

Niclas von Popplau: LOST IN TRANSLATION?

Part 2

PHILIPPA LANGLEY AND DORIS SCHNEIDER-COUTANDIN

An extended translation of the travel diary of Niclas von Popplau: March 1484 to April 1485, on behalf of The Missing Princes Project, by Doris Schneider-Coutandin.* What follows is an analysis of an extended translation of the above work, with a reassessment of some of its better-known passages. The analysis considers three key locations, subheaded below: the Netherlands, Flanders and Burgundy; England; and France.

Introduction

Niclas von Popplau (c.1440–c.1490)¹ was a Silesian knight from Breslau, in modern Poland, and emissary of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III.² At the time of his travels he was about 43–46 years of age.

Travel descriptions Niclas von Popplau, Knight, born in Wroclaw records Popplau's diary as he journeyed through Western Europe from 1 February 1483 until the late summer of 1486 visiting a number of royal courts. Popplau's expedition included a lengthy period of illness from June 1485 to 25 May 1486.³ Prior to this, he spent almost two months in England (c.12 April 1484–c.1 June 1484) and a number of days with Richard III and his court in York (see below).

Professor Radzikowski's work is mainly a printed copy of the handwritten manuscripts; all copies, with the principal copy dating from 1712. Radzikowski believes that Popplau's original text may still lie buried in the archives in Bavaria (Nuremberg, perhaps).⁴ There are a number of provisos when considering this source, not least the errors often made by scribes when copying texts, and a number of these are highlighted by Radzikowski.⁵

We must also note that Popplau's journey and experiences are naturally viewed through the prism of his own prejudices and biases. For example, he rarely wrote about women and did so, it seems, only in describing the countryside, his travelling route, and, occasionally, the towns he visited. His often somewhat uncompromising thoughts on the women he encountered relate to common women only. No noble lady is mentioned (see below).

It is also interesting to note how Popplau might have conversed with these women in order to form his opinions, and indeed those of English (common) men in general.⁶ It is clear from his meeting with Richard that Popplau chose to communicate in the Latin language on at least one occasion. As a foreign envoy this may have

been intended to honour and impress his English host. It seems possible that Popplau possessed sufficient knowledge of the English language to get by,⁷ or that he may have simply interpreted women's friendly approaches and gestures as overtly sexual in nature. Popplau confirms his virginity within the text.⁸

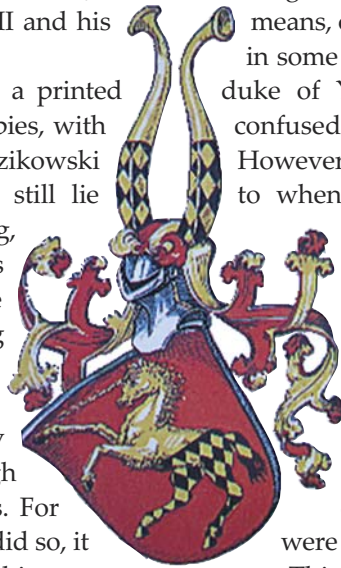
With these considerations in mind, this article assesses the extended translation of Popplau's diary.

When was Popplau's diary written?

Much of the detail, particularly in England, seems to suggest that Popplau wrote parts of his diary while travelling, or from memory shortly afterwards. This

means, of course, that he could still be incorrect and in some cases he clearly was, describing Richard as duke of York for example.⁹ He might also have confused events, locations, and even people. However, we perhaps have an important pointer as to when the section pertaining to England was written, as Popplau fails to record King Richard's death.¹⁰ It seems therefore that we can surmise that this section was written on or before September 1485, when news of the death of the English king reached the continent.¹¹ However, as previously noted, Popplau was quite ill from June 1485, possibly suggesting that the passages concerning England, and the English king, were written, at the latest, on or before May 1485.

This potential dating is significant, as it immediately follows Popplau's visit to the French court, where Henry Tudor, pretender to the English throne, was in attendance. This may explain Popplau's intriguing comments concerning Richard's accession, and the fate of the sons of Edward IV (see below). Moreover this dating seems to be further supported by the siege of Vienna and Popplau's notable praise for Richard's desire to personally lead an army against the Turks. The siege took place during the Austrian–Hungarian War, beginning on 29 January 1485 and ending with the fall of Vienna on 1 June 1485.¹² This also seems to explain Popplau's heightened emotion over Richard's wish to fight the Turks and might therefore further inform the prominence his visit to England is accorded within the text. Popplau had been tasked to raise an army by Frederick III, the Holy Roman Emperor,¹³ and



Niclas von Popplau's coat of arms

* *Reisebeschreibung Niclas Von Popplau, Ritter, bürtig von Breslau* [Travel descriptions Niclas von Popplau, Knight, born in Wroclaw], ed. by Piotr Radzikowski, 1998. Trans-Krak s.c., ul. Krolewska 57, 30-081 Krakow, Poland, ISBN 83-910076-1-8.



York Minster, which von Popplau found more impressive than Westminster Abbey. All images in this article in public domain or covered by Creative Commons Licence.

he perhaps viewed Richard as a powerful (and ready) ally in this regard.

