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# **The *Love Letters* of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn**

Sources of the Love that changed  
England Forever

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*Ai miei genitori: senza di loro tutto  
ciò non sarebbe stato possibile.*

*A Denis, che continua ad essere il  
raggio di sole che in mezzo alla  
pioggia crea l'arcobaleno.*

*A Valentina che, nonostante la  
distanza, mi è sempre stata vicina.*

*A tutti quelli che non hanno mai  
creduto che questo giorno  
arrivasse.*

*Questa è la mia vittoria.*

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## INTRODUCTION

From Medieval to Modern court, from Catholic to an Anglican state, from a kingdom ruled by men to a reign governed by women. In many respect, the kingdom of Henry VIII may be considered a transitional reign. Ascending the throne on 21 April 1509, Henry VIII ruled over England and Ireland for 38 years, until his death on 28 January 1547.

The life of Henry VIII was very popular, although some facts concerning his wives and his life need to be mentioned.

Henry was born on 28 June 1491 and was the second son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. Actually, he was not destined to be King of England but to undertake clerical duties. His elder brother Arthur was the Prince of Wales and was destined to reign over the nation despite his feeble health. Arthur's fate was so planned out that his father, King Henry VII, eager to make an alliance with Spain, set the wedding of his son with the daughter of King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, i.e. Katherine of Aragon. As a result, on 14 November 1501, the matrimony took place, ending only a year later, with the death of Prince Arthur (2 April 1502). It was only after the death of his elder brother that Henry's fate changed; in the meantime, Katherine continued to live as a widow in England. After numerous negotiations, and the Papal bull of Julius II in 1503, a new marriage between the two nations was set but this time was more long-lasting. In fact, the future Henry VIII, five-year younger than Katherine, married her on 11 June 1509. From their union, only one daughter survived, i.e. Mary, who was apparently destined to become the first Queen of England.

However, despite some happy years of marriage, it was not a happy union, since Henry had numerous mistresses, among them Bessie Blount, who gave the king a son: Henry Fitzroy. King Henry decided to recognise him and appoint him Duke of Richmond and Somerset; rumours had it that the sovereign was ready to prepare his illegitimate son for a possible role as King of England.

For the whole duration of his reign, Henry VIII really felt the lack of a legitimate male child to designate him as the future King of England. The possible reason for his obsession with a male heir may be found in the fact that Tudor dynasty was not deeply-rooted in the English throne. It began to reign over England only in 1485, under Henry VII, after the atrocious War of the Roses. As a matter of fact, we might understand Henry VIII's motivation in trying to have a male child during his entire reign. As a result, we might try to see his repudiation of Katherine

of Aragon after nearly 24 years of wedding (if we consider 1533, the year in which the king married his second wife) as an attempt to have more children, since Katherine had entered menopause. Furthermore, we may better observe the repudiation of his first wife in the passion that King Henry began to feel for Anne Boleyn, who was one of the queen's maids of honour. The intense passion of the sovereign for the lady probably began in 1526, as we will deeply see in chapter I.



**Fig. 1:** Portrait of Henry VIII at the moment of his love story with Anne Boleyn. He used to wear hats to cover his baldness.

Anyway, the turbulent passion reached its climax in 1533, the year in which he secretly married Anne and that prompted his separation from the Catholic Church. So, in the same year, he put an end to the matter of the divorce from his first wife (that started in 1527); and it was also the year in which his second daughter was born, i.e. Elizabeth. However, the passion, that lived in Henry's heart, for Anne faded and faded. In January 1536, after a blow to the head during a game of joust, he lost consciousness for two hours: this fact seems to be a watershed for Henry becoming a tyrant. As a matter of fact, in May 1536, after a seemingly legal process, he put to death the woman whom he loved most. He got engaged with Jane Seymour the very next day, once again, she was one of Anne's ladies-in-waiting.

From the union between Henry and Jane, the awaited heir was born, i.e. Edward. Unfortunately, the queen did not survive childbirth, and she died on 24 October 1537. During the rest of his reign, Henry always remembered Jane, continuing to paint her in family portraits. Additionally, he decided to be buried with her in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor Castle.

After Jane's death, the king fell in a sort of depression, talking only with his fowl, William Sommers. He began to be fat, mainly due to the ulcer in his leg, which prevented him from doing sports or riding horses, so he stopped hunting.

In order to help the sovereign go out of his mourning, Thomas Cromwell thought of looking for another wife for the king. Therefore, his painter Hans Holbein, was instructed to paint the portraits of Christina of Milan and those of the Cleves' sisters. In view of a possible marriage with the English sovereign, the Milanese Princess ironically declared she would marry Henry only if she had two heads. In fact, Henry's choice was addressed to Anne of Cleves. Cromwell, made the arrangements for this marriage because he wanted an alliance with a Protestant country. The marriage did not last and it eventually ended up in a divorce, because the king did not find Anne attractive, comparing her to a mare. In any case, the divorce was not as difficult as it was in the case of Katherine of Aragon. Anne of Cleves remained "his beloved sister" and they often played cards together. Curiously, the castle that initially belonged to Boleyn's family, i.e. Hever Castle, became hers, and it was her favourite residence. Her initials in the fireplace are still present.

Despite his forty-nine years of age, Henry's need for love did not weaken and he was still looking for another wife. Once again, the choice fell on one of Anne of Cleves' ladies-in-waiting, i.e. Catherine Howard, who was only seventeen years old and was also Anne Boleyn's cousin. Even this time, the marriage was not a happy one and it ended with the beheading of the new queen. In this case, the appellation of "unfaithful woman" was right, because she betrayed the king with his groom of the stool, Thomas Culpeper.

After the young Catherine, it was the turn of Catherine Parr, already a widow twice. Their marriage ended with the king's death, but, if the life of the sovereign had been spared, it seemed plausible that she would have become her husband's victim.

The subject of this essay is not related to all of Henry's wives, since we will focus our attention on his second one and on their relationship. There is a famous nursery rhyme in England, that helps to memorize the fate of Henry's wives: "Divorced, beheaded, died. Divorced, beheaded, survived". Further considerations can be done, i.e. the two queens of foreign origins suffered a divorce, the two cousins were beheaded, while Jane Seymour and Catherine Parr, although the latter's life was spared during the marriage, she later died of puerperal fever. As a matter of fact, Catherine Parr gave birth to the daughter of Thomas Seymour, who was also Jane Seymour's brother. From this point of view, we may observe the cyclical fate of Henry's wives.

Particular attention can be paid on the man, behind the king. A man who has always followed love and passion in every aspect of his life. Once he assumed the throne in 1509, he started to squander the money that his father had carefully saved, in order to modernize the English court and its residences with new furniture. Specifically, talking about the man, a report<sup>1</sup> made by Lodovico Falier, the Venetian Ambassador in England, in 1531, gave us a complete vision of this king: he was very tall (180 cm) and muscular, bald but he wore a beard, which was not fashionable in England at the time. He had a predisposition for sports, i.e. he rode his horses well, jousted, threw the quoit and the bow, and played tennis excellently. By the way, he was a man of culture, having studied philosophy and holy writ in his early years; in addition to English, he spoke Latin, Spanish, French and Italian. He loved to surround himself with men of science, and he wrote numerous books, poems and lyrics.

He modernised the English court, turning it into one of the most magnificent courts in Europe. He gave the nation a naval fleet and new castles which he projected himself. He organized numerous parties and masques and he loved to disguise himself and participate in these parties anonymously, until when he had to reveal his identity and everyone had to pretend to be amazed. It was a habit that he kept for the entire duration of his reign, even when he was too old and fat to be recognized.

During the first year of his administration, he was used to leave all his powers in the hands of the Cardinal of York, i.e. Thomas Wolsey, who was also his Lord Chancellor, since Henry wanted to dedicate his time to hunting and doing sports. As we may have deduced from the above description, Henry also had a predisposition for extra-marital relationships. In fact, he had numerous lovers, among them Bessie Blount and Mary Boleyn.

He had a good relationship with the Catholic religion and in 1521 he was proclaimed by Pope Leo X *Defensor fidei*, since he wrote a book in defence of the true faith<sup>2</sup>, against the *Ninety-Five Theses* of Martin Luther (1517). Furthermore, he was designated 'the most beautiful king of Christendom'. However, due to the non-annulment of his marriage with Katherine of Aragon, he separated himself and his reign from the Catholic Church, proclaiming himself 'Head of the Church of England' (1534): that was the birth of the Anglican Church.

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<sup>1</sup> Brown (1871): n. 694 (*Report of England, made to the Senate by Lodovico Falier* written on 10 November 1531).

<sup>2</sup> Scarisbrick (1997): 111-117. The book in question was *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum (The Defence of the Seven Sacraments)*, which wrote with the help of Thomas More.

In this essay, we will entirely talk about Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn's relationship, analysing the decade from 1526 to 1536.

Specifically, in chapter I, we will analyse their love story through the eyes of the ambassadors present at the English court and other correspondences.

On the whole, after a brief focus on Anne Boleyn's life, we will talk about their love story dividing it per years, trying to find new keys to reading the facts that lead to the tragic end of Henry's second wife.

Then, in chapter II, we will talk about the *Love Letters* that Henry VIII wrote to Anne Boleyn at the beginning of their relationship. Specifically, we will analyse the history behind the said manuscripts and the hand-writings of the sovereign. Then, in chapter III, we will provide a diplomatic edition of the said letters from the original manuscripts, which are now preserved at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat. 3731.pt.A. After each transcription, we will then contextualize the said letters by considering the facts that happened in those years. Then, with regards to modern editions of the said letters, we will make a comparison between our own transcription and the versions present in modern editions, reporting the differences, if present. Among modern editions, we will take into account editions provided by Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823), Crapelet (1826), Halliwell Philipps (1906) and Savage (1949). Specifically, in letters written in French, we will concentrate our attention on Hearne, Gunn, Crapelet and Savage's editions. Meanwhile, for English letters we will also consider the version of Halliwell Philipps (1906). The choice of these specific editions is due to the fact that they contain the versions provided by Dr. Fall (Hearne's) and Meon (Crapelet's), which were the first who transcribed the letters. Meanwhile, the edition of Halliwell Philipps is the most commercialized nowadays, and Savage, in his version, attested that his own edition was the fairest, since the previous ones were full of errors. Furthermore, we will analyse also the edition provided by Gunn (1823), since it was the edition that, following Savage's opinion, was the most reliable one among all previous editions.

In conclusion, our purpose is to provide a preparation in view of the fairest edition of the said letters, as well as giving new interpretations of the historical facts.

All references of the primary source letters will be put in notes at the end of the page. For whom it may concerned, we decide to put an "n" before the number of the letter, since no indication of the page was present in the BBC site. On the contrary, when notes refer to books, no letter will appear after the colon, as an indication that we are talking about the pages.

## CHAPTER I

### **HENRY AND ANNE: THE *MOST HAPPY* LOVE STORY THAT CHANGED HISTORY**

This chapter will provide a glimpse into Henry and Anne's relationship through the eyes of the ambassadors present at the English Court and any other form of testimony or correspondence. Specific attention will be paid to the figure of Anne Boleyn, in order to better understand how the sovereign's feelings towards her changed over the years; obviously, since the years of their relationship included the matter of divorce and the fall of other principal persons related to the said case, a mention of those facts were also reported.

#### **I.1 Anne Boleyn: the woman who bewitched the heart of Henry VIII**

Anne Boleyn was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn and Elizabeth Howard. It is not clear when she was born (about 1501), although it is certain that she had two siblings who reached adulthood: George and Mary. Even the date of birth of her siblings were uncertain, and we do not even know if she was older than Mary. Anyway, it seems clear that George was the youngest son of Thomas Boleyn. At first, the family was of humble origins, up to Anne's great-grandfather, Geoffrey Boleyn, a merchant who became Lord Mayor of London in 1457, and then received a knighthood. Anne's mother, Elizabeth Howard, was one of the ladies-in-waiting of Katherine of Aragon, and it was said that Henry, at the beginning of his kingdom, had a flirtation with her. Some fake rumours reported also that Anne could have been Henry's daughter, although it seems quite impossible.

During her early years, Anne was lady-in-waiting of the Archduchess Margaret of Austria, where she continued her French education. Then, in 1515, she entered the service of Queen Claude of France, wife of Francis I. The court of Francis I was the perfect place in which a lady could learn new skills; as a matter of fact, Anne became fashionable and she learned to dance and play some instruments, as well as improving her French language. Still, the said court was also famous for its dissolution and free love *liaisons*. Anne's sister Mary, who was at the French court with her, became famous for being one of the mistresses of King Francis I, among other nobles. At the long run, Mary returned to England before Anne. The fact that Anne lived in a libertine court, and that her sister behaved like a whore, it makes us think that she was hardly

as pure as she would declare to be in the following years. However, there was no evidence of her misconduct during her stay at the French court.

