',¹ the anamorphic skull in his portrait 'The Ambassadors' is obvious to a direct inspection, and there is much other particular use of the detail present in this portrait.² The skull is usually taken to represent the personal badge of Jean de Dinteville, Seigneur de Polisy, one of the ambassadors (who has a skull badge in his hat) but it may be shown that it (a '*memento mori*' or, 'a remembrance of death') is a direct reference to Thomas More, similar to the pun made by More's friend, Erasmus in his book *Encomium Moriae* (Praise of Folly, or 'Praise of More'). Other parts of the rebus in the portrait are relevant to the main topic of this article. For example, a book on which Georges de Selve, Bishop of Lavour (the second ambassador) rests his arm is inscribed with his age '*AETATIS SUAE 25(?)*', but the words are actually painted as '*AETAT ISSUE*'. In French this means an 'issue of state'. The age depicted is 'lost' in shadow, and the shadows in the portrait are inconsistent with a single

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light source. The shadows infer secrecy and death and are linguistically relevant to other detail in the portrait. On the same shelf as the above book is a group of astronomical instruments, usually taken to be there to show the wide interests of the ambassadors. One of them (an astrolabe) shows an error of five degrees in its angular markings, a 'line fault'. Holbein was a master of perspective, and quite capable of painting this instrument correctly, he did so in his portrait of 'Nicholas Kratzer', painted in 1527, several years before he painted 'The Ambassadors'³ but does repeat 'line faults' in other paintings, where a 'line fault' or '*faute linéaire*' means 'a fault in the lineage'. The inference here is that the artist is secretly communicating on a state issue, concerned with the realm, the correct accession to the throne (relevant to other shadows and astronomical or musical instruments), related to a fault in the lineage. The full analysis of this portrait, and the inferences to be drawn from it cannot be included here⁴ but it is relevant to another major text contained in a group portrait of Sir Thomas More and his family, owned by Lord St Oswald and now at Nostell Priory, W. Yorkshire.⁵ The portrait is reproduced here by permission of Lord St Oswald (Photo: National Gallery).

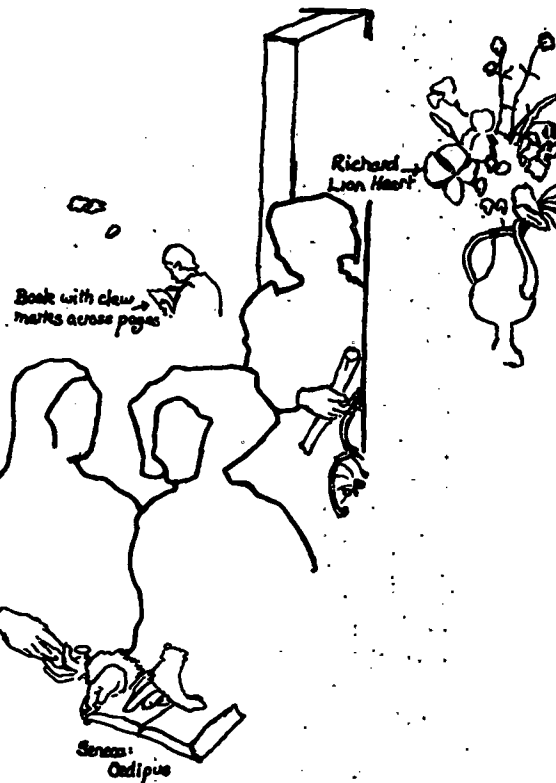
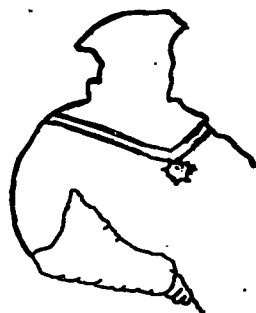
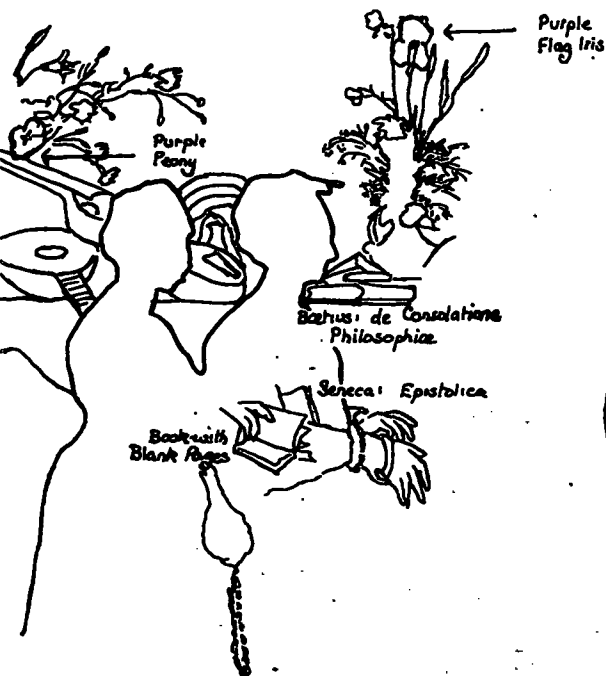
It is known that Holbein painted such a portrait of the family group in or about 1527; there is a preliminary sketch at Basel. This portrait is thought to have been destroyed by fire in 1752, and the Nostell Priory group to be a copy by Rowland Locky.⁶ For various reasons, the chief of which is that no mention of a copy by Rowland Locky (*fl.* 1590) is reported until the mid-eighteenth century, before which time, inside and outside the family the portrait is referred to as 'The Holbein', painted for Margaret and William Roper (daughter and son-in-law of Sir Thomas More), the present author believes that the Nostell Priory painting is an authentic Holbein, painted for a specific purpose, subsequent to the first Group portrait. It certainly bears a very close resemblance to the Basel sketch, far closer than any of the other versions of the painting which exist.