Netherlands, Flanders and Burgundy

Popplau explicitly mentions ‘the duke of Burgundy’, referring to Duke Maximilian, husband to the then deceased Marie of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold. At this time, Maximilian was regent to his six-year-old son Philip the Handsome. Popplau seems to have been in frequent correspondence with Maximilian, who would become Holy Roman Emperor a few years later. There is no mention at all of Margaret of York, the dowager duchess, even though Popplau stayed for some time in Mechlin (Malines) in March and April 1484. However, it seems he did deliver to King Richard a letter from her.¹⁴ During Popplau’s time in the Low Countries, there is also no mention of the political situation in England or the fate of the sons of Edward IV (see France below). However, significantly at this time Popplau met Gui de Rochefort, Maximilian’s French adviser and brother of Guillaume, Lord Chancellor of France. Two months earlier, in January 1484, Guillaume had delivered the opening address to the Estates-General of France accusing the English king of murdering King Edward’s sons so that he could be crowned.¹⁵ Could this be where Popplau first heard this accusation that he would later remark upon and question (see Part 1, and below).

England

Popplau travelled to England from Middelburg/Zeeland, crossing the channel to perhaps Ramsgate or Dover, on 12

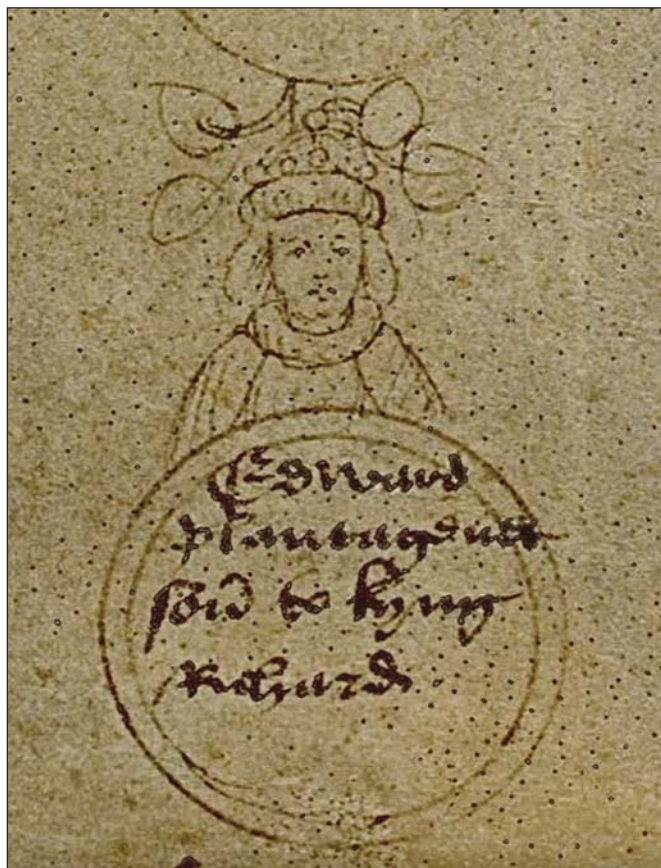
April 1484. He then proceeded on foot to Canterbury, ten miles away.¹⁷ In London, we discover that Popplau’s servant has left him, which could suggest the envoy was not the easiest of masters. Popplau also describes Westminster Abbey but by the time he reaches York the abbey clearly does not compare to the Minster, although Popplau doesn’t name the cathedral as the location of the king. The date of Popplau’s first encounter with Richard seems to be given as well. Popplau arrived in York on 1 May 1484, and was granted an audience with the king the following day, 2 May 1484.¹⁸

The death of Edward of Middleham

Popplau visited York little more than a couple of weeks after the death of Richard’s son and heir.¹⁹ The king must therefore have been in deep mourning. However, Popplau doesn’t mention anything that might refer to it. Neither does he speak of Queen Anne or any other noblewomen at the king’s court. This might suggest that Anne had decided to stay elsewhere in York while Richard conducted the business of the day, or that she may have moved on to Middleham, to await Richard there. With this possibility in mind we will now consider what the absence of any reference to Edward of Middleham may tell us, and whether the assumption that Popplau travelled to Middleham with Richard after York stands up to scrutiny.

Did Popplau visit Middleham?

It has often been assumed that Popplau travelled with Richard III to Middleham in early May 1484,²⁰ a belief based primarily on Popplau’s statement that, ‘I stayed



Above: Edward of Middleham from the Beauchamp Pageant, described as 'Edward Plantagenet, son to Kyng Richard'. Edward's recent death is not referred to in von Popplau's diary.

Below: Middleham castle, the Great Hall. It now seems unlikely von Popplau visited the castle



there [York] for eight days or more and joined him [King Richard] almost every time for the meal at his court.'²¹ Popplau, as we have seen, arrived in York on 1 May 1484, so this would mean that he remained with King Richard until on or around 9–10 May.²² While it is known that Richard visited Middleham (after York) on 6–8 May 1484,²³ a number of factors tend to undermine the assumption that he was accompanied by Popplau.

Firstly, if Popplau did travel with the king to Middleham (or at least followed him there) it is quite remarkable that he doesn't mention this invitation or any details about his journey. Moreover he also fails to describe the king's home and castle or its town and people. It could be, of course, that Popplau simply thought the visit not worthy of description but, considering his detailed account of his meetings with Richard in York (and its environs), this seems a significant omission. Moreover, the omission most revealing is the lack of any reference to the very recent death of the prince of Wales on or around 17 April (see below). If Popplau had travelled to Middleham, the prince's home and place of death,²⁴ he would have been immediately aware that the castle and town were in mourning. Perhaps this explains why Popplau doesn't mention Middleham. In the wake of the tragedy it would have been an inappropriate place to invite a guest,²⁵ within the first month's-mind of the boy's death. This may also explain why Popplau never mentions Anne, the queen (and her ladies) having perhaps travelled directly to Middleham (from Pontefract) so that she could mourn in private.