The first contact with the English court and its ruler might have occurred in 1520, during The Field of Cloth of Gold, in which Francis I and Henry VIII met each other with their respective courts. Anyway, we have no references of Anne's presence at the meeting; it was likely that Henry's attention was captured by Anne's sister. What we know for sure is that Mary Boleyn, returned to England before her sister, and there, she became Henry's mistress. Their relationship lasted for several years, even though Mary married William Carey in 1521; regarding this marriage, it seemed a cover for the fact that Mary was expecting a child from the sovereign. Erickson (2005) hypothesized that Mary gave a son to the king, as Bessie Blount had done before her; anyway, the child was kept at the monastery of Syon, without any particular attention<sup>3</sup>. However, the relationship between the king and the eldest daughter of Thomas Boleyn, as it was hypothesised Mary was, seems to have ended only in the mid-1520s. The king was looking for another mistress, and his attention fell on Anne. Anne's attitude was not that of her sister's; she did not want to become a mistress, with the bad reputation that follows. On the contrary, she was determined to have an advantageous marriage, which could elevate her place in society. It seems clear from this fact that she did not aspire to become queen; besides, she did not think she was being courted by the king himself. After all, the king had been married for many years with Katherine and he had had numerous mistresses without promising them marriage.

In any way, the fact that Henry had sex with Mary Boleyn precluded the idea of a marriage with her sister Anne, because of the doctrine of 'Carnal Contagion'. This doctrine could also be associated with his first marriage with Katherine, since the infection was related to the relatives of the people you had slept with. As a result, it was as if Henry had sex with his brother Arthur and with Anne. Diseases, illegitimacies and incest were listed among the consequences of the said doctrine<sup>4</sup>.

Talking about Anne's appearance, George Wyatt described her as a dark-haired lady with a very light complexion. She had little moles throughout her body, almost due to her skin tone. Still, he said she had a 'little show of a nail' upon one of her fingers, that she tried to hide by using the tip of another finger. She was described as a 'sweet and cheerful' lady, fashionable

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<sup>3</sup> Erickson (2005): 36. Other studies reported that Henry VIII had several children by Mary Boleyn. Anyway, unlike Henry Fitzroy, son of Bessie Blount, no other son was recognized.

<sup>4</sup> Haynes (2010): 22-23.

and with a fine shape, which gave her an air of majesty, but also of mildness<sup>5</sup>. In 1528, a letter of the Venetian Ambassador stated that Anne was really beautiful<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore, in a report written in 1532 by Helwighen, it was said that Elizabeth Blount, one of the king's previous mistresses, was more beautiful than Anne; still, Anne was from a good family and was more articulate and elegant than Elizabeth<sup>7</sup>. As Thomas Wyatt described her as a 'brunet', it was known that she was not a typical English beauty, since the ideal English woman had blonde hair with light-blue eyes. Furthermore, it seems that she used to lighten her complexion using sulphur and saffron; this was to hide her natural olive skin colour. Basically, the best part of her complexion seems to be her dark eyes, which were expressive and sparkling. Regarding her height, she was of middle stature. Her bosom was not so copious, her mouth was slight, and her neck was thin and long<sup>8</sup>.



**Fig 2:** One of the portraits of Anne Boleyn

### **I.1.2 Return to the English Court**

It was only in late 1521 that Anne returned to England, where she settled at court as lady-in-waiting of Catherine of Aragon. Her return to England was mentioned in a letter that King

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<sup>5</sup> Wyatt (1827): 424.

<sup>6</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 236 (*Advices from France, transmitted to the Signory by Coresara*, written on 10 February 1528).

<sup>7</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 967 (*Helwighen's Report concerning the man of Louvain*, possibly written at the end of June 1532).

<sup>8</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 824 (*Summary of the Interview between the Kings of England and France*, written on 31 October 1532).

Francis I wrote to La Batie and Poillot<sup>9</sup>. Her comeback seemed to be related to a possible marriage with the son of the Earl of Ormond, James Butler. Still, the arrangement was made by the king himself, as his letter to Surrey, written in September 1520, attested<sup>10</sup>; in the said brief, Henry VIII wanted to be certain that Surrey's son was sure he was marrying the daughter of Thomas Boleyn, and the king would have talked about the matter with Boleyn. One of the first times Anne and King Henry met might be in the Joust and Masque that he gave in March 1522, in order to feast Shrovetide, i.e. today's Pancake Tuesday. Specifically, on 1 March, a Masque was planned, and Anne was one of the ladies who was chosen to perform in it. Overall, Henry's parties were not sober ones, and for this special occasion, a castle was built in one of the rooms of Greenwich Palace. This castle was the scenography of the performance, in which eight ladies resided, representing the virtues that an ideal wife, or lady, may possess. Among the ladies, Anne represented Perseverance, Mary Boleyn was Kindness, meanwhile Mary, Henry's sister, performed Beauty. Around the castle, other eight ladies, representing vices, defended the virtues. Then, eight lords, among them the king, fought against the women's vices and entered the castle in order to save the ladies' virtues. At the end of the performance, a ball could begin and the lords danced with the freed virtues. Erickson (2005) assured the ball was made with the idea of representing the affection that the sovereign felt for his wife Katherine. In fact, the green castle was a metaphor of Henry's courtship towards his wife. We may deduce this from the flag waving on the castle, illustrating a lady's hand which held a man's heart; a symbol of the king's devotion to his wife<sup>11</sup>.

During the same year, Anne's attentions were addressed to Henry Percy, the heir of the Earl of Northumberland. Henry, from his part, fell in love with Anne and the two entered in a secret arrangement. It is important to remember that in the 16th Century, a precontract was similar to a marriage: for this reason, it was probable that their arrangement was sexually consumed. However, the marriage did not take place due to Wolsey's interference. Following Cavendish's testimony, the annulment of the engagement came directly from the king's order, since he could not disguise his feelings for Anne. From his point of view, the sovereign confessed his affection to Wolsey in order to find a remedy for Henry Percy and Anne's precontract<sup>12</sup>. The resolution found by the Cardinal was the setting of Henry Percy's marriage with the daughter of the Earl

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<sup>9</sup> Brewer (1867): n. 1994. The letter was mutilated so we cannot know precisely when it was written.

<sup>10</sup> Brewer (1867): n. 1004. The name of the daughter was not specified; Brewer, in his index, related this fact with Mary, but this cannot be possible.

<sup>11</sup>Erickson (2005): 37.

<sup>12</sup> Cavendish (1962): 32.

of Shrewsbury, Mary Talbot: the two married in 1532 but it was not a happy union. Returning to Anne Boleyn, when the news of the annulment of the precontract reached her, she said she would have sought revenge for Wolsey's intrusion in her private life. Furthermore, in order to divide the two lovers, Percy had to avoid Anne's company, then Anne was sent away from court, to her father, at Hever Castle, for a season. For the whole time, she did not know anything about the king's affection towards her<sup>13</sup>. As Erickson (2005) reported, the king used to banish from court those who misbehaved against his will, although he recalled them to court after a couple of months<sup>14</sup>.

The first indications of the king's sympathy for Anne may be found in the rivalry between the sovereign and the poet Thomas Wyatt, Anne's friend, who fell in love with her too. Besides, it could be through Wyatt's courtship that the sovereign noticed Anne. George Wyatt (1827) reported a famous anecdote about the rivalry between the two men: Wyatt caught one of Anne's jewels, which he tied into a ribbon, around his neck. Then, the king, seeing Wyatt's attentions towards Anne, during a conversation with the said lady, removed a ring from Anne's hand and put it in his little finger. One day, while the two men were playing bowls, the king persisted in saying the game was in his favour, pointing at his pinkie. Still, looking at Wyatt, he said that Anne belonged to him. Then, Wyatt replied showing Anne's jewel, and saying that the lady could be his. At that sight, the king became angry, saying he felt deceived. So, he left, ending the match. Later, the king went to Anne who explained how the jewel reached the neck of the poet<sup>15</sup>. Consequently, after this episode, the king chased Wyatt away from court, where he returned only in 1532, when the relationship between the sovereign and Anne Boleyn was officially turning into a marriage. It seems plausible that the poet was sent away from court in order for the king to have Anne's affection without the presence of any other competitors.

Having no witnesses who could attest when the relationship between the two began, 1526 is considered the year in which their liaison changed. Besides, during a joust in February of the said year, the sovereign chose the phrase *Declare I dare not* as his motto. Furthermore, the king's passion was not a private courtship, since his movements were not away from prying eyes<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Cavendish (1962): 36.

<sup>14</sup> Erickson (2005): 55.

<sup>15</sup> Wyatt (1827): 426-427. The fact told by Wyatt are reported here one after the other, since in the essay it was not reported any kind of date concerning how the facts happened.

<sup>16</sup> Erickson (2005): 84.

George Wyatt described also the relationship between Anne and the queen, attesting the latter did not miss the opportunity to point out to the king Anne's little finger; they used to play cards together and it was during a match that Katherine said to Anne she was not like all other women: she would have had everything or nothing<sup>17</sup>.

Sometime after this fact, a book containing an old prophecy came into the hands of Katherine. In the said book, there was an illustration whereby three figures were shown, the first with a letter H, the second letter A and the latter reported letter K. The prophecy foretold possible destruction if the lady was to marry the king. Seeing the illustration, the queen called Anne and showed her the picture. The lady's reply was that she would never marry the king, even though he had been an emperor<sup>18</sup>.

## **I.2 1527 - 1528: The Love Letters and the Great Matter**

The two-year period taken into account will be object of Chapter II, mainly due to the fact that those were the years in which Henry VIII probably wrote his love letters to Anne Boleyn.

Nonetheless, some facts that will not be present in the following chapter need to be mentioned. Following the *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England* (1889), the idea of the divorce started from Cardinal Wolsey, since he wanted to make Queen Katherine suffer. Knowing that the king had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, he told the sovereign that he was living in sin, since he married his brother's widow. Henry's reply consisted in a request for advice, that is, how he could break his marriage with Katherine. So, the cardinal told him that he had to go to the queen and tell her that their marriage was not valid since she had lived with his brother for half a year<sup>19</sup>. Actually, it seems the first hints of a possible divorce emerged in Henry's mind after a conversation with the Bishop of Tarbes, who was sent to England in order to set the marriage between Henry's daughter (Mary) and Francis I. Specifically, the bishop doubted the legitimacy of Mary as his daughter<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, on a report from 1532, it was said the king decided to divorce after a conversation with his confessor<sup>21</sup>. Regardless of how the story began, a rumour that had risen from England was denied by Wolsey in a letter addressed to Ghinucci and Lee, the English Ambassadors in Spain, on 1 August 1527. He told them that some

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<sup>17</sup> Wyatt (1827): 428.

<sup>18</sup> Wyatt (1827):429-430.

<sup>19</sup> Bell and Sons, ed. (1889): 3-4. The anonymous author postponed the facts in 1530. Nevertheless, we decided to mention them.

<sup>20</sup> Gairdner (1896): 675. No evidence of the fact emerged from correspondences, although before spring 1527 no mention of divorce was found.

<sup>21</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1114. (The Divorce). The said letter would be reported in section I.6, p. 29.

discussions about Papal dispensation were made in order to negotiate the marriage that the French proposed between Francis I and Princess Mary. Then, he continued by begging them to negate any kind of divorce, confirming the marriage if the Spaniards asked something about it<sup>22</sup>.

By the way, following Lingard (1902), Anne made her first public appearance with the king on 5 May 1527, dancing together during the reception in honour of the French Ambassadors, who were in London in order to negotiate the marriage between his sovereign and Mary<sup>23</sup>. However, Anne's presence was only witnessed by the French during the ball; no other report of Anne was found in the first part of 1527.

The matter of the divorce really started on 17 May 1527, the day in which a secret assembly was set at York Place (Wolsey's house) in order to decide on the validity of the marriage between King Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon. The debate lasted for days<sup>24</sup>. In any case, it seems plausible that the principal cause of divorce was not set in the love the sovereign felt for Anne Boleyn; a proof of this is also contained in the love letters that Henry wrote to her, specifically in letter 4 (chapter III, p.75), since he asked her to become his official mistress, not his wife.

That summer, Cardinal Wolsey went to France, although he preferred not to tell Francis I about the king's private matter. Nevertheless, the news came to the French sovereign from the Archduchess Margaret, who knew the king's wish to divorce<sup>25</sup>.

Anyway, on 22 June 1527, the king told Katherine that they had been living in mortal sin throughout all the duration of their wedding. As a result, he distanced himself from his wife, begging her to keep the matter private<sup>26</sup>. Apparently, it seems that Henry truly believed that his marriage was illegitimate from the beginning, although Katherine was convinced of the contrary, i.e. that their matrimony was lawful. However, on 16 August 1527, the king's affection for Anne Boleyn emerged, as we may verify from Mendoza's letter, in which he reported the news that the king would have married the daughter of Mr. Boleyn as soon as the divorce case would come to an end<sup>27</sup>. The reality was that Wolsey was trying to plan another marriage between Henry VIII and Renée, daughter of Louis XII, in order to form a closer

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<sup>22</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 3327.