In this great painting of the More family group are twelve figures (twelve in the Basel sketch). Taking the figures from left to right these are Margaret Giggs, adopted daughter of Thomas More, married to Dr John Clements (see below), Elizabeth Dauncey, second daughter of Thomas More, Sir John More, father of Sir Thomas More, and next to him Sir Thomas. Just behind these latter two is Anne Cresacre who married More's son John, on More's left. Next to him is Henry Patenson, More's fool, while in front appear Cecily Heron, the youngest daughter, and Margaret Roper, the eldest daughter, and More's second wife, Alice. A man reads a book in a back room, and in a doorway is a figure usually said to be John Harris, More's secretary, but for another identification see below. This figure does not appear in any of the other versions of the portrait. Looking at the family group of Sir Thomas More it may seem that the man standing by the doorway is positioned higher in the portrait than any other person depicted.

Upon closer examination it may be observed that the top of the man's hat is on the same horizontal line as the top of the 'M' in More's name and that the 'M' is placed centrally above the head of Sir Thomas More. The intersection of the horizontal and vertical lines to the 'M' forms a right angle. Furthermore, the pendant on the chain around Sir Thomas More's neck is not positioned centrally but has been moved to the right. The pendant appears



DRAWN CURTAIN



to have been re-positioned over Sir Thomas More's heart. A vertical line upwards from the pendant to the higher clock weight and an horizontal line leftwards from the higher clock weight to the purple flag-iris forms a right angle at the base of the clock weight. On the grounds that the person of highest station was conventionally positioned highest in a portrait this configuration may be considered unconventional and together with the projections to left and right of the two right angles might be interpreted as a pictorial representation of the words:

‘(The man standing in the doorway) is (*quartered right* on Sir Thomas More) —(living with him)—and is (higher in station) than anyone present except for (one yet higher in station) than he who is now (*left quartered*) in (the heart of Sir Thomas More) and protected (under the shield of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster)’.

The door of the clock is open and the round decorative emblem shows the arms of a waxing half-moon and the crescent of a waxing quarter-moon. The other visible side of the emblem is black. The time on the clock shows 10.53 with the minute hand exactly covering the hour hand and a curtain is drawn behind the purple flag-iris. This pictorial detail might be an inference that: (1) The time had been changed, for the reason that the door on this type of clock is opened in order to change the time. (2) Someone in the portrait was depicted at half their age, on the grounds that the moon was shown at ‘half its age’. (3) Someone had recently died, because of the drawn curtain and on the further grounds that the left-hand side of the emblem was a black eclipse signifying ‘death’. (4) There was a ‘minute’ difference in time, on the grounds that one of the times that the gearing on a clock permits the hands to cover exactly is 10.54 and not 10.53 as depicted in the portrait; and that where one hand covers the other that this infers covert behaviour.’