Analysis of Popplau's diary, the distances travelled and the dates of travel, also suggest a visit to Middleham was unlikely. Popplau left London on 26 April and arrived in York on 1 May. This gives a travel time of between 5–6 days depending on departure and arrival times. The distance from London (Shoreditch) to York is c.195 miles and a travel time of between 5–6 days accords with general daily distances for travel at this time.²⁶ Popplau's return to London would have therefore also taken 5–6 days. If Popplau left York on or around 9–10 May he would have returned on or around 14–16 May to London, where he then stayed for six days²⁷ before leaving the capital at the end of the month. The intervening period then provides the greatest window of opportunity for further travel of around seven days, assuming Popplau left London for Southampton on 28 May and not before.²⁸ However, Popplau's description of the River Tweed suggests he may have ventured as far north as the Scottish border. York to the Tweed is around 142 miles, including the return journey taking between seven and nine days. It is therefore possible that Popplau undertook this journey and headed straight back to London with perhaps an overnight's stay in York. However, if we add in a detour to Middleham of c.42 miles, together with at least one night's stay there, then the timing is problematic.

Did Popplau travel further north than York?

Moreover, analysis of Popplau's diary largely precludes the possibility that he travelled any further north than York.²⁹ Although he is side-tracked by a discussion of the names of the main places on the road north *from York*³⁰ (my emphasis) and their travel distances (as far as Edinburgh), and the countries of the island nation (Scotland, Ireland, and Wales), he goes on to say directly after this discussion, having prefixed it 'From York', that 'I came back to London and stayed there all in all for six days.' The inference is that Popplau returned to London directly from York. Indeed if Popplau had travelled to these key northern locations, or even as far as the Tweed at Berwick, he should have met Richard and his court on or near Newcastle (13 May) or Durham (14–18 May).³¹ However, we know that after the meeting in York in early May their paths never crossed again. It is of course possible that Popplau only travelled to Middleham during this time, but at this remove and for the reasons above, this too seems rather improbable. Such a conclusion seems to be supported by Popplau's own reference to York in which he says, 'I stayed there for eight days or more ...'³²

Popplau's visit with King Richard in York

It therefore seems that Popplau remained with Richard III in York for a period of three to four days, 1–5 May. Indeed this corresponds with what the Silesian envoy tells us in his diary. Whilst in York he confirms:

Three days before, before I took my leave from His Majesty ... he sent Lord Hans of Bergen to me ... who ... provided me with fifty Nobles ... a gift of His Majesty. When I went to His Majesty for a last time, I asked him to not give such a gift to an undeserving person like me ...³³

In terms of his time with King Richard, Popplau only mentions a period of three days, with possibly a fourth day if he visited Richard the day after receiving his gift. As a mark of respect Popplau would ensure he visited the king directly after receiving a gift, particularly if he intended to return it. So was Popplau's claim that he stayed in York for 'eight days or more' simply an exaggeration, or did he indeed remain in York for that length of time? It is evident that he wasn't *always* with King Richard but, quite simply, that 'he joined him *almost* every time for the meal at his court.' (my emphasis).

Perhaps the discovery of new material might clarify the question, but in the meantime the suggestion that Popplau travelled to Middleham in early May 1484 has to be treated with caution.

The burial place of Edward of Middleham

One of Popplau's most perplexing diary omissions is of course any mention of the recent death of Edward of Middleham. However, if we consider the possibility (as above) that the envoy did not travel to Middleham this might begin to offer an explanation.

Moreover, it has also been assumed by a number of writers that Edward was most likely buried in York Minster.³⁴ However, given the fact that Popplau was in York for a number of days within what would have been a couple of weeks of the funeral, it therefore seems quite remarkable that he never met anyone who mentioned it, or records any suggestion that the tragic event had ever taken place. Edward of Middleham was well known to the people of York, having been invested prince of Wales in the city less than seven months earlier. Moreover, John Rous, the Warwickshire priest and Neville retainer, was very clear that the prince of Wales was buried at Middleham.³⁵ Therefore, if we consider the possibility that the king's son was not buried in York the lack of a mention by Popplau becomes understandable. The prince's funeral would have taken place in accordance with strict protocol and well before his parents' arrival in the north.³⁶ Moreover, Popplau does not mention the royal court in a state of mourning (at least that he recognised).³⁷ Certainly, thanks to the recent research of Marie Barnfield, we now believe Popplau's main meeting with the king took place on Monday 3 May, which was Crouchmas (or Roodmas). Crouchmas was the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross which celebrated the finding of the True Cross by St Helena, the British princess and mother of Constantine. As Barnfield records, 'the liturgical colour ascribed to the day was red.'³⁸

A new heir

Staying in York in the month of May must have meant the king was able to rely on relatively clement weather. As there was no official royal residence within the city, it seems he chose, on this occasion, at least, to erect a royal tent in the shadow of the Minster. This might have offered Richard a means to show himself to the people, perhaps in a more modest manner. Does this insight also offer a further explanation for Richard being in York, considering the recent death of his son and heir, and those present with him?

Popplau reports that the king had 'two princes, blood-friends' with him.³⁹ Radzikowski suggests that these could be the duke of Suffolk and his son, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln.⁴⁰ If this assumption is correct, it could suggest that the king was visibly associating himself in York with these royal relatives. Was this a way of quelling any potential unease over the death of his heir, and might it also be one of the reasons Richard chose to head to York (if Anne went straight to Middleham)? As these relatives sat at his table during mealtimes this also seems to support the theory that Richard considered Lincoln his heir following the death of his son. This may be possible, as Popplau does not record the presence of any noble children.⁴¹ Interestingly, he only gives us the name of one English noble present. The 'earl of Northumberland' is described as 'the mightiest in all England.'⁴²

Richard's appearance and scoliosis

Popplau also describes Richard's sumptuously equipped tent and bed as a central place of gathering where the king sat for audiences, ate, and it seems also slept. The discovery of the king's mortal remains in 2012 revealed that he suffered from scoliosis, so does this suggest that Richard might have preferred to travel with his own bed?