<sup>23</sup> Lingard (1902), vol. IV: 485. It could only be in this period that Bishop of Tarbes set doubts about Mary's legitimacy.

<sup>24</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 3140 (*The Divorce*, catalogued on 31 May 1527).

<sup>25</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 3340 (*Wolsey to Henry VIII*).

<sup>26</sup> De Gayangos (1877): n. 113 (*Don Iñigo to the Emperor*, written on 13 July 1527).

<sup>27</sup> De Gayangos (1877): n. 152 (*Mendoza to the Emperor*).

alliance with France<sup>28</sup>; he did not consider the fact that his master was planning his own wedding, and he (Wolsey) believed that the divorce matter was entirely and only in his hands.

Basically, the matter of the divorce was based on two passages of the Bible, and the former was the exact opposite of the latter:

He that marrieth his brother's wife, doth an unlawful thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness. They shall be without children (Leviticus 20:21)<sup>29</sup>;

When brethren dwell together, and one of them dieth without children, the wife of the deceased shall not marry to another; but his brother shall take her, and raise up seed for his brother (Deuteronomy 25:5)<sup>30</sup>.

In February 1528, two delegates of the king, i.e. Stephen Gardiner (Wolsey's secretary) and Edward Fox (another man at Wolsey's service), rode to Rome, in order to promote the enquiry being discussed in England. As a result, on 8 June 1528, Pope Clement VII set a commission in order to enquire the matter of divorce, and to find out if the matrimony could be considered valid or not<sup>31</sup>. It was clear that people from the king's side thought that the passage in Leviticus was more powerful than the one in Deuteronomy<sup>32</sup>. The idea of concentrating the matter upon the passage of the Leviticus started from the sovereign himself, who received a clerical education during his childhood. Moreover, he believed that the passage was mistranslated from Greek to Latin, i.e. the word *liberis* has been translated with *filiis* ('sons'). However, this belief appeared to be wrong, and the queen's defenders, believing in the validity of the union, appealed to the position of Deuteronomy in the Bible: they believed that Deuteronomy, being positioned after Leviticus, bore more validity than the former<sup>33</sup>.

Anyway, the Pope commissioned the enquiry to Cardinal Campeggio, lawyer and widower with children, and to Thomas Wolsey. For this reason, he sent Campeggio to England, where he arrived on 7 October 1528, in order to investigate. News of the 14th expressed the sovereign's impatience for receiving news of Campeggio's arrival<sup>34</sup>. However, the cardinal, once arrived,

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<sup>28</sup> Gairdner (1896): 681.

<sup>29</sup> King's James Bible. The original Latin Vulgate verse was: "qui duxerit uxorem fratris sui rem facit illicitam turpitudinem fratris sui revelavit absque filiis erunt".

<sup>30</sup> King James' Bible. The original Latin Vulgate verse was: "quando habitaverint fratres simul et unus ex eis absque liberis mortuus fuerit uxor defuncti non nubet alteri sed accipiet eam frater eius et suscitabit semen fratris sui"

<sup>31</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4345 (*Clement VII*).

<sup>32</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 3233 (*Rich Pace to Henry VIII*).

<sup>33</sup> Fraser (1992): 139.

<sup>34</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4845 (*Taylor to Montmorency*).

suffered from gout, which prevented him from starting the enquire immediately. As a proof of that, in a letter written on 26 October 1528, he wrote to Cardinal Salviati that the gout had been tormenting him for 20 days. Still, he wrote that he had not been able to convince Katherine to take the vows, seeing how devoted she was. In addition, he wrote that everyone in England wanted the matter resolved as soon as possible<sup>35</sup>. Talking about Queen Katherine's behaviour regarding the matter, she immediately wrote to her nephew Charles V for protection and she asked for the matter to be discussed in Rome. When Cardinal Campeggio paid her three visits, and suggested her to take the vows, she firmly rejected the proposal, confessing to him that she had not consummated her marriage with her first husband.

After the writing of the love letters, Anne permanently moved to court at the beginning of December 1528. Her lodging was close to the one of the sovereign<sup>36</sup>. As Christmas came, the king moved to Greenwich Palace, the place in which Katherine resided. By the way, from a letter that Mendoza wrote to the Emperor on 2 December 1528, we discover that the king did not want to stay under the same roof with his first wife; so, even if his moving to Greenwich could appear as a prelude to a sort of reconciliation, things worked differently: the king did not want to meet her, except for some occasional dinners or sleeping together. However, the king was in a sense obliged to do these things, as part of the advice given to him by his legate as a fastest resolution to solving his matter<sup>37</sup>. Anne was also in Greenwich too during festivities, with her lodgings separated from those of the sovereign, since she did not want to see Katherine<sup>38</sup>.

Paradoxically, another 'secret matter' was set in 1527, i.e. Henry sent Knight to the Pope with the purpose of receiving another bull, by which the Pope would permit a future marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn. The said marriage would take place after the annulment of the former one. This dispensation was essential due to the 'carnal contagion', since he had copulated with Anne's sister. In a sense, it was a paradox: Henry wanted a bull to marry Anne, although he wanted to annul his first union for the same cause. It is certain that Henry thought he was right when he declared that his marriage was not legal from the beginning. However, he was so in love with Anne that he did not care about his previous relationship with Anne's sister. In any case, Wolsey was not aware of this second request<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4875.

<sup>36</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 5016 (*Du Bellay to Montmorency*, written on 9 December 1528).

<sup>37</sup> De Gayangos (1877): n. 600.

<sup>38</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 5063 (*Du Bellay to Montmorency*, written on 25 December 1528).

<sup>39</sup> Gairdner (1896): 685-686.

Knight's mission to receive the dispensation by which Henry could marry Anne (after the annulment of his first marriage) succeeded.

### I.3 1529: Two Queens for a Throne

On 4 February, Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador in England, wrote to Charles V that the wedding between Anne and Henry was postponed. Still, Anne believed that it was only Wolsey's fault, since he was afraid that the marriage would be the end of his power over the king, fearing also the possible coronation of Anne as Queen of England<sup>40</sup>. Then, the new Spanish Ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, replacing an indisposed Mendoza, wrote that the love that the king felt for his "lady" was so great that it could not grow anymore<sup>41</sup>. The two lovers lived in great harmony, hunting together in the morning, an appointment Henry could not lose. Henry's stubbornness in pursuing on the divorce case was totally guided by his feelings, which were so strong that the ambassador thought he could not return back to his conjugal duties<sup>42</sup>. In a letter written on 13 December, Chapuys affirmed that the king's affection for Anne was inversely proportional to the indifference he felt for his first wife. As the Duke of Norfolk once told him, there was nothing Henry would not have done in order to obtain Charles V's approval in the divorce matter. Still, Anne's relatives were elevated to the rank of earls, since there was a kind of preparation of Anne's big day. Waiting the moment of her glory, she sat at the king's side, in the place of Katherine<sup>43</sup>.

Relating to the king's great matter, in the month of October, Campeggio returned to Rome. During the last month of his permanence in England, the king was angry with him, since he refused to nullify his marriage. On the other hand, Wolsey also did not want the annulment of the said marriage, since he feared a possible marriage with Anne<sup>44</sup>. In the meantime, at court, a coalition composed of Thomas Boleyn, the Duke of Norfolk and the Duke of Suffolk among others, tried to put an end to Wolsey's diplomacy, since he did not want to fulfil the king's desires<sup>45</sup>. Anyway, the matter of divorce continued, and the king's attention focused on the dispensation by which Pope Julius II attested that the union between Katherine of Aragon and Henry VIII could take place. Henry asked Katherine to have the bull which was preserved by

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<sup>40</sup> De Gayangos (1877): n. 621 (*Mendoza to the Emperor*).

<sup>41</sup> De Gayangos (1879): n. 135 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 4 September 1529).

<sup>42</sup> De Gayangos (1879): n. 160 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 21 September 1529).

<sup>43</sup> De Gayangos (1879): n. 232.

<sup>44</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 461 (*Lodovico Falier to the Signory*, written on 24 May 1529).

<sup>45</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 5581 (*Du Bellay to -*, written on 22 May 1529).

his nephew in Spain, so Katherine requested for it<sup>46</sup>. However, the bearer of Katherine's request to Charles V, said to the emperor that she was obliged to ask for the bull. For this reason, Charles did not send it to England and persuaded the Pope to continue the matter in Rome<sup>47</sup>. Specifically talking about the dispensation, Henry VIII affirmed the brief could have been falsified, since both the bull and the brief that accompanied it presented the same date, i.e. 26 December 1503<sup>48</sup>. In addition, the wax seal was in the wrong place, and the signature of the secretary was not in his own handwriting<sup>49</sup>.

As concerns the situation of Katherine of Aragon, she was surrounded by spies<sup>50</sup>, although she rarely saw the king. Specifically, during a dinner on St. Andrew's Day (on 30 November), the queen complained she was ignored by her husband, who did not want to have dinner with her or visit her. The king's reply was she should not complain about the bad treatment since she was like "a mistress in her own household"; even though he paid visits to her and shared her bed sporadically, she was not his legitimate wife. The king also talked about the case, saying that he was supported by numerous canonists and not until he had collected all their opinions, would he send them to the Pope. In instance the Pope pursued his intention in denying the annulment of the marriage, the king was ready to condemn him as a heretic and marry whom he wanted. After these conversations, the king abruptly left her room, and his bad mood was perceived by Anne during supper. The mistress lamented that she could have set some advantageous marriage in the meantime, for she was sure that one day Henry would return to Katherine<sup>51</sup>. However, following some advice from his ambassadors, the king gave more attention to Katherine during the rest of December, and Anne was not seen at court. Nevertheless, the king did not retrace his steps, and the Venetian Ambassador Scarpinello, visiting Chapuys, affirmed that the English appealed to the queen's sterility in order to obtain the divorce<sup>52</sup>.

The thing that most strikes our attention is Wolsey's ruin. After having previously talked about the first hints of the cardinal's downfall at the beginning of the paragraph, on 27 October 1529 Cardinal Wolsey was arrested. Before the decision of the council, he was deprived of all his power and of all his properties, although the king sent him a ring in order to console him. His

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<sup>46</sup> Bell and sons (1889): 5.

<sup>47</sup> Byrne (1936): 94.

<sup>48</sup> De Gayangos (1879): n. 160 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 21 September 1529).

<sup>49</sup> De Gayangos (1879): n. 182 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 8 October 1529).

<sup>50</sup> De Gayangos (1879): n. 135 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 4 September 1529).

<sup>51</sup> De Gayangos (1879): n. 224 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 6 December 1529).

<sup>52</sup> De Gayangos (1879): n. 241 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 31 December 1529).

Seal was assigned to Thomas More<sup>53</sup>. However, when he was found guilty of high treason, he was sent to prison until the king would decide his fate<sup>54</sup>. Somehow after this sentence, the cardinal was brought to the king in his shirt and without shoes, and after the lecture of all his accusations, he was condemned to death, with much pleasure of the English people, who would like to see their cardinal stoned. But the king did not approve the sentence, so he confined his ‘beloved cardinal’ to a small village<sup>55</sup>.

#### **I.4 1530: *Ainsi Sera, Groigne qui Groigne***

At the very beginning of new year, the king was more than ever convinced of having a second marriage, in order to give a male successor to his kingdom. His conviction came from his lectures and discussions he made with canonists, who agreed that his first marriage was illegitimate from the beginning<sup>56</sup>. For pursuing in his intention, the king relegated Katherine of Aragon at Richmond, meanwhile he stayed in London with Anne. Still, he often avoided the company of his first wife when he could do it. Besides, as he did at the beginning of his great matter, he tried to convince Katherine to take the vows, although the queen would not agree to this<sup>57</sup>. Voices of a possible “England made” divorce started to circulate; that is to say, Zuan Batista Malaspina, the Mantuan Ambassador, wrote that King Henry’s intention was to obtain a divorce in any case, either by the Apostolic see or by his own authority<sup>58</sup>. The king’s determination in pursuing his matter, may be found in the fact that he was searching an opinion from all the universities (Louvain and Padua among them) to whom he sent his case<sup>59</sup>. Among universities, those in Paris agreed with Henry’s thoughts<sup>60</sup>. In a letter written by Charles V on 27 July, he reported that the Pope ruled that the matter had to be judged in Rome. However, King Henry continued on collecting opinions from different universities and doctors. As a consequence, Charles V actualized the very method, asking opinions about the matter from the Kingdom of Naples<sup>61</sup>. The work of Henry against the validity of his marriage with Katherine

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<sup>53</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 521 (*Falier to the Signory*, written on 28 October 1529).