A further conclusion is that the inference of the recent death was concerned with the purple flag-iris which indicated a royal personage, since the colour purple is associated with royalty. This appears to be a double reference, the colour purple and the flag-iris are both symbols of royalty. This double reference is not a tautology, on the grounds of the known non-existence of a purple flag-iris, and this has another significance, an inferred reference to a ‘(royal) Standard Bearer’, taking the ‘flag’ as a ‘standard’ and ‘iris’ in Greek as a ‘stem’ or, by extension ‘a bearing stem’ or ‘bearer’.

In view of the inclusion of the names and ages of each person depicted, the hypothesis was formed that one of those ages was incorrect, and on the basis of the inference of the moon that is shown at half its age, a further deduction was made that one person in the portrait had been included at half their age by the artist, that this had been achieved by a process of the artist's imagination, and that the person had not been painted from the live model of the real age. Examining the faces in the portrait it is found that the faces of the woman on the left and the man standing on the right appeared to have a plastic and unreal quality when compared with the quality of the other heads in the portrait. The age of the face of the woman on the left appears to be about double her inferred years (aged 22) but holding to the inference that one person is portrayed at half their age, it may be deduced that the man standing by the door was that person, the inference is that his real age is not 27 years (*anno* 27) but 54 years. The name painted over the head of this man is ‘*Johanes heresius*’ (*sic*). This

name has been phonetically translated into English as 'John Harris' by all writers on this portrait and the person portrayed has been identified as the secretary to Sir Thomas More. Beside and underneath his name is written '*Thomae/Mori famul:*' (sic). A literal translation of this man's surname from Latin into English gives '*heres*'—'the heir' and '*ius*'—'right' or 'rightful'—or—'*heresius*'—'The Rightful Heir'. The inference is that this man standing by the door was the rightful heir (and was not John Harris).

The artist has painted an optical illusion above the head of '*Johanes heresius*' beneath a series of fleur-de-lys (symbols of royalty) above the doorway. Seen from the left there appears to be a door which is half-open—seen from the right the door appears to be an angled view of the door frame. The effect of the illusion is to make the door disappear. In addition he is wearing a sword and one bent finger is touching the pommel of the sword-handle. He is holding a double-seal parchment and near his sword is a small shield with a polished rim and spokes. Near his head is a prominent red flower. His face is drawn and anguished with tightly compressed lips. If what is pictorially represented is translated into the French language, the optical illusion becomes a '*porte-à-faux*' or 'false door' meaning 'that which is contrary to the truth', that the man who was holding the parchment became '*il tient le parchmin*' meaning 'he holds the right and title of nobility'. The spoke of a wheel is '*rai*' and the rim is '*jante*' which is a split homophone of '*régente*' or 'regent', and '*le bouclier du régente*' means the symbolic shield of a king. All the ceiling timbers are not in perspective which may be transposed from a 'line fault' to '*faite linéaire*' or 'a fault in the lineage'. The fact that the man was depicted touching the pommel of his sword with one finger and that two swords were being worn in an informal portrait may also be deemed to be of possible significance as well as the fact that the artist depicts the head of the man near a flower identified as 'Richard-Lion-Heart'.⁸