Popplau's description of the king's physical appearance is well known, and rather short and dry. He simply states that the king was a little taller than him, of slimmer figure, and that he had slender arms and thighs,⁴³ sometimes detailed as legs:⁴⁴

King Richard descends of the house and the land called Gloucester, a high-born prince, three fingers taller, but a little slimmer and not so (thick) thickset as me, also much thinner. He has (subtle) slender arms and thighs, also a big heart ...⁴⁵

The description of Richard's thighs (*Schenckel*) is interesting in terms of our understanding of royal clothing and fashion. Were the king's thighs visible, covered no doubt by the leggings of the period, as Popplau does not record anything unfamiliar in this regard?⁴⁶ It is also interesting to note how Popplau describes Richard's body. After stating that he is 'a little slimmer and not so thick (*dick*) thickset as me', he then adds what seems to be an unnecessary extra detail with the king being 'also much thinner'. In employing two different means of saying the same thing, it appears, in the act of writing, that Popplau consciously clarified and emphasised his description of Richard, possibly to highlight his surprise at the king's slim physique. He also states earlier 'he did not eat much of the food'.⁴⁷ This observation is discussed by Visser-Fuchs in relation to the matter of the Turks, but as Richard's son had recently died, a lack of appetite could be an indicator of grief, potentially resulting in weight loss, which is sometimes quite rapid. So did Popplau meet Richard at a time when he was much slimmer than usual after a period of weight loss induced by mourning? Perhaps this makes the remark about his thighs, in particular, all the more revealing.

What is perhaps also new is how we can now interpret Popplau's physical description in the light of the discovery of the king. Popplau makes no mention of any physical deformity, and seems not to have noticed any disparity in the height of the king's shoulders. Having detailed Richard's slender arms and thighs, it would seem quite extraordinary to omit any reference to a physical abnormality, particularly when we note the attention to detail in Popplau's description of the jewelled collar worn over the king's left shoulder:

The king went to sit at the table, he had on a collar of gold of an order,⁴⁸ on which were many thick pearls, as big as peas, stitched around with diamonds. The collar was as thick as a man's hand, and led over his left shoulders [*sic*] to his back and from there under his right arm.⁴⁹

Perhaps this reflects the same situation we have today in respect of our own monarch. Elizabeth II has placed on record that she has one shoulder higher than the other, with the lower shoulder padded (which is the lower is not detailed).⁵⁰ This might suggest that scoliosis is a condition which afflicts the royal family today. In 2010, Princess Eugenie had corrective surgery for a severe scoliosis and, as a result, is now the Patron of the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital charity.⁵¹ Were King Richard's garments padded, or did the heavy velvets and cloth of gold of the day negate such a requirement?

Richard's height

Can we learn anything from Popplau about Richard's height? Rous described Richard as 'small of stature' (More as 'little of stature') and Archibald Whitelaw, archdeacon of Lothian, described the king as having a 'smaller body'.⁵² Whitelaw's description has generally been taken to refer to Richard's height but may suggest his physique. Popplau records that Richard was 'three fingers taller' [than himself], so about 2 inches (5 cm). However, Sheila Bignell clarifies this by comparing Popplau's description of King John of Portugal, who is described as 'middle height and somewhat taller than he is'.⁵³ If this is correct then Richard may have been closer to medium height. Indeed, this seems to be supported by the discovery of his remains, with the king's grave cut too short for his body and the measurement of his femur bone indicating a height range of between 5 ft 7 in. and 5 ft 9¾ in. As Annette Carson records: 'Richard Buckley [the archaeologist] confirmed that this estimated median figure of 1.74 m. [5 ft 7 in.] was "slightly above the average for a medieval man, which was 1.71 m."' ⁵⁴ A means to further confirm Richard's height is to analyse the length of his arm bones in order to estimate the arm span. A request for this calculation is with the University of Leicester but hasn't received a response at the time of publication. It is hoped this will be available shortly.

The king's character and reputation

It is also interesting to note Popplau's description of the king's character. He states that he had a 'big heart' (*großen Hertzens*).⁵⁶ What does this mean exactly: that the king was kind, virtuous, generous, magnanimous, or perhaps all of the above? Popplau is clearly impressed with Richard and his court, and the reception he was afforded, but he went even further in adding the following description of the king:

Oh, dearest God, I recognised and found a truly magnanimous Lord in this king.⁵⁷

Popplau again uses different means of providing the same information, again as if to further emphasise the point. Had he perhaps not expected to find these qualities in the English king? Popplau draws attention to Richard's 'big heart' (*großen Hertzens*) and 'magnanimous' (*großmüthigen*) disposition. Interestingly, Richard's personal merits were



Von Popplau recorded in his diary: 'He gave to me a collar, which he took from a free or high born Lord's neck and handed it over to me in person.' Perhaps the 'collar' was similar to the Yorkist collar with a white boar pendant portrayed on the tomb effigy of Sir Ralph Fitzherbert (died 1483) in St Mary and St Barlock's Church, Norbury, Derbyshire. Popplau's collar also displayed a boar pendant.

similarly described a few months later by Archibald Whitelaw, on 12 September 1484.⁵⁸ Popplau also records that it was his:

greatest pleasure and desire ... to look into His Majesty's face ... and acknowledge all his *renowned virtues*⁵⁹ [my emphasis]