<sup>54</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 6026 (*Chapuy to Charles V*, written on 25 October 1529).

<sup>55</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 559 (– *to the Marquis of Mantua*, written on 21 December 1529).

<sup>56</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 249 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 12 January 1530).

<sup>57</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 251 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 6 February 1530).

<sup>58</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 560 (*Zuan Batista Malaspina to the Marquis of Mantua*, written on 8 January 1530).

<sup>59</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 568 (*Lodovico Falier to the Signory*, written on 16 March 1530).

<sup>60</sup> Hinds (1912): n. 817 (*Augustino Scarpinello to Francesco Sforza*, written on 14 July 1530).

<sup>61</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 362 (*The Emperor to Cardinal Colonna*).

was discussed in a letter from Cardinal Colonna to Miçer Mai, saying that his determination in the matter was so strong that he plotted with Francis I to disturb Charles V's affairs in Italy<sup>62</sup>.

The attention shown towards Anne by the king increased daily. Specifically, at the beginning of May 1530, he rode from Windsor to London, making Anne to ride on a pillion behind him, which was quite unusual<sup>63</sup>. However, at the end of May, numerous marriages were going to be planned, and Thomas Boleyn started to lose all his hopes for the possible matrimony between his daughter and the sovereign<sup>64</sup>. Still, the king bought Anne lands and buildings; this fact seemed in the Spanish's eyes, a sign of the king's decision to be reversed<sup>65</sup>.

On a letter that Chapuys wrote on 15 June, he believed that if Anne was sent away from the court for some time, the queen could have regained her place. Still, the king sent some cloths to his wife, in which she used transforming into shirts for her husband. Anne, upon discovering the fact, called for the person who brought the tissues to Katherine, and he confessed that it was the king's order. Anne's reaction was not a sober one since she beat up the bearer and threatened him of other hard punishments, while in the company of the king<sup>66</sup>. During the month of July, the king told his lover that she had to be grateful for all the confusion he made in order to have her as his wife, although this decision caused lots of enemies among people at court. Anne replied mentioning the prophecy which foretold that a queen of England had to be burned, but she did not care about that, since she loved him so much that she could have suffered a thousand deaths<sup>67</sup>. In a letter of 13 July, Rodrigo Niño wrote to Charles V that Henry intended to marry Anne after having received the opinions of universities and the annulment of his first marriage; he would then send Katherine to another residence, where nobody could visit her<sup>68</sup>. However, the English people did not want their marriage, since they were extremely devoted to Queen Katherine; so, if the marriage would take place, they would protest due to the stretch of opinions from the universities of Paris and those in England<sup>69</sup>. As she was the queen, some gentlemen were used to visiting Katherine regularly. However, Anne felt herself so in competition with the queen that she probably inveighed against those men, as we may imagine from one of Chapuys' letters, in which he wrote that she forbade the gentlemen to visit the queen. In addition

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<sup>62</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 347 (Written on 14 June 1530).

<sup>63</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 302 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 10 May 1530).

<sup>64</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 322 (*Miçer Mai to the Emperor*, written on 26 May 1530).

<sup>65</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 340 (*Miçer Mai to the Emperor*, written on 7 June 1530).

<sup>66</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 354 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*).

<sup>67</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 373 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 11 July 1530).

<sup>68</sup> Brewer (1875). n. 6514.

<sup>69</sup> Hinds (1912): n. 818 (*Augustino Scarpinello to Francesco Sforza*, written on 15 August 1530).

to this, she ordered some women to spy Katherine in her own rooms, and reporting to her anything she did or said<sup>70</sup>.

In November, Anne was also discovered by Chapuys while she was eavesdropping the discussion that he was having with the king, relating to the divorce affairs. She was listening to the conversation through a tiny window<sup>71</sup>. By the way, by the end of December 1530, a decision was made by the Pope, prohibiting Henry VIII to live with women, particularly with lady Anne, and to marry again. Furthermore, if the marriage would be set, it would be null and void<sup>72</sup>. Besides, this decision arrived in London at the beginning of January 1531, as we may see.

The motto which Anne chose in honour of Christmas was a summary, but also a justification of her attitude: *Ainsi sera, groigne qui groigne* (this is how it is going to be, whenever people may grumble).

Talking about Cardinal Wolsey, someone tried to reinstate him, but the presence of Anne at court did not facilitate the mission. His health was not good, or maybe he feigned illness since he would like the king to pay him a visit. Unfortunately, the king never did but ordered his own physician to examine him<sup>73</sup>. In general, we may consider that the separation between the cardinal and the king was due to Anne herself. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of February a certain Mr. Russel spoke to the king some good words in the cardinal's favour, and, for this reason, the lady did not speak to the sovereign for nearly a month. Anne's anger was also extended to her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk since he did not use his position to the cardinal's disadvantage<sup>74</sup>. News from the Venetian Ambassador tell us that after the facts previously mentioned, the cardinal visited his sovereign begging for his pardon, and the king forgave him; however, it would be only in April, at the Parliament, that his destiny would be decided.<sup>75</sup> Still, on 18 November, the Venetian Ambassador reported the news that the cardinal was arrested and sent to the Tower, since some compromising missives were discovered, attesting a pension was given to him by the French king and from the Pope. Then, Wolsey had impeded an assembly for talking about the divorce to take place<sup>76</sup>. The ambassador thought he would have

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<sup>70</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 422 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 5 September 1530).

<sup>71</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 492 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 13 November 1530).

<sup>72</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 6772 (*Secret Consistory of Cardinals*, written on 23 December 1530).

<sup>73</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 564 (*Lodovico Falier to the Signory*, written on 29 January 1530).

<sup>74</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 257 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 6 February 1530).

<sup>75</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 564 (*Lodovico Falier to the Signory*, written on 15 February 1530).

<sup>76</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): 633 (*Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory*).

put to death, although he died on 1 December 1530<sup>77</sup>. However, this last news was postponed since the Cardinal died on 29 November 1530.

On the other hand, news from the Spanish Ambassador, reported the fact that when Wolsey was called to court, to prevent his arrest, he did not want to eat or drink for several days since he found that it was a good method to die. He would have never arrived at the room in the Tower of London which was prepared for him, which was also the room which was once inhabited by the Duke of Buckingham before his execution. Chapuys ascribed Wolsey's accusation to Anne and her relatives, since she wept and threatened the king of leaving him if Wolsey would not be arrested. Regarding Wolsey's accusations, it seems he wrote to the Pope in order to have his ecclesiastical possession back; furthermore, he returned to his sumptuous habits, trying to bribe people<sup>78</sup>. After Wolsey's death his tomb was called by the English people 'The Tyrant's Grave', since they extremely disliked him. For whom the cause of his death may concern, it seems plausible that he hastened his death by taking something. Two days before his death he was picked up by the captain of the guard, whom escorted him to London. Although he suddenly fell ill<sup>79</sup>.

## **I.5 1531: Power and Arrogance at Court**

By the time of Wolsey's death, Anne became the most influential person at Henry's Court. That is to say, she was not only his lover, but also Henry's prime minister in a sense. She had the same power as a man, politically speaking, and considering the times, it was a very strange fact. As of what concerns correspondences, the first news of the year concerned Anne Boleyn and her hatred towards Spanish people: she said to one of Katherine's ladies-in-waiting that she would like if all Spaniards were at the bottom of the sea<sup>80</sup>. She was coarse, although she hated Katherine so much that she could not shut her mouth. Then, around the mid of January, she also argued with her lover, due to the fact that she was rude towards a gentleman while she was with the king<sup>81</sup>. Regarding the same quarrel, Muxutela reported that the king was so desperate after the argument, that he called some of her relatives who might help in their reconciliation. It seems that he begged for their help while he was crying<sup>82</sup>. However, love triumphed one more time, and the two reconciled, increasing the love that they felt for each other. On 6 June, we

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<sup>77</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871):639 (*Lodovico Falier to the Signory*, written on 8? December 1530).

<sup>78</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 509 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 27 November 1530).

<sup>79</sup> De Gayangos (1789): n. 522 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 4 December 1530).

<sup>80</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 584 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 1 January 1531).

<sup>81</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 61 (*Mai to Francis de Los Covos*, written on 22 January 1531).

<sup>82</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 608 (*Muxutela to the Emperor*, written on 22 January 1531).

observe another demonstration of Anne's attitude: she threatened the comptroller (Mr. Guilford) of firing and punishing him as soon as she became queen; the reason for this argument seems to be the fact that the said was not inclined to favour her. After the discussion, Mr. Guilford went to the king who told him not to listen to women's talk, although he decided to resign<sup>83</sup>.

News of a possible trip to France of the king started to circulate, and Anne spent Henry's money buying new dresses. With regards to the royal jewels, they were all at her disposition, except for the ones that belonged to Katherine. As a matter of fact, the Duke of Norfolk, after receiving orders from the king, sent a third person to bring to Anne Katherine's jewels. However, Katherine did not give him her jewels, since she wanted a personal order from the king; only at this circumstance, she would deliver them. As a result, the king asked for her jewels and then she handed them over. Meanwhile, a rumour at court talked about a possible marriage between Anne and Henry during their trip to France. In order to reply to this gossip, Anne said she would not marry outside England. Still, her wedding had to be set there, and it had to be like the one of a real queen<sup>84</sup>.

Another of Anne's enemy was the Bishop of Rochester, John Fisher, who was, from the real beginning, Katherine's most faithful supporter. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of October, Anne sent him a message in which she wrote him not to take part in the Parliament, since the previous year he had caught fever. Still, he did not follow her advice, and he attended Parliament. Anyway, this fact was a confirmation of Anne's power at court<sup>85</sup>. Previously, on 29 April, a news reported that some of the bishop's servants died during a supper, probably due to poison; the poison would have been addressed to Fisher himself. Anyway, the cook was arrested<sup>86</sup>. It was believed that the instigator of the attempted murder was Thomas Boleyn, or the king himself, although it was never discovered.

Talking about the hatred that the English felt towards Anne, news circulating on 24 November 1531 reported that 7 weeks earlier almost 8.000 women marched towards a villa in London countryside, where Anne was eating, with the aim of killing her. Unfortunately, the king was not with her, but she managed to escape on a boat, by which she crossed the river. Still, the said news attested that between those women, there were also some disguised men<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 739 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*).

<sup>84</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 802 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 1 October 1531).

<sup>85</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 805 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 9 October 1531).

<sup>86</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 668 (*English Intelligence received at the Imperial Court*).

<sup>87</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 701 (*Advices from France, received by the French Ambassador in Venice*).

As to what concerns the divorce, the new year started with the Pope's prohibition by which Henry could not remarry until the solution of the case. Still, the Pope continued by declaring that if the union should take place, it would be illegitimate. Furthermore, he said that no one in England may judge this matter since it was a Holy case, and this should be judged only in Rome. This seemed to be done after a request Katherine made to him<sup>88</sup>. After having received the letter of Clement VIII, the king lived in anxiety; still, he was not able to sleep at night, and so did Anne<sup>89</sup>. In order to respect the Pope's brief, the king would have sent Anne away from the court, although she stayed, also with more authority. In fact, there was no need of sending away his mistress, since he promoted himself Head of the England Church; behind his decision, Chapuys believed there were Anne and Thomas Boleyn<sup>90</sup>. Furthermore, on a letter he wrote to the Emperor on 22 March 1531, he blamed Anne and her father of being the cause of the liberation of Lutheran's priests from prison, since they professed Lutheranism. As a matter of fact, the king began to hate the Pope so much that he was inclined to support people who were in his favour, and who professed against the Bishop of Rome<sup>91</sup>. In May, the inclination of the Pope, and that of the cardinals, seemed to be towards Queen Katherine<sup>92</sup>. Despite the Pope's inclination, around the middle of July, the sovereign and his lady were determined to bring the case back in England. Still, Anne was sure that her marriage with the king would take place within four months. As a result, she was arranging her royal lodging, and she escorted the king at every hunt party, without any damsels. In the meantime, the queen, who used to accompany the king at these events, remained at Windsor, as the king had ordered her<sup>93</sup>.

In a letter sent by Chapuys to Charles V, on 31 July 1531, it was reported that Katherine and Henry used to send each other some messages every three days, to know how their health was. With this purpose, Katherine sent a message to the sovereign 6 days before the letter was written. Henry's reaction was not a positive one: he overreacted, saying that he did not care about the queen's adieu, and that it meant nothing to him if Katherine sent him messages inquiring about his health<sup>94</sup>. On 19 August, the king sent the Queen to the More, meanwhile Mary was sent to Richmond. The request started from the fact that he would like to hunt in

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<sup>88</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 27 (*Clement VII to Henry VIII*, written on 5 January 1531).

<sup>89</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 598 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 13 January 1531).

<sup>90</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 641 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 21 February 1531).