An examination of the book on Margaret Roper's lap (right foreground) shows that it is Seneca's *Oedipus* and that she is pointing unmistakably to the word 'Oedipus'. Seated beside her Cicely Heron appears to be counting on her fingers. The inference is that Margaret Roper is appearing to indicate that this is a tragedy about a King, and Cicely Heron is asking—'one King or two Kings—one tragedy or two tragedies?' A translation of the clearly depicted lines in Latin on the open pages indicates a speech by the Chorus beginning '*Fata, si liceat mihi fingere arbitrio meo*' ('if it were permitted to me to change Fate according to my will'). The speech continues 'then I would have matters other than they are'. At the top of the page of the same book is written '*L. AN. (Seneca)*' or '*Lucius Anneaus Seneca*' which has the covert inference in French 'fifty years' or 'fiftieth year'. From this declaration, considered together with the written age above the head of Sir Thomas More 'an / no 50'; comes the further inference that the portrait represents matters of the year 1527 (old calendar), but bearing in mind the open clock door and the inference noted previously that the time had been changed, the artist appears to infer that this portrait was not painted in 1527 when the clock was stopped (there is no visible pendulum), but that the portrait was painted subsequent to the year 1527. Sir Thomas More was born on February 6th, 1477 (old calendar) which was before Easter when the year changed to 1478. The modern interpretation of the year of his birth is 1478. 1477 plus 50 gives the year 1527.

An examination of all the other books depicted shows: (1) The open book in Margaret Clements's hands (far left) contains blank pages and her middle finger is pushed into the spine of the book. (2) The closed book under Elizabeth Dauncey's arm (second from the left) is Seneca's '*Epistolica*' (written along the edge). (3) The book by the head of Sir John More (seated beside Sir Thomas More) is '*de Consolatione Phil(osophiae)*' by Boetius (written along the edge) 'containing his complaints and miseries'.⁹ (4) The book being read by the man in the back room shows the claw marks of an animal across the open pages.

Also to be considered are the three flower arrangements in the portrait, two of which are blended and matched and one other which is un-blended and un-matched. The latter arrangement is positioned above the head of Margaret Clements. Another non-existent flower—a purple peony—is included with its lower edge on the same projected line as the base of the lower clock weight above More's head, and the top of the hat of '*Johanes heresius*'. From the purple peony—a lute points at Margaret Clements and a viol points at Elizabeth Dauncey. Both women are positioned under a fringed canopy, a symbol of marriage. On the shoulder of the viol is an improbable 'f-hole' in the shape of a down-curved pair of horns and behind the heads of the two women is a large metal plate. In front of the plate a vase is covered with a cloth. Elizabeth Dauncey is depicted with only one glove and her little finger is strangely bent. The floor is strewn with rushes and a little dog with one ear cocked is seated beneath Sir Thomas More's chair. Projecting a line from the cupolas of the two Belladonna lilies in the left-hand flower arrangement to the centre of the cocked ear of the little dog it may be observed that the line passes exactly between the heads of the two women. Another projected line from the pink in the right-hand window to the same point in the centre of the dog's cocked ear passes directly in front of the noses of '*Johanes heresius*' and Cicely Heron and where this line joins the other line at the dog's ear an obtuse angle is described.

It is obvious that none of the observations makes sense in English, but translating them into French does produce a definite series of messages. Similarly, by identifying the flowers, their symbolism (long forgotten) in their own language may be understood. It will be seen that at this stage the language transpositions are of primary importance and the symbols of secondary. Further it may be seen that Sir Thomas More is wearing a garment with velvet sleeves and that only three fingers are visible, and that a vase is depicted to the right of the portrait at the level of Sir Thomas More's head and that the handle on one side appears to be upside-down in relation to its companion handle. I further concluded that the lines and angles were not included by chance but were mathematically calculated, on the further grounds that the placement and alignment referred to at least one intermediate point between their extremities and that all these points were relevant as pictorial representations of linguistic equivalents such as 'touching upon these persons' or, 'these lines refer directly to A and B and C' or 'these lines are directed at A and B and C or concern A and B and C', and that they all made sense.

In view of the size of the canvas (343 x 251 cms or 11' 3" x 8' 3") all the detail is visible (although the portrait needs cleaning), and apart from the central figure of Sir Thomas More and the figure of Margaret Roper (which dominates the right foreground) two other details in the portrait are points of focus; the

first, the clock near the centre line at the top, and the second, the little dog at the bottom, also near the centre line.