This suggests that Richard's good reputation was widely regarded, and potentially known to Popplau prior to his visit. Moreover, the apparent prior knowledge of King Richard's good reputation is also recorded during his lifetime by Whitelaw, Carmeliano and Rous.⁶⁰

In Popplau's description of his

Imperial Majesty and kings and princes of the empire, he also tells us that:

I then gave him answer about them, all much to their praise and honour. *After that the king remained silent for a while.* [my emphasis]

This may suggest that Richard was of a quiet and contemplative disposition, or at least on this occasion. Certainly Popplau records no further awkwardness over the king's quietness. This may also be supported by Whitelaw when he tells us that Richard had a 'mild and clement temper'.⁶¹

It seems that Richard was also

aware of the social mores and norms of the day, which he ensured were adhered to. This, it could be argued, was simply a case of following protocol in respect of a foreign emissary. Yet Popplau's detailed description suggests Richard was at pains to ensure that common courtesies at his court were carefully observed so that all guests felt welcomed, and respected. This may also be supported by Whitelaw.⁶² Popplau records a fascinating insight into the greeting of the day that is not documented at other foreign courts, or with the common English people:

As he was very amenable towards me, he addressed me no less than three times (as it was the common way in England) before I left the person of His Royal Majesty, using the words: I bid you welcome and be welcome to me. The English use these words towards people of high or low rank, when they come to them from this country or others. They also use it in gatherings, invites for meals, or collation, also when a person gives a blessing to another person they say I bid you welcome. The king's councillors, princes, and lords said the same to me, as did the noblemen, in honouring me.⁶³

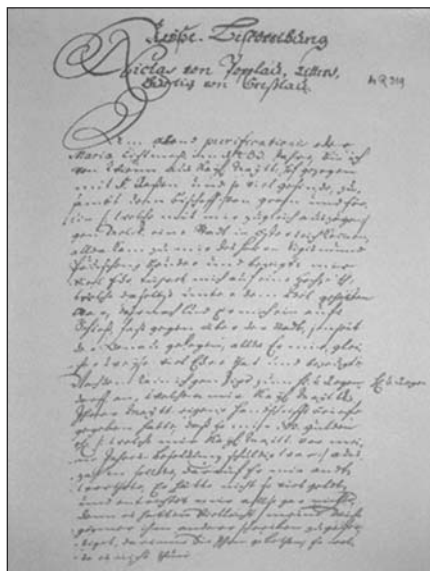
This regard and courtesy was also shown when Popplau was returned to his lodgings by the king's 'noblemen and chamberlains'. This may be a reference to Francis, Lord Lovell, the king's Chamberlain.⁶⁴

The king's accession

Finally we must also note what information Popplau had gathered concerning the king's accession. He says:

he was elected or had become king by his own power⁶⁵

The word 'elected' is quite specific and significant, as Richard's parliament had formalised his accession by election three months earlier. So where had Popplau encountered this description of the king's accession, and the alternative view 'by force'?



A page from the 1712 copy of von Popplau's diary. The lost original might still be somewhere in the Bavarian archives in Nuremberg.

Was his subsequent visit to the court of the French king (with Henry Tudor, and the English rebels, see below) a contributory factor?⁶⁸

France

Finally, we have Popplau's impression of Henry Tudor as earl of Richmond:

Amongst them also was the earl of Richmond, who deemed himself to become king of England.

Notes and references

1. Sheila Bignell, 'Who Was Nicholas von Popplau?' (1998), Richard III Society Papers Library, pp 1–13, see p.1. Bignell records Popplau's birth as c.1440. Bignell's article was first published in the *Ricardian Register* 1997, Vol. 22, No.3 in an unintended shortened form with a number of misprints. My thanks to Rita Diefenhardt-Schmitt. For Popplau's birth also see: Piotr Radzikowski, 'Niclas von Popplau – His Work and Travels', *The Ricardian*, Vol. XI, No.140 (March 1998), pp 239–48; see pp 241–2. Radzikowski gives Popplau's birth as 1443.
2. For a discussion on Popplau's mission as an envoy of Frederick III see Bignell, pp 8–9. For Popplau's mission to raise an army see Rosemary Horrox and P.W. Hammond, *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433* (1982), Vol. 3, pp 74–6. For Popplau's knighting by Frederick III on 3 April 1480 in Vienna, at Easter, see Johann Jacob Fugger, *Spiegel der Ehren des Höchstlößlichen Kayser- und Königlichen Erzhauses Österreich* (1668), p. 899. Our thanks to project member, Albert Jan de Rooij, for alerting us to this source, 24 June 2020.
3. Radzikowski, 'Work and Travels', p. 242.
4. Piotr Radzikowski (ed.), *Reisebeschreibung Niclas von Popplau, Ritter, bürtig von Breslau* (1998), p. 12. Radzikowski states that every Austrian and Silesian archive has been searched without result but he can't determine whether the archives in Bavaria have been and suggests the Wittelsbacher Library Collection. Thanks to Albert Jan de Rooij for this translation: 11 February 2020.
5. Radzikowski, p. 53, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 11 for the year given incorrectly as 1454 instead of 1484. Also p. 59, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 17, for Henry (VI) described as King Edward and King Richard's brother. It is not clear, however, if this was a scribal error, or Popplau's.
6. *Ibid.*, pp 48–51, 62, Schneider-Coutandin, pp 7–10, 20–21.
7. Philippa Langley, 'Niclas von Popplau: Lost in Translation?' Part 1, *Ricardian Bulletin* (December 2020), pp 49–50, 53 fn. 47.
8. Radzikowski, p. 51, Schneider-Coutandin, p. 10.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 53, Schneider-Coutandin, p.11.
10. With Popplau recording the presence of the future Henry VII at the French court during his visit of 23 April 1485, this would seem to add further weight to the hypothesis that the main section of Popplau's diary was written before September 1485. Richard, of course, died on 22 August 1485 at the battle of Bosworth.
11. Radzikowski, p. 140, fns 903, 906. Anne of Brittany (1477–1514) is described as being 8 years and 9 months old, which was correct for October 1485, so it seems this section of the diary may have been written at around this time in Nuremberg, unless added later by a copyist. However, the age of her father, Duke Francis (1433–1488) is given as 60 when at this time he was 52, the duke being born in June. Thanks to Albert Jan de Rooij for this translation: 8 February 2020.
12. See Bignell, Society Papers, p. 10, for Popplau's praise for Richard's speech