<sup>91</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 664.

<sup>92</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 239 (*Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor*, written on 15 May 1531).

<sup>93</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 765 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 17 July 1531).

<sup>94</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 775.

Windsor, although it seemed plausible that the king was resolute in having a divorce<sup>95</sup>. In any case, he would not see Katherine again.

A news reported by Dr. Ortiz on 21 December 1531 stated that Anne had miscarried<sup>96</sup>; however, this seemed to be a false news, since the sovereign and Anne did not consummate their relationship before the end of 1532.

## **I.6 1532: The Trip to France and its Preparations**

New Year's first correspondence talked about the gift that Katherine sent to the king in order to celebrate New Year's Day: a gold cup. Besides, in Tudor's time, exchanging gifts to celebrate new year was customary. At the news of the queen's present, the king got angry with the gentleman who brought the said gift, and refused it. Henry did not send any kind of gifts to his wife, and he forbade the other nobles to give gifts to her. However, he was very generous with Anne Boleyn: he gave her hangings and a bed with gold and silver cloth, while Anne gave him some darts. Anne's position at court was the one formerly occupied by Katherine, and she was attended by the same number of ladies who previously served the queen<sup>97</sup>.

Other fake news of the marriage between the king and Anne Boleyn circulated in January, even though the matter of the divorce had not reached a conclusion yet<sup>98</sup>. Still, another fake news was reported during the month of May: Anne was believed to be pregnant<sup>99</sup>.

During February, the Pope sent Henry another brief with which he ordered the king to separate himself from Anne, seeing that they were living together, despite the previous orders he sent to the sovereign<sup>100</sup>. The king's reply at the said brief may be found in the letter written by Chapuys on 29 July: the sovereign did not tolerate the Pope's behaviour, since the latter had no power over him. As a matter of fact, Henry was determined to marry Anne Boleyn with a real royal ceremony<sup>101</sup>.

On 22 June, a report reported a conversation about the divorce matter. It was said that the idea of separation from Katherine of Aragon emerged in the king's mind 9 or 10 years earlier, by a dialogue with his confessor. The name of the said was not mentioned since Mr. Heylwig had forgotten his name. The conversation went on reporting that Henry wanted to marry Anne and

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<sup>95</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 778 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*).

<sup>96</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 594 (*Dr. Ortiz to the Empress*).

<sup>97</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 880 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 4 January 1532).

<sup>98</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 724 (*Reported Marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn*, written on 27 January 1532).

<sup>99</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 768 (*Carlo Capello to the Signory*, written on 16 May 1532).

<sup>100</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 902 (*Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor*, written on 16 February 1532).

<sup>101</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 980.

to legitimate the son he had from Elizabeth Blount. The two women were reported as beautiful, although Anne embodied more beauty than Elizabeth. However, one of the diners (the conversation was made during supper), suggested the king could have been under Anne's spell as a possible explanation for the divorce matter<sup>102</sup>. Basically, even though the divorce was subject to less talking and discussions in reference to previous years, it was still in progress.

On 21 July, a letter written by the Bishop of Bayonne (Jean Du Bellay) to Montmorency reported how the preparations for the meeting between Francis I and Henry VIII proceeded. Still, the meeting was no longer a secret, and it was subject of several conversations. It was said that Henry would have been very grateful to his 'brother' if he could bring Anne with him; on the other hand, the request involved the French King, who had to bring the Queen of Navarre with him, even if he did not want, since he hated Spanish dresses. Basically, the meeting would have taken place between Calais and Boulogne, although further agreements were requested<sup>103</sup>. The plan of their meeting was set on 10 September, on a Langeais' letter. Basically, their meeting started on 14 October with the meeting of the Duke of Norfolk and the Grand Master of France. Meanwhile, the two kings would meet on 20 October at Marquis; dresses coloured in gold or silver were banished, except for the sovereigns and their ladies, if they were present<sup>104</sup>. The kings would stay together for three days, during which they would discuss about the defence of Christendom against Turks<sup>105</sup>.

News reporting how the sovereign spent his summer appeared on a letter by Chapuys, which he wrote on 29 July. The king rode in Northern countries for hunting, although he suspended his journey and returned to London after 3 or 4 days. The reason of his return seemed due to the requests he received from the people: they suggested the king to return to his former wife, meanwhile the women offended Anne<sup>106</sup>.

On 1 September, at Windsor, Anne was honoured with the title of Marchioness of Pembroke. During the investiture, the king dressed Anne with the mantle and the small crown, proper to those kinds of ceremonies. He gave her two annuities: the first for the said investiture, and the second of a thousand pounds per year. Anne replied by thanking her lover and returned to her lodgings<sup>107</sup>. Then, after the ceremony, Anne, accompanied by 30 ladies and by the king, crossed

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<sup>102</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1114 (*The Divorce*).

<sup>103</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1187.

<sup>104</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1308.

<sup>105</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1337 (*The Imperial Ambassador in France to Charles V*, written on 22 September 1532).

<sup>106</sup> De Gayangos (1880): n. 980.

<sup>107</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1274 (*Anne Boleyn*, written on 1 September 1532).

the channel; it was said that they would have married on the other side of the channel, or that the king would have married the daughter of Francis I<sup>108</sup>. It is important to underline that the title with whom Anne was honoured was a peculiar male title: no woman had never been honoured with it before Anne's investiture. Furthermore, Anne's male child could have benefited from the said title, even though he was not a legitimate child<sup>109</sup>. Probably relating to Anne's investiture, Mai wrote that the sovereign gave Anne a property, which was worth 5000 ducats per year. As a result, Mai thought the king was ready to free himself from her, arranging her marriage with someone<sup>110</sup>. However, he did not know how wrong he was.

News of some restorations of the Tower of London appeared on 9 September<sup>111</sup>. It seems plausible the king repaired the Tower for his mistress' coronation as Queen of England, since it was customary for the future queens to sleep there before their coronations. However, in a letter written by Chapuys, he hypothesized the king would send Katherine to the Tower<sup>112</sup>.

Besides, books against the Christian faith were printed in England, and the said Katherine of Aragon asked for the settlement of the case in England, while the two kings' meeting was taking place<sup>113</sup>. Still, one of the books written by Henry VIII himself, i.e. *A Glasse of Treuthe*, was donated to the people. It is possible that this donation aimed to convert the people to his belief. Someone commented that he had no time to write a book which talked about a subject so complicated<sup>114</sup>.

In preparations of Henry and Anne's journey to France, the lady bought new dresses and accessories for the special occasion. The king gave her his own jewels and gave orders to the Duke of Norfolk to obtain Katherine's jewels. Still, his daughter Mary was not invited to the French meeting, mainly due to the fact that Anne could not bear her: she would not receive any kind of news associated to Mary<sup>115</sup>. During the journey, news of a possible French marriage between Henry and Anne spread. However, the said marriage was postponed, although the reason was unknown. Besides, what we know was that Anne treated badly the king's lawyer in Rome, since she thought she would be married by the middle of September<sup>116</sup>. Relating to Anne and Henry's fake news of the marriage, Charles V did not believe Henry could have married

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<sup>108</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 802 (*Carlo Capello to the Signory*, written on 7 September 1532).

<sup>109</sup> Erickson (2005):178.

<sup>110</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1448 (*Mai to Rodrigo Niño*, written on 19 October 1532).

<sup>111</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1307 (*Tower of London*).

<sup>112</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 993 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 5 September 1532).

<sup>113</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1311 (*Katherine of Aragon to Charles V*, written on 13 September 1532).

<sup>114</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1338 (*Richard Croke to Cromwell*, written on 23 September 1532).

<sup>115</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1003 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 1 October 1532).

<sup>116</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1538 (*Captain Thouard to Mr. D'Yre*, written on 12 November 1532).

Anne and that Francis I supported it. As a result, he wrote to his ambassador in Rome reporting the news that Henry brought Anne to France, and that he treated her like his wife<sup>117</sup>.

Basically, the meeting was made of banquets and cheers. Henry did not permit Anne to communicate with the French King, although one night she danced in disguise, accompanied by 7 ladies; Francis tried to find her (she was dressed in gold), and then the two had a long conversation in French<sup>118</sup>.

In relation to Henry and Anne's trip to France, most secondary sources attested it was the moment in which their relationship became a carnal one. Furthermore, the said sources declared it was the occasion in which the two conceived Elizabeth. Still, if we considered that Elizabeth was born on 7 September, and considering the nine months of pregnancy, she could not have been conceived during the said trip<sup>119</sup>. On the other hand, it seems plausible that the two finally slept together, since their stay in France was prolonged by a storm, followed by a fog<sup>120</sup>.

## **I.7 1533: The *Most Happy Year***

A New Year's news reported that Henry reconsidered his marriage with Katherine. As a result, the queen hoped that he could return to her, and to the real faith<sup>121</sup>. However, this news was not considered to be true, since the king continued his love story with Anne, and he was finally ready to marry his lover.

Another Papal bull was dispensed with the aim of dividing the two lovers. However, Chapuys thought the said would not be sufficient to reach the said purpose<sup>122</sup>. In February, no reactions of the king were reported, although a degree of affinity between Anne and the king emerged due to the relationship the sovereign previously had with Mary Boleyn. It emerged due to the fact that he previously asked the Pope of having a dispensation in order to validate a future marriage between himself and Anne<sup>123</sup>. During the month of April, the English ambassador asked the Pope to annul the brief in which he obliged the king from separating from Anne. The Pope's reply was that he did not validate the said brief, saying the king wanted to find an

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<sup>117</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1524 (*Charles V to Mary of Hungary*, written on 7 November 1532).

<sup>118</sup> Gairdner (1880): n. 1546 (*Mai to Cobos*, written on 15 November 1532).

<sup>119</sup> Norton (2009): 88; Fraser (1992): 186-187; Starkey (2004):470.

<sup>120</sup> Ives (2005): 161. Anne and Henry stayed at Calais until 12 November 1532, arriving to Eltham only on the 24th.

<sup>121</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1041 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 3 January 1533).

<sup>122</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1043 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 27-29 January 1533).

<sup>123</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1044 (*Dr. Ortiz to the Empress*).

opportunity for remarrying. Anyway, it seemed the marriage would take place before St. John's Day (24 June), probably due to Anne's pregnancy<sup>124</sup>.

Actually, Henry and Anne secretly married on 25 January 1533, at Whitehall Palace. However, the news did not remain secret for so long, since the news rapidly reached Rome. As a matter of fact, since the King of England did not wait to marry his beloved Anne until the end of the divorce matter, he had to incur censures and penalties<sup>125</sup>. On the contrary, inside the English court, the marriage remained a secret for some time. Specifically, it seemed impossible to divide the king from his lover, since he could not stay away from her more than an hour. Still, the sovereign started to talk about marrying Anne unflinchingly. On the other hand, Anne still withheld Katherine's jewels, and she had no intention of giving them back<sup>126</sup>. Anne, during a dinner, attested she would be soon married, and she was so sure of this fact as she was sure she would die. Also, Anne's father believed in a ceremony shortly, as he reported to the earl of Rutland the determination of the king in doing this marriage despite the sanctions from Rome<sup>127</sup>. The spread of the news of the marriage was received by Chapuys only around 23 February, the date in which he wrote to the Emperor that the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) married the two lovers. The only ones present at the ceremony were her parents, her brother and two ladies.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, Lingard (1902) affirmed the ceremony was celebrated by Dr. Rowland Lee (a royal chaplain) in the west turret of Whitehall Palace. The only persons present at the event were Henry Norris, Thomas Heneage (Henry's grooms of the stool), Anne Savage and Lady Berkeley (Anne's ladies-in-waiting). When the chaplain discovered the two lovers' request, he was perplexed, although he agreed to celebrate the matrimony after the king told him the Pope gave his favour to the said union<sup>129</sup>.

On March 1533, Lord Rochford was sent to France, and he was ordered to report to Francis I the news of the marriage; it seems that during the French meeting on October 1532, the French King gave Henry some advice concerning the matter. Still, Henry believed Francis would support his 'brother', when he would be excommunicated from the Pope<sup>130</sup>. Meanwhile, at the

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<sup>124</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 365 (*Count of Cifuentes to Charles V*, written on 21 April 1533).

<sup>125</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1045 (*Report from Rome on the Matrimonial Case of England*, written in February 1533).

<sup>126</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1047 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 9 February 1533).

<sup>127</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1048 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 15 February 1533).

<sup>128</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1053.

<sup>129</sup> Lingard (1902), vol. V: 2-3.

<sup>130</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 230 (*Instructions for Lord Rochford sent to the French Court*, written on 11 March 1533).

English Court, during a dinner with the French Ambassador, Anne sat at the same place once occupied by Katherine<sup>131</sup>.