Considering the significance of the little dog a language transposition gives 'Fetch-the-bone' in English; '*Cherches-l'os*' in French; and '*Hol-bein*' in German. The clock with the open door may be taken as an inference that the time had been changed and that this was an important factor. The obtuse angle indicates 'obtuseness' between Margaret Clements and Elizabeth Dauncey, right in front of the noses of '*Johanes heresius*' and Cicely Heron, and that all these matters had been heard by the little dog. The obtuseness of the two women appears to be further indicated by the plate behind the heads of the two women. In French '*être dans son assiette*' means literally 'to be in one's plate' or, in familiar language, 'to be at ease with one another' (in the same plate). It may be observed that the artist has not depicted the two heads 'in the plate'. The pictorial statement covertly infers that the two women were not at ease with one another. It may be further noted that a 'peony' is a name for a Doctor and that purple indicates 'royal', thus a Royal Doctor or a Doctor who is Royal.¹⁰ The peony stands on the same line as the base of the lower clock weight and indicates the top of the hat of '*Johanes heresius*'. Thus the inference is that '*Johanes heresius*' or 'John, the Rightful Heir' is also the Doctor referred to.

The placement of a viol pointing at Elizabeth Dauncey seems to imply that she had been 'violated' by the Royal Doctor ('*violer*'—to violate), that she had cuckolded her husband ('*les cornes*'—'the horns' of a cuckold), and that she was observably pregnant and dressed in maternity clothes which can be seen from direct inspection of the portrait (notwithstanding that both Margaret Roper and Cicely Heron are similarly dressed). The book of Seneca's Epistles under her arm contains the author's comments on Vices and Virtues. The significance of the single glove with the finely embroidered wrist band that Elizabeth Dauncey is removing from her hand is considered to be an indication that she is apparently missing a glove or lacks the companion of the pair. In French this becomes "*elle manque le pair*" or 'she lacks the father' in homophonic substitution of '*elle manque le père*'. Notice that she is apparently removing her glove and is disclosing her extremities (her fingers or 'her extremes of behaviour') or '*elle nous découvre ses extrémités*' in French. The bent little finger can be taken literally as '*doigt courbé*' an homophone of '*doit courber*' or, 'she (must curb) her (extremes of behaviour) with (fine excuses)'—taking '*la broderie*' in French to mean 'embroidery' or some form of justification or excuse. Elizabeth who is portrayed as a remarkably beautiful woman was the second daughter of Sir Thomas More.

Margaret Clements (aged 22 years and the adopted daughter of Sir Thomas More) is portrayed as a remarkably ugly woman of near twice her age, with a large '*derrière*', a reticule, a costly piece of jewellery hanging from her waist (the other women are not depicted wearing comparable jewels) and a white rabbit-skin cap. She is depicted on the left, on the fringe of the family. The inference of her finger in the spine of the book is taken as '*le doigt dans l'épine*' or 'she keeps on at him'. The further inference is taken that this refers to the Royal Doctor who fights with her; '*la lute*' or, 'the lute' is an homophone of '*la lutte*' or, 'the fight'. The covered vase is taken to be a reference by the artist to the French expression '*vase d'élection*' or 'The Chosen One'

(a King) and the covering of the vase with a cloth inferred to the present author that the artist did not like Margaret Clements, on the grounds that he had painted her unflatteringly and that his opinion was 'the Chosen One is justified' or, '*Le vase est couvert*' which means that 'The Chosen One is covered' (or, 'justified'). From the placement of Margaret Clements in the portrait may be taken the inference that 'she was left on the fringe of the family secrets' and that she would continue to remain uninformed until someone, not the artist, filled in the blank pages of her book for her. Also that she was unfortunately shaped, that her reticule was a synonym for a 'ridicule' and the precious jewel indicated a certain 'preciousness' and that she was a '*précieuse*'. The placement of the untidy flower arrangement implies 'an untidy arrangement' (her marriage).

The inference of the purple peony is considered to be a reference to the husband of Margaret Clements (who was Dr John Clements), on the grounds that the placement of the flower refers directly to Margaret Clements as the named wife of Dr John Clements ('*uxor, Johanes Clemens*') and simultaneously infers that '*Johanes heresius*' or 'John—the Doctor who was the covert Rightful Heir' were, in fact, the same person as noted previously. This hypothesis appears to gather substance when it is noticed that the man in the back room is depicted with his head against a green background which is not a true green, that he is depicted with a short hairstyle worn by monks but that the monks' tonsure is missing which indicates clearly in the portrait that the 'hair is there' or, 'Harris—there'. The false green colour became '*faux vert*' or, 'false green' an homophone of '*faux vers*' which means 'something that does not ring true', and the claw marks on the book or '*les griffes*' is taken to be a reference to the French expression '*à la griffe—on reconnaît le lion*' or 'one recognises the hand of the Master by certain characteristics'.