Popplau met Henry at the French court of Charles VIII in April 1485. By this time, Henry had sent a number of letters to the nobles in England declaring his pretension to the English throne and signing himself HR (*Henricus Rex*).⁶⁷ Was Henry introduced to Popplau in this manner? The most interesting question here is that of time. This is clearly the last Popplau knew of Henry Tudor and so is perhaps further proof that this section of Popplau's diary was written before September 1485, and potentially in May 1485 (as above).

Popplau also confirmed that Henry was in the company of other lords from England.

And there were several English lords, who had escaped England.

Conclusion

Analysis of Popplau's diary provides a great deal to consider. Sheila Bignell, who studied the complete text, remarked that Popplau seemed to have a respect for Richard III in contrast to many others he encountered.⁶⁸

As a result, Popplau is an important contemporary source for the study of this period, not least for

his descriptions of the English people and their customs, but more specifically for his meeting with Richard III in York in early May 1484. Sadly, Popplau's diary does not exist today in its original form, but as a principal copy from 1712. The copy 'appears to be exact' with no 'obvious gaps in the text', with attempts to uncover the original, as yet, unsuccessful.⁶⁹ A future Missing Princes Project line of investigation will focus on a search to uncover the original in the Bavarian archives, where Radzikowski believed it may still reside. If the search is unsuccessful, it is hoped that a new English translation might be made of Radzikowski's book with our improved knowledge. It is too important a source to be ignored. As a result, we now publish the project's extended translation so that these key passages from Popplau's text for Ricardian research, might be available to all.

A Timeline and Extended Translation are now available from The Missing Princes Project. Please visit:

<https://revealingrichardiii.com/niclas-von-popplau.html>.