Regarding the celebrations of the marriage, the king was only waiting for Archbishop of Canterbury's bull to celebrate his new engagement. Besides, preparations went on, and it was estimated the said celebrations would likely take place during Easter (on 13 April), or in the following days. Meanwhile, the English people were angry with the Pope for the procrastination of the matter, so they cried "murder" against him<sup>132</sup>. Still, it was said Anne would have been coronated queen after Easter<sup>133</sup>. Concerning the official diffusion of the marriage news, it started to circulate at the beginning of May. Specifically, in a letter written by Chapuys to Charles V, it was said the ceremony was celebrated on the day of the conversion of St. Paul, i.e. on 25 January. In view of Anne's coronation, the king was loaning money, since that kind of celebrations provided the creations of new knights<sup>134</sup>.

On 10 April, during a session of the Parliament, the sovereign moved the members to vote against the authority of the Pope, declaring that all cases had to be tried in England. Still, Henry decided his matter had been judged by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had just approved the marriage. The members who did not approve the king's decisions, were then corrupted with money, or threatened. In addition to this, Henry decided that the first and second appeals judge was Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>135</sup>. However, the English people were alarmed either by a possible Christian invasion, or by a civil war. They did not like Anne, and the only persons who were happy for the engagement were the ones who surrounded the lady. By the way, Anne declared also that she would transform Mary into one of her maids of honour. On the other hand, the king convicted people who favoured Katherine, benevolently talking about her, to the pain of death<sup>136</sup>.

The king's longing for a male heir was reported to Chapuys, in a conversation he made with the sovereign; he declared the main reason for his new marriage was assuring the reign with a male heir, asking him "Am I not a man like others?". Besides, the Spanish ambassador thought that Anne changed the sovereign's attitude, transforming him into another man, who did not resemble the generous and kind king he had known<sup>137</sup>.

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<sup>131</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1055 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 8 March 1533).

<sup>132</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1057 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 31 March 1533).

<sup>133</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1058 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 10 April 1533).

<sup>134</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 465 (Written on 10 May 1533).

<sup>135</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 454 (*Count of Cifuentes to Charles V*, written on 7 May 1533).

<sup>136</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1058 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 10 April 1533).

<sup>137</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1061 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 15 April 1533).

On Easter eve, Anne went to Mass, wearing precious jewels, acting like the queen. As a matter of fact, she changed her title: from Marchioness of Pembroke to Queen. Also, the king obliged noble persons to pay homage to the lady and visiting her<sup>138</sup>. A letter of Henry VIII himself to Lady Cobham provided details about Anne's coronation, which would be during the Pentecost (1 June) at Westminster Abbey. Therefore, the king invited the said lady to Greenwich the previous Friday, since he wanted her to accompany the future queen to the Tower. Then, on coronation's day, she would ride with Anne through the city until Westminster, where she would attend the ceremony<sup>139</sup>.

A complete program of Anne's coronation spread on 28 April, by which we know the king would meet his new wife on the Tower of London. Details of her dress and accessories were also present. Then, guidelines about dresses of the people involved were described. Precious furniture was also listed, as well as the ornaments of streets, of the horses and of the abbey<sup>140</sup>. London's inhabitants were obliged to contribute to Anne's coronation costs, paying about 5000 ducats. Among this sum of money, 3000£ were for the future queen's gift and the other 2000£ were for the ceremony<sup>141</sup>.

Meanwhile, during a sermon, the prior of Austin asked people to pray for Queen Anne, although people left the church astonished, without waiting for the end of the Mass. Once he received the news, the king was extremely displeased, so he ordered that no one would have to speak against his new marriage and against his queen. Besides, he wrote also to his former wife to forbid her using the title of queen, and to her servants of mentioning her with the said title<sup>142</sup>. In spite of the measures previously made to interrupt bad talking about Anne and their marriage, people did not stop gossiping. As a result, the king decided that the people who denounced those talkers, would receive a sum of money<sup>143</sup>.

News of the pregnancy of Anne appeared in Chapuys' letter of 29 May, in which he attested that the lady added a piece of cloth to her dress, a very common practice in medieval England. The same morning of the writing, respecting the English tradition about queens' coronations, Anne arrived at the Tower with some prelates and lords. Several people came there to see the future queen, although they were sad; also, their king's opinion decreased daily<sup>144</sup>.

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<sup>138</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1061 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 15 April 1533).

<sup>139</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 395 (*Written on 28 April 1533*).

<sup>140</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 396 (*Queen Anne Boleyn*).

<sup>141</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 508 (*Chapuys to Charles V*, written on 18 May 1533).

<sup>142</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1062 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 27 April 1533).

<sup>143</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1076 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 26 May 1533).

<sup>144</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1077 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*).

Anne's coronation happened on 1 June 1533. However, as the April plan affirmed, the future queen was escorted by 100 or more boats on her way from Greenwich to the Tower, on Thursday 29 May. During the crossing, various instruments were played. Then, once arrived at the Tower, about half an hour after departure, a cannon shot received Anne. She remained there for the whole Friday, while, on Saturday at 5 p.m., she went in a litter, wearing royal clothes, and she started the procession through the city of London, until her arrival at Westminster. Sunday 1 June was finally her long awaited day: she walked from the palace to the abbey, accompanied by the same lords of the previous days. After Mass, she was finally crowned Queen of England by Archbishop Cranmer; then, they all returned to the palace in order to have dinner. The next day, in honour of the new queen, a tournament was set<sup>145</sup>. During the parade which led Anne to Westminster, it was custom that people had to kneel, remove their hats and exclaim "God save the king, God save the queen". However, no one did so. Besides, one of Anne's servant ordered the mayor to say to Londoners they had to honour the event, although the said mayor replied they could not go against their hearts. Still, letters 'HA', representing the royal couple's initial, were laughed at by the people. To those Anne's dress might concern, it was adorned with tongues pieced with nails, since it was the punishment reserved to those who spoke ill of her<sup>146</sup>.

Regarding Anne's coronation, Chapuys thought it was a sad occasion, reporting the increase of public indignation, after the said event<sup>147</sup>. The very next day of Anne's coronation, Mary passed through the village and people celebrated her with joy; when Anne discovered the said fact, she had people punished, since they did not pay attention to her<sup>148</sup>. By the way, the news of Anne's pregnancy became official and everybody speculated that she was expecting a male child, with great pleasure of the king<sup>149</sup>. Specifically, the king, after having consulted astrologers and doctors, decided to commemorate his awaited heir's birth with jousts. Then, he installed an old but precious bed in which Anne would deliver<sup>150</sup>. In order to remark to Katherine that Anne was bearing a child, the latter asked the sovereign the cloth used for Mary's Christening, which Katherine had brought directly from Spain<sup>151</sup>.

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<sup>145</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 584 (*Coronation of Anne Boleyn*, written on 2 June 1533).

<sup>146</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 585 (*Coronation of Anne Boleyn*).

<sup>147</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1081 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 16 June 1533).

<sup>148</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 805 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 11 July 1533).

<sup>149</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1091 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 28 June 1533).

<sup>150</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1123 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 3 September 1533).

<sup>151</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1107 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 30 July 1533).

Concerning the matter of divorce, now that the king married his beloved Anne, both with the consensus of the Parliament and that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he personally wrote to Hawkings to inform him that his former marriage was invalid<sup>152</sup>. Furthermore, he could not permit that Katherine called herself queen, since Anne was the new queen, and she was only the Princess Dowager<sup>153</sup>. Still, the king forbade her daughter to write to her mother. Regarding the king's attitude towards his former family, the people of England were scandalised by his behaviour<sup>154</sup>.

Pope Clement VII did not stay long watching England's situation, so he sentenced the marriage with Anne null. On the other hand, he also attested that the matter of divorce from Katherine was not ended. As a result, the king of England was excommunicated, although the Pope suspended the said sentence until September's ending<sup>155</sup>. At the beginning of August, despite the situation regarding the divorce matter, Sir John Russell in a letter addressed to Lord Lisle, attested how happy the king was, whose favourite pastime was hunting red deer<sup>156</sup>.

A gossip, reported from Chapuys on 23 August, said that the love he felt for Anne had decreased. He hypothesized that the sovereign understood his mistake, although after having talked with his doctors, his determination was stronger than ever<sup>157</sup>. The reason of the royal couple's quarrels was that Henry, as it was custom during his wives' pregnancies, found a lover in order to satiate his appetite. However, Anne was tormented by jealousy, and addressed some bad words to her husband, who replied that she had to close her eyes, as Katherine had done before her, demonstrating also a better behaviour. Still, the sovereign remembered his new wife that he could repudiate her in the same way that he elevated her at the most precious social class. As a matter of fact, after the said quarrel, the royal couple did not speak to each other for 2 or 3 days<sup>158</sup>. Besides, also the English nobles at court were not glad having Anne as a new queen, since she was proud and insolent, as she often overreacted<sup>159</sup>.

The king's heir was born on 7 September, about 3.00 p.m. Unfortunately, it was not the male heir he awaited so long, but a girl. The royal couple were extremely disappointed, even though this fact attested that Anne was able to conceive. Henry's hope of having a male child during

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<sup>152</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 775 (Written in July 1533).

<sup>153</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 759 (*Katherine of Aragon*, written in July 1533).

<sup>154</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 534 (*Charles V to his Ambassador in France*, written on 24 May 1533).

<sup>155</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 807 (*The Pope's Sentence*, written on 11 July 1533).

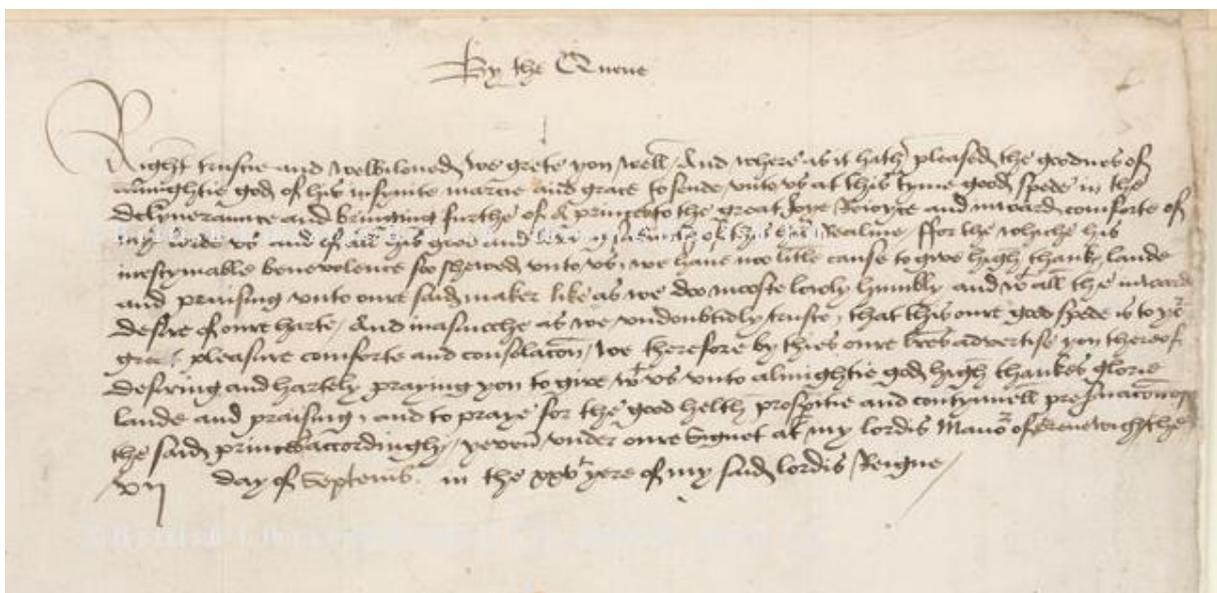
<sup>156</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 948 (Written on 6 August 1533).

<sup>157</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1117 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*).

<sup>158</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1123 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 3 September 1533).

<sup>159</sup> Gairdner (1882): n. 1054 (*Correspondence of Charles V*, possibly written in August 1533).

Anne's next pregnancy did not deject. Anne's longing for elevating herself over the former queen and her daughter may be found in the fact that she wanted to call the baby Mary, seeing that the title of Princess was not in Mary's hands anymore<sup>160</sup>. Despite Anne's desires, her daughter was called Elizabeth; probably this was a pure homage of Henry and Anne's mothers, whom were both called Elizabeth. A confirmation of Anne's disappointment in having a girl may be seen in the letter by which she had to communicate to the world the news of Elizabeth's birth; the letter was written by Anne before the delivery, since an addition of a rough *s* may be found in word 'prince', obtaining the feminine form. As a result, the word 'princes' was acceptable as feminine form in Early Modern English<sup>161</sup>.



**Fig. 3:** Announcement of Elizabeth's birth. Letter 's' was inserted on lines 3 and 11.  
© British Library, Harley 283 f.75.