A further inference is that Dr John Clements was of royal blood, but that this was not known by his wife Margaret Clements (the book with the blank pages), that his real age in 1527 was not 27 but 54 years (the half-age moon), and that due to the death of the person of higher station in the same year (the purple flag-iris and the curtain) he became the rightful but covert heir to the throne (the eclipse and the waxing moon). The Turkish carpet on the sideboard may be taken to refer to the expression concerning a cover-up of a belief or, '*faire la tapisserie à la crédence*'. The 'rush-strewn floor' is taken to indicate a person named 'John' who was being hidden; '*joncachet*' or, 'rush-strewn' is an homophone of '*Jean-caché*' or, 'John-hidden'. By deduction, it may be noted that the inferred year of birth of Dr John Clements or, 'John—The Rightful Heir' was 1473 (1527 minus 54). Richard, Duke of York, the younger son of Edward IV was the only royal Prince born in 1473 and he and his elder brother Edward V were alleged by Sir Thomas More to have died in 1483 or thereabouts. The allegation is contained in his book 'The History of King Richard the Third' written by Sir Thomas More in 1513 (according to his nephew Rastell), and probably circulated in manuscript from that date. This book may be regarded as a major source for the denigration of King Richard III as the instigator of the murders of the two princes at the ages of about 13 and 11 years. From the inferences contained within the portrait the present author concludes that Sir Thomas More is indicated by the artist to have laid down a smokescreen over the continued existence of the two

princes by inferring that they had died in or about 1483, that the book was a 'blind', and that the artist had revealed this in an hitherto unknown highly developed pictorial covert rebusform.

It may be noticed that the velvet sleeve worn by Sir Thomas More is positioned at the geometric horizontal centre of the portrait and that the artist only depicts three of his fingers. These may be considered together with the velvet sleeve as a reference to the book '*The History of King Richard the Third*' on the grounds that '*(faire) l'histoire de richard (III)*' is a literal translation of '(to make) the history of Richard (the third)'—which also means 'he pretends to be a rich man' (by wearing rich men's clothes). The further inference is taken that the artist is saying that in 1527 that More was not in fact a rich man but maintained the pretence of being rich and that the cover-up of the death of Edward V and the continued cover-up of Richard, Duke of York were concerned with the inferred state of Sir Thomas More's financial position and the subsequent necessary pretence. In view of all the foregoing the conclusion was reached that the central placement of the apparent reference to the book '*The History of King Richard the Third*' was the central cover-up referred to by the Turkish carpet, that the cover-up was the '*raison d'être*' of the portrait and that everything in the portrait flowed from this point. It was further concluded that Edward V (born 1470) was inferred to have died in 1527 which was the same year as the fiftieth birthday of Sir Thomas More. Also that the selection of flowers included symbols of royalty and a funeral (lilies and irises) and that the artist had also included the symbols of a festive occasion (carnations or pinks) apart from the other flowers which indicated their own attributed symbolism and that the overall enigmatic quality of the portrait inferred the covert sorrow of those who were aware of the royal death, and that the artist was secretly communicating these matters for posterity.

The association by the artist of the holder of the office of 'Standard Bearer' in 1527 and the fate and circumstances of Edward V is elaborated upon in similar rebusform in Holbein's portrait of 'Sir Henry Guildford' in the Royal collection at Windsor. By this latter portrait the artist appears to confirm that Edward V was taken into the Guildford family under the cover name of 'Sir Edward Guildford', the alleged half-brother of Sir Henry Guildford (see below)¹¹. The final conclusion is that the artist was Hans Holbein and that he had the opportunity to learn of the cover-up during the time he lived in his patron's house together with his patron's family between the years 1526 to 1528.