- about defeating the Turks and his diary being 'polished' following the fall of Vienna, i.e. sometime after June 1485. However, this does not take into account Popplau's illness and lack of any mention of the English king's death.
13. *Harleian* 433, Vol. 3, pp 74–5. A safe conduct from Frederick III states, 'Our beloved Nicholas de Poppelau a faithful servant of the holy empire has, with our consent and favour, now planned a journey to raise an army, for which reason he must visit and traverse several courts and provinces of kings and princes.' The safe conduct was signed by Frederick in Vienna on 18 January 1483.
 14. Radzikowski, p. 53. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 11. Radzikowski records this as a copyist error for the 'duke of Burgundy'. However, this was most certainly letters to Richard from his sister, Margaret of York, the dowager duchess of Burgundy (1446–1503). See also Visser-Fuchs, p. 530, fn 1. It seems, sadly, that this significant letter is no longer extant.
 15. For an analysis of Guillaume de Rochefort's opening address to the Estates-General of France on 15 January 1484, see Langley, 'The Accession of Richard III, Part 2', *Ricardian Bulletin* (June 2019), pp 34–6. Gui de Rochefort was a personal friend of Angelo Cato, archbishop of Vienne, who commissioned Dominic Mancini's account of his visit to London from late 1482 to July 1483. Mancini's account was completed in France on 1 December 1483, a few short weeks before Guillaume's opening address to the French Estates.
 16. It is interesting to note that although Gui de Rochefort was seemingly impressed by the Silesian knight, Popplau would be 'scandalously rude' in return. After de Rochefort had expressed his admiration for Popplau's 'acts of valour in jousting and with his wide learning and fluency in Latin', Popplau responded that 'if a Frenchman were master of this range of accomplishments it would be worthy of remark, but for a High German it was nothing out of the ordinary.' See Bignell, p. 2. However, this is given a proviso that if a copyist (Klose) is to be believed.
 17. Canterbury is about 16 miles from Ramsgate and Dover. Dover may have been the well-known route for pilgrims from the Continent when heading to Canterbury. By the eighteenth century the 'Pilgrim's Way' referred to the ancient trackways in the south of England used by pilgrims in the *Canterbury Tales*.
 18. Radzikowski, p. 53. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 11.
 19. For date of death postulated as 17 April see: Annette Carson, www.annetecarson.co.uk/357052362. If Prince Edward had died in the early hours of 17 April it's feasible that word reached Richard and Anne at Nottingham Castle later that day, with Middleham Castle c.110 miles from Nottingham Castle and gaited horses able to travel at 15mph, giving a travel time of c.8–10 hours with breaks. This may explain the lack of business in 17–19 April (see Rhoda Edwards, *The Itinerary of King Richard III 1483–1485* (1983), pp 17–18). The 18th was Easter Sunday. However, in 1485, Richard began work on the Monday after Easter Sunday, see Edwards, p. 34. John Sponer arrived in York from the battlefield on the same day, a distance of some 108 miles: see Louise Attreed, *York House Books 1461–1490* (1991), Vol. 1, pp 368–9. For more information on medieval travel and gaited horses that travel comfortably at 15mph, see: Philippa Langley, *Ricardian Bulletin* (September 2020), pp 44–5, fn. 1; also A. J. Hibbard, 'The King, his Messenger Service, and the Thoroughbred Horse: a detour into equine history with a Ricardian speculation', *Court Journal* (Autumn 2020), Vol. 27, pp 35, 38 fn.2, citing Nicholas Pronay and John Cox (eds.), *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations 1459–1486* (1986), p. 173, for the royal relay messenger system, where one mounted man was replaced every 20 miles to ensure messages could be passed from hand-to-hand over a distance of 200 miles in two days. For Edward's death between 17 and 27 April (thought to be the 24th) see Marie Barnfield, 'The Death of Edward of Middleham, Prince of Wales', *Ricardian Bulletin* (September 2017), pp 42–3.
 20. C. A. J. Armstrong, *Dominicus Mancinus De Occupatione Regni Anglie per Ricardum Tercium* (1969), Appendix, p. 137, fn. 1. Armstrong seems to have begun this assumption (see below fn. 44).
 21. Radzikowski, p. 57. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 15.
 22. Edwards, *Itinerary*, p. 18. On 9–10 May 1484 King Richard was in Barnard Castle.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 19. For discussion on the duchy of Lancaster writs issued on 4 May at Nappa, near Middleham (p. 18), see p. xiii. These reveal only the presence of the Chancellor of the Duchy, Thomas Metcalfe, who lived at Nappa Hall.
 24. *Crowland*, p. 170. 'In the following April ... this only son ... died in Middleham castle after a short illness, in 1484 and in the first year of King Richard's reign.'
 25. It might also be suggestive of some form of controlled information by Richard and his court at this time, as the boy's tragic death would have also exposed Richard's position politically, both nationally and internationally. Or perhaps, more likely, this would have followed a natural desire on the king's part, as a parent, to keep his grief as private as possible. Edward of Middleham's recent death also offers a probable explanation for the king's apparent lack of appetite: 'he did not eat much of the food' [p.58]. Richard would have been in mourning (blue) yet Popplau offers no description of the king's clothing from their first meeting on Sunday 2 May ('who graciously gave me an audience and interview the next day', p. 58). His nobles may have been in black but, as this was the most expensive dye, perhaps Popplau thought nothing more about it.
 26. Philippa Langley, 'The Fate of the Sons of King Edward IV: the aftermath of Bosworth 22 August to 3 September 1485', *Ricardian Bulletin* (September 2020), pp 41–7.
 27. Radzikowski, p. 61. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 20.
 28. London to Southampton is c.77 miles, which would have taken a general travel time of around two days.
 29. Radzikowski, pp 59–60. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 18. Popplau offers no descriptions of the exterior and/or environs of Durham Castle, Cathedral, Newcastle or the great fortress at Berwick.
 30. Radzikowski, pp 59–60. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 18.
 31. Edwards, *Itinerary*, p. 19. Rievaulx Abbey is c.46 miles from Durham Castle, so it is likely that Richard left Durham sometime on 18 May, or perhaps very early on the morning of the 19th. For Richard's visits in mid-May to Newcastle, Durham and his return to York on 25 May, see p. 19.
 32. Radzikowski, p. 57. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 15.
 33. *Ibid.*
 34. Radzikowski, p. 55. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 13. Richard had erected the royal tent near the Minster. Was this so that he could be close to his son's burial? However, see fn. 35 below.
 35. Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, "'Of Lordis lyne & lynage sche was": notes on aspects of the life of Queen Anne Neville', *The Ricardian* Vol XXX (2020), p. 62, fn. 207. From '... the notes to the edition of the Rous Roll, no. 64; London, College of Arms, Warwick Roll; 'the Lancastrian Roll'; composed sometime after 1485 and before Rous's death in 1491. Rous records: 'Edward, illustrious prince of Wales, only son and heir to King Richard the third and his honourable consort Anne, queen of England, but in fact heir to Heaven; his sacred soul was never infected by the blemish of guilt and he died a child before his parents and was taken with honour to a grave at Middleham.' My thanks to Dr A. J. Hibbard for alerting me to this.
 36. Marie Barnfield, 'The Loveliest Music and the Turkish Frontier Itself: von Popplau's day with King Richard', *Ricardian Bulletin* (September 2017), pp 44–6.