Contrary to the previous plans, no celebrations were made; it seems that the king, mortified for not having a male heir, annulled any kind of festivities. However, after Elizabeth's Christening, she was proclaimed Princess of England<sup>162</sup>. Henry's hope was that a male child would have followed Elizabeth, who was to be a healthy child with the same red hair of her father.

After Elizabeth's birth, the relationship between the royal couple was extremely solid. As a proof of that, the king affirmed he would become a beggar rather than abandon Anne, since he loved her more than before<sup>163</sup>. As a result, Anne begged the king to send the former queen away

<sup>160</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1124 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 10 September 1533).

<sup>161</sup> Fraser (1992): 199.

<sup>162</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1127 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 7-15 September 1533).

<sup>163</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1144 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 3 November 1533).

from Richmond, so he gave orders to send her into another house<sup>164</sup>. It is plausible that at the end of the year, almost two months after Elizabeth's birth, Anne was pregnant again. It could be considered as a short period of time, although royal babies were not breastfed by their natural mother; in fact, there was a belief that breastfeeding impeded procreation<sup>165</sup>.

This was the period in which Anne adopted the formula *The Moost Happi* as her motto. However, it was not certain if the said motto was adopted during the year taken into account or in the following one. Moreover, the motto appeared in a medal with the aim of celebrating her coronation, although the medal was dated 1534. The only thing, which appeared to be certain, was the fact that Anne had all reasons to be happy: she finally married the king, consequently reaching the title of Queen of England, and she became mother of a daughter. Even though she was not the awaited son, she still demonstrated that Anne could conceive children. In conclusion, this was the happiest year of Anne and Henry's love story, and the year that changed history forever. During 1533, the change was not felt in the same way we see it today, except for the steps towards the reformation of the church of England.

## **I.8 1534: The Head of the English Church**

News given by Chapuys at the beginning of 1534, gave us details about a visit the sovereign payed to his daughter Elizabeth. Princess Mary was also present in the same palace, although the king did not want to see her, since she was firm in her decision. Specifically, it was said that one of the main reason of the king's visit was to convince Mary of renouncing her title, although his daughter was determined to retain it. This information came from some messengers, days before the said visit. Anne, after having known the letters' contents, said to the king it was his own fault of having surrounded his older daughter with people who gave her bad advice. Anyway, after having seen his new heir, the king left the palace. Still, Mary exited the terrace in order to see her father while he was leaving. Henry saw her and waved his head to pay homage to his elder daughter<sup>166</sup>. The hate that Anne felt towards Mary, may be seen in Chapuys' letter of 11 February; in the said letter, he wrote the queen was plotting of poisoning the king's daughter. Furthermore, Mary was warned of the danger and she refused to eat or drink. However, the news was received by Anne, who forbade her servants not to bring food in

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<sup>164</sup> De Gayangos (1882): n. 1164 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 23 December 1533).

<sup>165</sup> Fraser (1992): 206.

<sup>166</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 4 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 17 January 1534).

her chamber<sup>167</sup>. The war between Anne and Mary continued, and during a visit the queen payed to her daughter, she ordered Mary to visit and honour her in her new position. As a result, Mary's reply was she only knew one queen in England, and that queen was her mother; anyway, if her father's mistress could recommend her to the king, she would be grateful to the said lady. At first, Anne renewed her offers, but then she restarted threatening Mary<sup>168</sup>. During another visit the royal couple paid to their daughter, Mary was obliged not to leave her room, and she was kept under surveillance by a guard at the door<sup>169</sup>.

During a consultation with the Scottish ambassador, the king attested that in case of failure in the succession of the English throne, i.e. if Elizabeth would not have survived infancy and Anne would not have had any other children, the throne would have been devolved to King James. However, Anne was pregnant again, and considering her fertile age, she could have other children<sup>170</sup>.

A point in the divorce case explained the decisions made by English Parliament and Cranmer himself. Specifically, the king's first marriage was annulled after consulting Christian universities and English nobles. From this point of view, the Parliament did not desire its reign to be in the Pope's hands. Consequently, the said assembly decided all cases had to be judged in England. On the other hand, the Pope had prepared some decrees against Henry VIII and he was ready to publish them<sup>171</sup>. Still, in the instructions given to the German princes' embassy, Henry said to his ambassadors that they had to reply that the case of divorce had been examined in all its aspects. The said matter had started from God himself, in order to donate to the King of England heirs to his throne, through a legal marriage. To whom Henry VIII may concern, he believed in being in the right path, since his case had started 7 years before in Rome, and the said Vatican State delayed the matter's resolution<sup>172</sup>.

From a possible news inside the Vatican, the Pope's impatience in acknowledging the king's new marriage, as good as the said sovereign desired, was described. However, Charles V did not stop soliciting the shipping of the Pope's sanctions against the King of England<sup>173</sup>. Specifically, he affirmed that witnesses against the validity of the marriage with Katherine of Aragon, questioned by Campeggio in late 1528-1529, could not be useful in the said inquiry.

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<sup>167</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 10 (*Eustache Chapuys to the Emperor*).

<sup>168</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 22 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 7 March 1534).

<sup>169</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 45 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 22 April 1534).

<sup>170</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 7 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 28 January 1534).

<sup>171</sup> Gairdner (1883): Miscellaneous 1534 (*The King's Marriage and Divorce*).

<sup>172</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 21 (Written on 5 January 1534).

<sup>173</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 217 (Written on 21 February 1534) Sender and addressee unknown.

In addition to this, he thought the dispensation provided by Julius II valid, since no kind of objections were made in early 1500s<sup>174</sup>.

During a walk with More, at Hampton Court Palace, the king spoke about the matter, saying that the marriage with Katherine went against both laws of the church and God, as well as those of nature. More's reply was that from the first time he heard about the biblical passages taken into account, he felt that the said marriage was not contrary of nature's law. The king then, ordered More to go to Mr. Foxe, in order to read the book he was writing. Concerning the writing of the book, Henry gathered some learned men, with different opinions, to York palace in order to discuss about ideas contained in the said book. It was obvious that the elements contained in the same book talked about his first marriage, writing the final judgement had to be made by the church<sup>175</sup>. By the way, a proclamation in March, said that penalties would incur to those who caused obstacles in the divorce (and marriage) resolution<sup>176</sup>.

On 11 July, the Pope re-established Katherine to her role, and he declared the second matrimony of Henry invalid. Besides, he also declared children born from the said ceremony illegitimate. In this way, he excommunicated the King of England<sup>177</sup>.

During the month of April, a proclamation against the faith of friars appeared. Specifically, every friar had to be examined alone, in order to discover his faith and if he was obedient to the king and his new wife. In other words, they had to recognise Henry as Supreme Head of the Church, excluding the power of the Pope from their actions. Attention to their sermons would also be paid; if some of them contained Christian passages, they would be burned<sup>178</sup>. Besides, on 14 May, a declaration of obedience appeared, through the Act of Succession, and people had to sign in order to acknowledge Henry in his new role, as well as Anne as Queen of England, repudiating the Pope's authority in the island<sup>179</sup>. Furthermore, through the said act, the line of succession passed to Anne's children, leaving Mary out of her father's line. Concerning the said statute, one of the maids of chamber of Mary was locked in a room and obliged to sign. Meanwhile, two principal figures of the divorce matter were prisoned in the Tower since they

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<sup>174</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 76 (*Account of what had passed at Rome respecting the Matrimonial Clause*, written in July 1534).

<sup>175</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 289 (*More to [Cromwell]*, written on 5 March 1534).

<sup>176</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 390 (*Queen Anne and Katherine of Aragon*).

<sup>177</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 76 (*Account of what had passed at Rome respecting the Matrimonial Clause*, written in July 1534).

<sup>178</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 590 (*The Royal Supremacy*).

<sup>179</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 665 (*The Royal Supremacy*).

did not want to sign the Act of Succession, i.e. Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, and Thomas More<sup>180</sup>.

At the end of May, the statute reached Katherine, warning her she would have incurred the penalties written in the said act if she refused to sign it. However, the former queen did not sign, as so did her daughter. People believed the queen would be put to death since Anne would not be accomplished until Katherine was still alive. Besides, a prophecy saying an England's Queen had to be burned existed<sup>181</sup>.

A possible meeting between Francis I and Henry was set at the end of June. However, Anne said that as soon as he would cross to France, she would put to death his elder daughter<sup>182</sup>. Still, news regarding the two kings' interview, at the end of August, said that this meeting would not take place, since Anne was scared of English people's behaviour during the king's absence<sup>183</sup>. As a matter of fact, England suitors still acknowledged Katherine as Queen and wife of Henry VIII.

In September, news about another mistress of the king appeared. Consequently, people started to talk badly about Anne in public<sup>184</sup>. On the contrary, the said Count of Cifuentes, who gave this information, retreated it, since Chapuys did not mention the ruin of the new queen<sup>185</sup>. However, the said Chapuys reported that the king started to have doubts about Anne's pregnancy. Meanwhile, the king fell in love with another lady, but her name was not mentioned. Anne's reaction, after having heard of the new relationship of her husband, was that of firing the said lady from her service. The king's displeasure was evident, and he sent a message to his wife saying she had to remember from where she came from and all the things he had done for her<sup>186</sup>. Basically, considering the moody nature of the sovereign, and Anne's ability in dealing with him, no signs of a real crisis emerged between the royal couple. Anyway, Anne started to be detested by the English Court, mainly due to her pride, which was considered the main cause of Henry's feelings mutation. Still, at court, nobles started to conspire against the new queen, benefiting from the new flirt of the sovereign<sup>187</sup>. During a visit to his daughters, the king was accompanied by his new mistress, whose good faith allowed her to work for Mary's favour. Concerning Mary's role at court, nobody tried to talk badly about her, since the king

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<sup>180</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 45 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 22 April 1534).

<sup>181</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 60 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 29 May 1534).

<sup>182</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 68 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 23 June 1534).

<sup>183</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 1081 (*Count of Cifuentes to Charles V*, written on 22 August 1534).

<sup>184</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 1174 (*Count of Cifuentes to Charles V*, written on 20 September 1534).

<sup>185</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 1228 (*Count of Cifuentes to Charles V*, written on 3 October 1534).

<sup>186</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 90 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 23 September 1534).

<sup>187</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 101 (*Count Cifuentes to the High Commander*, written on 18 October 1534).

rediscovered his paternal affection. He was only annoyed by her refusal to acknowledge his second matrimony<sup>188</sup>. Still, Chapuys thought Mary's mistreatment was only caused by Anne's hatred towards her, since Henry was fond of his daughter. Anne's temperament was demonstrated by her sister's banishment from court, since Mary Boleyn appeared at court showing her pregnancy. Evidently, Anne's fury was due to her lack of pregnancy, and to her own situation: surrounded by people who hated her and who were ready to eliminate her for the king's grace. Furthermore, the lack of pregnancies and, as a consequence, of a male heir started to change Henry's feelings towards his great love. Nevertheless, the king rearranged the royal lodgings at Hampton Court Palace, placing Anne's own apartments in the same floor of his own. On the contrary, Katherine's lodgings had been placed in the lower floor to those of the king.

As of the Pope, news of his imminent death appeared on 24 September. In fact, the Pope died the very next day, on the 25th. Specifically, Gregory Casale said to Cromwell the future Pope would do something in favour of the king of England<sup>189</sup>. On 12 October, Cardinal Farnese was elected Pope, under the name of Paul III<sup>190</sup>.

However, the decision of King Henry VIII was just made, and he was declared Supreme Head of the Church by the Parliament on 3 November, through the Act of Supremacy. Through the said act, the sovereign and his heirs would be the heads of church of England. As a matter of fact, tributes, which were previously paid to the Bishop of Rome, were now paid to the king<sup>191</sup>. Therefore, people paid their king much more than what they gave to the Pope.

## **I.9 1535: The Throne began to rock**

News of this year mostly concerned Anne's behaviour. On 1 January, she insulted so heavily the Duke of Norfolk that he was obliged to leave the Royal Chamber; thus, her uncle was so angry with Anne that he addressed her with the worst injuries, calling her 'grande putain'<sup>192</sup>. In middle January, during the permanence at court of the French Admiral, Anne laughed at the French, who asked her the reason of her laughter. Anne replied that they were addressed to her

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<sup>188</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 102 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 24 October 1534).

<sup>189</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 1185.

<sup>190</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 1255 (*Sir Gregory Casale to Cromwell*). The Conclave elected the new Pope the day after the said assembly began.

<sup>191</sup> Gairdner (1883): n. 1482 (*Chapuys to Charles V*, written on 5 December 1534).

<sup>192</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 122 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*).

husband, since he was dancing, and possibly flirting, with a lady, while Henry had previously introduced the Admiral's secretary to Anne in order to distract her<sup>193</sup>.