It will be seen from the above that the present author believes that Hans Holbein the Younger concealed a message for posterity in this group portrait of the More family together with a portrait of Richard, Duke of York, thus 'proving' that he was alive in 1527 and living under the cover name of John Clements, and the protection of Sir Thomas More. Research into the life of the man known as John Clements does indicate that he was in fact a mystery man. It has not been possible to discover anything about his age, his family, or his origin. He is said to have attended St Paul's School, and studied at the University of Siena, Corpus Christi, Oxford, and the University of Louvain. In none of these places is there any record of his signature or any significant details (except one, see below). Negative searches have also been made at the Rijksarchief in Antwerp. This is very strange because John Clements was a

well-known doctor. He lived in Italy for some years being promoted MD at Siena in March 1525 and worked on the Aldine edition of Galen in the same year.¹² He married More's ward Margaret Giggs in 1526 and in 1528 was admitted as a member of the College of Physicians. In 1544 he was elected President of the College. In the reign of Edward VI he lived on the continent for the sake of his religion, under Mary he became Queen's Physician, and in exile again he died in 1572. He was buried beside his wife near the high altar in St Rumboldt's Cathedral, Mechelin.¹³

It may be noted that John Clements was appointed to the important position of President of the College of Physicians. The function of the President requires his signature on many documents, as can be seen from examination of the extant documents and signatures of every president, or records of such documents, since the granting of the letters patent to the College in 1518. Despite the most careful research, no official document signed by President John Clements, nor any record of the previous existence of such a document, can be found.¹⁴ Furthermore, portraits and/or, alternatively, records of the former existence of portraits are extant for each president of the College since the first appointment of Sir Thomas Linacre, except in the case of President John Clements. This remarkable piece of negative evidence has been confirmed at the Royal College of Physicians and the Wellcome Foundation. Notwithstanding the apparent non-existence of any positive evidence on the age, family and origin of John Clements, it was noted that Sir Thomas More, in a letter to Peter Gilles contained in the book '*Utopia*', confirmed, in 1515, that John Clements accompanied Sir Thomas More to Bruges, and that John Clements was 'a young boy'.¹⁵ The 1518 edition of '*Utopia*', published in Basle, contains a frontispiece, allegedly drawn by Holbein, which shows John Clements as a young boy with long flowing hair. The inference is that John Clements was less than 16 years of age in 1515.¹⁶

The overt pictorial statement of the events of the year 1527, in the Group portrait, indicates the age of John Clements as 27 years, inferring a birthdate of 1500. The covert statement which indicates the real age of John Clements as 54 years in 1527, tends to be corroborated by an entry in the register of the University of Louvain, dated 13th February, 1489, which indicates that John Clements was inscribed on that day.¹⁷ It may be observed from the other entries in the register that the age of entry into University in 1489 was between 16 to 17 years. If John Clements were sixteen years of age in 1489, this would infer a birth year of 1473; and we know that Richard, Duke of York was born on the 17th of August, 1473. Furthermore, the trips at the university of Louvain from about this time was Greek, Latin and Hebrew. This may be significant, for Clements was also reported, in 1519, as having been Reader in Greek at Corpus Christi (DNB). The inferred age by More (15 in 1515) seems inconsistent with a reader in Greek (aged 19 in 1519), which was then a recondite language. The covert inference of a man of 46 years, having studied Greek at the University of Louvain, and then teaching the language at the University of Oxford, merits further consideration.

Holbein's inference regarding 'Sir Edward Guildford' has also been researched. If Edward V lived under the cover name of 'Sir Edward Guildford' then he first comes to light, in England, under that name, in 1509 (reported in Hall's chronicle). See DNB 'Sir Henry Guildford'. From evidence which is

extant today, we may observe that he had a daughter (by an un-named mother) who was buried under the name of Lady Jane Guildford, in the Sir Thomas More chapel, in Chelsea Church. Upon her tomb it is recorded that her father, of whom she was the sole heir, was Sir Edward Guildford, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and that he was the son of Sir Richard Guildford. Subsequent research indicates serious doubts on this latter allegation. After 1527, there is no further independently recorded history upon 'Sir Edward Guildford'. An interesting sidelight becomes apparent from the offspring of Sir Edward Guildford. Lady Jane Guildford is reported, upon her tombstone, to have borne thirteen children by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. The inscription upon the tombstone on the Northumberland monument, in the time of Queen Mary 1555, reads: 'Ye Right Noble and Excellent Princess Lady Jane, Guildford'. . . Her son, Guildford Dudley, sat upon the English Throne as husband to Lady Jane Grey for a short period. If Holbein's allegations are correct, then Guildford Dudley was the grandson of the one-time covert rightful heir to the throne of England, and his mother was a covert princess. It is suggested that this requires further consideration.