37. Blue would have been the colour of mourning for King Richard. See also fn. 25 above.
38. For Barnfield's research for Crouchmas, see 'Loveliest Music', p. 45, as above fn. 36.
39. Radzikowski, p. 56. Schneider-Coutandin, pp 13,14. 'As he was sitting at the table there were two princes, blood-friends to the king ... he placed me at the table near his blood-friends, aforementioned princes.'
40. Radzikowski, p. 56, fn.166. However, it's possible this might be Popplau's misunderstanding of the king's introduction to these two nobles as his 'cousins' and could therefore refer to Lincoln and Francis Lovell. Lovell was a first cousin once removed to Richard through his wife, Anne (Agnes) Fitzhugh, a niece of Warwick the Kingmaker. Francis was referred to as 'cousin' by Richard in a number of documents. On 21 May 1483 he is described as 'oure entierly beloved Cousyne' in the grant of the lordship of Thorpe Waterville when Richard was Protector, see *Harley 433*, Vol 3, p. 216. With thanks to project member Michele Schindler for alerting us to this source. 'Cousin' was also a term used by King Richard to describe those closest to him, such as John Howard. See: John Ashdown-Hill, *Richard III's 'Beloved Cousyn': John Howard and the house of York* (2009), p. 110 'for the good and laudable services done to us by oure said Cousyn, the duc of Norffolk'. With thanks also to the late John Ashdown-Hill for the clarification of Francis's relationship with King Richard through his wife.
41. However, Rous records that after the death of King Richard's heir, Edward, earl of Warwick, was 'proclaimed heir apparent in the royal court, and in ceremonies at table and chamber he was served first after the king and queen'. See: Alison Hanham, *Richard III and His Early Historians 1483–1535* (1975), p. 123.
42. Radzikowski, p. 56. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 14. Henry Percy, 4th earl (1449–1489). This no doubt reflects Northumberland's position locally as head of the powerful Percy family as well as his role of Warden of the Eastern and Middle Marches.
43. Visser-Fuchs, p. 529.
44. Armstrong, *De Occupatione*, p. 137. For an analysis of Armstrong's inaccuracies by following a partial reading of Klose, see Bignell, pp 5–7. Armstrong believed the original manuscript was 'perhaps in Latin' but Bignell reveals Klose's heated assertion that it was written in German (p. 6).
45. Radzikowski, p. 58. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 17.
46. For Richard's order of doublets and short gowns for York on 31 August 1483 see: Robert Davies, *Records of the City of York* (1843), p. 283.
47. Radzikowski, p. 56. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 14.
48. Barnfield, 'Loveliest Music', p. 44, for the collar being the Order of the Garter. See p. 46, fn. 9 for 'the baldric style Garter collar ... should not be confused with the riband or sash of the modern Garter ...' For the collar being originally thought to be a baldric see Visser-Fuchs, p. 530, fn. 4.
49. Radzikowski, p. 55. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 13.
50. www.express.co.uk/news/royal/922384/The-Queen-fashion-secrets-royal-news-Queen-Elizabeth-latest, 22 February 2018.
51. www.rnohcharity.org/the-appeal/princess-eugenie-s-story, 22 March 2019.
52. Hanham, p. 121 for Rous; Shotter, p. 194, for Whitelaw. Whitelaw says, 'Never before has nature dared to encase in a smaller body such spirit and strength.' See fn. 58 below.
53. Bignell, p. 7, fn. 19 (p. 13) for Klose (p. 367).
54. Annette Carson, 'Scoliosis – considerably modified' (2014) www.annettecarson.co.uk/357052362. NB: 1.7m is 5ft 6in for Buckley's estimate of average height for medieval men.
55. 'Human bodies have ratios. An example is a person's arm span – the distance from the middle fingertip of the left hand to that of the right hand when stretching out both arms horizontally – to their height. This ratio is approximately a one to one ratio, meaning that a person's arm span is about equal to their height.' From: www.scientificamerican.com. Also: 'How to Determine Height Through the Skeleton' – 'Long bones in the legs and arms are used most often. These include the femur, fibula and tibia in the leg along with the humerus, radius and ulna in the arm.' From: <https://sciencing.com/determine-height-through-skeleton-5611616.html>.
56. Radzikowski, p. 58. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 17.
57. Radzikowski, p. 57. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 15.
58. David Shotter, 'Archibald Whitelaw's Address to King Richard III, Advocating the Strengthening of Peaceful Ties Between the English and the Scots, 12 September 1484' (Selected Documents 4), in A. J. Pollard (ed.), *The North of England in the Age of Richard III* (1996), pp 193–200. Whitelaw says: '... your clemency, your liberality, your good faith, your supreme justice, and your incredible greatness of heart', p. 194. For full quote see below fn. 60.
59. Radzikowski, p. 56. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 14.
60. Shotter, 'Whitelaw's Address', p. 193 for the same use of 'renown' in describing Richard's good reputation, and p. 194 for 'your most celebrated reputation for the practice of every form of virtue, which has reached into every corner of the world; moreover, there is the excellent and outstanding humanity of your innate benevolence, your clemency, your liberality, your good faith, your supreme justice, and your incredible greatness of heart. Your wisdom is not just human; it is almost divine: for you make yourself not simply at ease with important individuals, but courteous to the common people, too.' For Pietro Carmeliano's panegyric: David R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: writers and patrons, manuscript and print 1475–1525* (1993), pp 44–5: 'I found no prince more worthy than him, to whom my work might be dedicated.' For John Rous's description from the Rous Roll: Keith Dockery, *Richard III: a source book* (1997), pp 10–11: '... he got great thanks of God and love of all his subjects, rich and poor, and great praise of the people of all other lands about him'.
61. Shotter, p. 199.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 194 (and fn. 60 above): 'for you make yourself not simply at ease with important individuals, but courteous to the common people, too'.
63. Radzikowski, p. 55. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 12.
64. *Ibid.* Popplau uses *Cämmerer/Cammer-Herren*, which would probably mean chamberlain. Thanks to Albert Jan de Rooij, 3 February 2020. See also pp 43, 58, Schneider-Coutandin, pp 4, 16. It may also mean 'gentlemen of the king's chamber', see Visser-Fuchs, p. 528.
65. Radzikowski, p. 51. Schneider-Coutandin, p. 10.
66. The French king, Charles VIII, had demanded that Henry Tudor present himself as the brother of the former Lancastrian king of England, Henry VI (1421–1471) as part of his pretensions to the English throne. See: Philippa Langley and Michael Jones, *The King's Grave: the search for Richard III* (2013), pp 163, 218.
67. S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (1972), p. 39. My thanks to Dr David Johnson for this source: see 'Ardent Suitor or Reluctant Groom? Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, Part 1', *Ricardian Bulletin* (December 2019), pp 55–6, fn. 20
68. Bignall, pp 3, 7, 9.
69. Radzikowski, 'Work and Travels', *The Ricardian*, p. 244. Also see fn. 4 (above). For Popplau's original manuscript written in German (not Latin), see Bignell, p. 6.