The foregoing is a bare and incomplete account of the allegations by Holbein, and the subsequent research, as a result of those allegations, into the fate and circumstances of Edward V and Richard, Duke of York, with a few general conclusions on the matters included. On the face of the evidence concerning the primary allegation, which the author accepts as truthful, it would appear that both Edward V and Richard, Duke of York outlived Richard III and Henry VII.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Paul Ganz, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger*, London (1950), p.11.
2. The Ambassadors: London, National Gallery. Illustrated in: Paul Ganz, *op. cit.*, plate 113 (114-6), catalogue no.74; Helen Langdon, *Holbein*, London (1976), colour plate 15; Pierre Vaisse, *Holbein le Jeune*, Paris (1972), colour plate XXXIX, n.83.
3. Portrait of Nicholas Kratzer, Paris, Louvre. Illustrated in: Ganz, *op. cit.*, plate 85, catalogue no.48; Langdon, *op. cit.*, plate 27; Vaisse, *op. cit.*, plate XXVII, n.57.
4. Jack Leslau, article in *Ampleforth Journal*, in preparation. Copy of draft in Society's Library.
5. Where it is on view to the public, by kind permission of Lord St Oswald.
6. Stanley Morison and Nicolas Barker, *The Likeness of Thomas More*, London (1963), pp.18-20, 22-24.
7. A two hand clock of this pattern would be very unusual for 1527, but the possibility cannot be discounted. An examination of the clock face does apparently show 60 radial markings, as would be the case with a two hand clock.
8. 'Richard-Lion-Heart' is a north country name for a tiger-lily. The flower in the portrait is an early non-hybrid type which still grows in the garden at Nostell Priory.
9. Possibly an allusion to Geoffrey Chaucer's translation of the *Philosophiae Consolationes* of Boethius. See the edition of Richard Morris, *E.E.T.S.*, London (1868), p.129, 'The First Book of Boethius, Containing his Complaints and Miseries'.
10. The word peony is derived from Paion, the Physician of the Gods in Greek mythology; paion also means physician.
11. Sir Henry Guildford: Windsor, Royal Collection. Illustrated in: Ganz, *op. cit.*, plate 77 (79), catalogue no.44; Langdon, *op. cit.*, plate 22; Vaisse, *op. cit.*, plate XXIV, n.52.

12. E. Wenkebach, *John Clement, ein englischer Humanist und Arzt des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig (1925).
See also: Desiderius Erasmus, *Opus Epistolarum*, edited by P. S. and H. M. Allen, Oxford, Vol 4 (1922), no.1087, pp.615ff; Vol 5 (1924), no.1256, pp.121ff, no.1271, pp.114ff; and Maurits Sabbe, *Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie*, Antwerp (1922), pp.256-264.
13. Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, Oxford (1691), col.401; John Pit (or Piteus), *Relationum Historicarum De Rebus Anglicis*, Paris (1618), no. 1018 'de Ioanne Clemente' 1572, no.768 'de illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus'.
14. Thanks are due to the Archivists at the Royal College of Physicians, the Wellcome Foundation, the Mercers' Company, St Paul's School, Merton College Oxford, the Rijksarchief Antwerp; and to M. Beterams, curator of the national archives of Belgium, M. Scufflaire, deputy archivist of Archives de l'Etat, Brussels, M. Marien, Dean of St Rombaut's Cathedral, Malines.
15. Thomas More, *Utopia*, translated by Paul Turner, Penguin Classics (1965), p.30, Letter to Peter Gilles. For complete series see *Utopia*, Yale University Press (1975).
16. Stanley Morison and Nicolas Barker, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.
17. A. Schillings (editor), *Matricul de l'Université de Louvain*, Louvain (1925), entry 128 'Johannes Clemens (non juravit) 13 Feb. 1489'.