On 23 March, Chapuys reported that Anne corrupted a man in order to declare to the king that he had a revelation; following the said revelation, he thought the reason of Anne's lack of pregnancies was due to Katherine and Mary's lives. In fact, Anne thought her infertility was only a temporary one, and that if Katherine and Mary were executed, she could have conceived again. This man's bribe was made evident by the fact that Anne had early sent another man to Cromwell with the same purpose<sup>194</sup>.

As for the imprisonments of Fisher and More, they received the statute for signing it. Six weeks was given to them to decide whether to sign or not. However, they were ready for martyrdom. Anne's position was strongly heard also in their matter, since she reproached her husband for not having punished them yet. Still, in the middle of a quarrel with the king, she told him that she had opened his eyes, freeing him from the sins he had been living with. She affirmed also that without her, he could not have managed the church's matter in the way that he did, becoming the richest sovereign that England ever had<sup>195</sup>.

By the way, Paul III promoted Fisher to cardinalship. The king was so displeased by the Pope's decision that he said that the new cardinal would have another hat soon, and then his head would be sent to Rome. Then, he sent to the Tower members of his council to oblige the said cardinal and More to sign, threatening them that their execution would take place before St. John's Day (on 24 June) as traitors. Despite all the threats, they refused to sign<sup>196</sup>.

Fisher's sentence to death arrived on 17 June, and on the 22nd he was beheaded. His head was exposed on a spear, at Tower Bridge. Cromwell affirmed that the cause of his sentence to death was the Pope himself, since he created cardinal one of the king's worst enemies<sup>197</sup>. In order to change More's mind, the king went to visit him at the Tower. This is a curious fact since the king had never before visited any prisoners. Nevertheless, More was firm in his position, although the king hoped that he would sign the act of succession until the very end<sup>198</sup>. On 6 July, also Thomas More was executed as well, and his head was put on the bridge, near the one of Cardinal Fisher. News from Flanders, reported that the head of More soon became black,

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<sup>193</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 127 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 14 January 1535).

<sup>194</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 144 (*Eustace Chapuys to Nicolas De Granvelle*).

<sup>195</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 156 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 5-8 May 1535).

<sup>196</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 174 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 16 June 1535).

<sup>197</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 178 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 30 June 1535).

<sup>198</sup> Bell and Sons (1889):20.

while Fisher's head had the same appearance of the day the cardinal died. As a result, people gathered to pray under his head, until the two heads were thrown in the Thames<sup>199</sup>.

Moreover, during the month of July, the king nearly put to death his fool, since he spent good words about Katherine of Aragon and Mary. On the other hand, the same fool declared Anne a whore, and Elizabeth a bastard<sup>200</sup>.

A declaration in England attested that the Pope had no power in the island, and that was the reason of him being called Bishop of Rome. People who called him 'Pope' would have their lives lost as traitors<sup>201</sup>. Proceeding against the Christian faith, the king attested that all monks could leave the monasteries and get marry, if they desire to do so. On the contrary, the one who decided to remain in their offices, had to honour the Apostolic faith in simplicity; that is, the king would confiscate the rest of their properties<sup>202</sup>. Still, he conferred bishoprics on people who were ready to fulfil his desires<sup>203</sup>. Other orders were given by the king to all preachers, to whom they had to speak badly about the Papal authority with their scholars. In addition to this, lectures of the Gospel had to be in French<sup>204</sup>.

On 22 November, Dr. Ortiz gave the news of Mary's stay under the same roof as Elizabeth, only served by three women. However, news at court reported that Henry promised Anne that he will not set Mary's wedding while the he was alive. Furthermore, Anne said that she and her mother had to be beheaded like Bishop Fisher. Her rage towards Mary was also attested in Anne's affirmation that she would be the cause of her own death, unless she put Mary to death first<sup>205</sup>.

At the end of December, the news of Katherine of Aragon's illness reached the court. She was approaching her death, since her indisposition increased continuously; she also refused to drink or eat anything, since her pains were situated in the stomach<sup>206</sup>.

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<sup>199</sup> Gairdner (1885): n. 1096 (*Guglielmus Covrinus Nucerinus to Philippus Montanus*, written on 23 July 1535).

<sup>200</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 184 (*Eustace Chapuys to Mr. De Granvelle*).

<sup>201</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 185 (*News from Germany and England*, written in July 1535).

<sup>202</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 204 (*Eustace Chapuys to Nicolas De Granvelle*, written on 13 September 1535).

<sup>203</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 208 (*Dr. Ortiz to Eustace Chapuys*, written on 6 October 1535).

<sup>204</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 174 (*Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 16 July 1535).

<sup>205</sup> De Gayangos (1886): n. 231 (*Dr. Ortiz to Granvelle*).

<sup>206</sup> Gairdner (1886): n. 1037 (*Philip Grenacre (apothecary) to Montesse*, written on 30 December 1535).

## I.10 1536: The End of a Queen

Once again, the first news of the year 1536 was a fake one, i.e. Henry's reconciliation with Katherine. Still, the said reconciliation could also be proved by his new book, written to the Pope, regarding their marriage<sup>207</sup>. On the contrary, the late measures applied by the Parliament were extremely grievous for Katherine and Mary, which were found guilty of high treason<sup>208</sup>. By the way, on 7 January, around 2.00 p.m., Katherine of Aragon died<sup>209</sup>. Eight hours after her last breath, the king ordered her autopsy. The said action discovered her heart being completely black, even though they had washed it three times and then cut it. As a result, Katherine's physician believed her death was due to poisoning. Anyway, after having received the news of his former wife's death, the king thanked God that he was freed of war menaces. Thus, celebrations were made, the king and his new wife entirely dressed in yellow, with the exception of a white feather in his hat<sup>210</sup>. However, in a letter written by Dr. Ortiz to the Empress, he reported the news that the king dressed in mauve silk<sup>211</sup>. They also exhibited Elizabeth triumphantly during the Mass. On the other hand, people were very displeased by the former queen's death, and their indignation towards the king increased, since they thought he was the instigator of Katherine's death<sup>212</sup>.

Anne, who always feared that her husband would return to his first wife, focused all her attention to Mary, trying to convince her to sign the statute. Through Anne's aunt, the queen told Mary that she was ready to be her warmest friend, as well as a second mother, if she accepted to sign the statute<sup>213</sup>.

Anne's reaction at receiving the news of Katherine's death, was that of giving a gift to the messenger who brought her the information. However, she feared the same fate would be reserved to her. As a matter of fact, first doubts concerning his second marriage appeared in the king's mind, when he confided to someone that he had been bewitched. Considering Anne's abortions, God showed his displeasure to the said union. Still, he was considering a third marriage, since he felt in love with another lady<sup>214</sup>, i.e. Jane Seymour, one of Anne's ladies-in-waiting.

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<sup>207</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 34 (*Cochlaeus to Henry VIII*, written on 6 January 1536).

<sup>208</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 1 (*Dr. Ortiz to the [Empress] Queen*, written on 1 January 1536).

<sup>209</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 37 (*Sir Edw. Charberleyn and Sir Edm. Bedyngfeld to Cromwell*).

<sup>210</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 9 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 21 January 1536).

<sup>211</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 35 (Written on 6 March 1536).

<sup>212</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 9 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 21 January 1536).

<sup>213</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 9 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 21 January 1536).

<sup>214</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 13 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 29 January 1536).

Meanwhile, in Rome, the consistory of Paul III deprived Henry VIII of his reign, since his measures against the Catholic Church, and the king was given three months to return to the real faith, without any kind of penalties<sup>215</sup>. On 23 January, the said bull was sealed and was ready to be sent to the English sovereign, even though its contents were not publicly spread<sup>216</sup>.

Then, another fact happened: on 24 January, the king fell from a horse. The fall was so heavy that people thought that it was a miracle he was still alive, without any kind of injuries<sup>217</sup>. Other sources reported that, after the said fall, the king fainted for two hours. However, no correspondences reported the said information.

The same day of Katherine's burial, Anne had her last miscarriage: the foetus seemed to be a male. Once the king received the news, he was extremely disappointed. On the other hand, Anne tried to justify herself by saying that it was the Duke of Norfolk's fault, since he told her of the king's falling without any kind of caution. However, the king knew that her miscarriage was not due to that, since the accident was reported to her with caution, and she had appeared indifferent to the news<sup>218</sup>. All in all, the reason of the abortion seemed to be related to Anne's uncertain position, since only the birth of a male child could have spared her from the same fate of Henry's first wife. Anne's inability in having children was seen as her own problem. Actually, in Medieval times, if a woman was unable to conceive children or she gave only birth to little girls, it was considered only her fault, not that of her husband. The anxiety that Anne felt during January 1536, when she started to lose power over her husband, and people at court started to conspire against her, could have been evident. Besides, her anxiety could be the only responsible for her umpteenth miscarriage. In conclusion, after the abortion, numerous persons in England believed Anne was not able to conceive male children<sup>219</sup>.

News reported by Chapuys on 24 February, attested that the king rarely spoke to his wife; specifically, during the last three months, he only spoke about 10 times to her, although during the first years of their relationship, he could not separate himself from her for more than an hour. Yet, he confined Anne at Greenwich, while he set himself in London<sup>220</sup>.

At the beginning of April, the relationship between Anne and Cromwell was growing from bad to worse, while news of a future marriage of the king with Jane Seymour started to circulate.

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<sup>215</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 6 (*Dr. Ortiz to the Empress*, written on 11 January 1536).

<sup>216</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 11 (*Dr. Ortiz to Commander Juan Vazquez de Molina*).

<sup>217</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 200 (*Chapuys to Granvelle*, written on 29 January 1536).

<sup>218</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 21 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 17 February 1536).

<sup>219</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 283 (*Chapuys to Granvelle*, written on 10 February 1536).

<sup>220</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 29 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*).

Anne would have liked to see Cromwell's head cut off, although the reality was totally different. Another legal marriage would have to be planned since his second one was never felt a valid one. Although waiting for the said marriage, the king conducted an immoral life, surrounding himself with ladies<sup>221</sup>.

The last time Henry VIII and Anne met each other was during a joust on May Day, at Greenwich. While attending the said joust, they sat close, and probably that was the last occasion for Anne to talk to her husband. However, the king abruptly left the joust, without saying a word to her. While riding towards London, Henry Norris was interrogated by the king himself, since he accidentally picked Anne's handkerchief, and wiped his face with the said object<sup>222</sup>. However, Norris always declared innocent. Anyway, Weston would accuse Norris of being in love with the queen, while he pretended to visit her with the pretext of visiting one of her ladies-in-waiting, i.e. Madge Shelton<sup>223</sup>.

News of Anne's arrest appeared on 2 May, saying she was put in the Tower with an organist, Mark Smeaton, and with the king's *sommelier du corps*, Henry Norris. As well as George Boleyn was arrested, since he did not report her crimes. The king thought at first of leaving her, since he thought that the precontract with Henry Percy, now Duke of Northumberland, was consummated<sup>224</sup>. But, someone among the Privy Council of the king, affirmed he could not declare invalid his wedding with Anne Boleyn without attesting that his first marriage was valid<sup>225</sup>. Before her arrest and that of her brother, the four men accused with her were processed and sent to Westminster. Among the men who did not appear in the letter previously mentioned were Brereton and Weston.

It seemed that the sources of Anne's accusations were due to witnesses given by four women, i.e. Lady Wingfield, Lady Worcester, Lady Rochford and Anne herself. As for Lady Wingfield, she died in 1536, although she accused Anne of being immoral, while she was in her deathbed. No written file of the said accusation was found, although it related probably to her love story with Henry Percy. Moreover, around 1531, Anne wrote to her not to reveal her secret. According to Lady Rochford's testimony, during her final speech before her death on 13 February 1542, she confessed that what she witnessed in 1536 was totally false<sup>226</sup>.

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<sup>221</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 43 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 1 April 1536).

<sup>222</sup> Lingard (1902), vol. V: 65-66. The story of the handkerchief was probably a fake news to explain what happened next.

<sup>223</sup> Lingard (1902), vol. V: 66.

<sup>224</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 784 (*Anne Boleyn*).

<sup>225</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 48 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 2 May 1536).

<sup>226</sup> Weir (2009): 289. No reliable source of the said speech was found.

News, regarding how Anne acted during her stay in the Tower, were reported By William Kingston, the Constable of the Tower. Her first questions were when he would see the king and if her father was arrested. She heard she was accused with three men, although the only thing she could do was deny all the accusations<sup>227</sup>. Anne's attitude changed continuously, i.e. at first, she was ready to die, but the next hour she changed her mind<sup>228</sup>. The only one who confessed of having carnal knowledge of Anne was Mark Smeaton<sup>229</sup>. Following the *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England*, after the death of Katherine, Anne surrounded herself with handsome men, who could entertain her with dances and songs. As a result, she hired Mark Smeaton, and then she fell in love with him. One night, an old lady took Mark to the queen, closing him in the wardrobe of preserves. Saying to the said lady that she wanted some jam, the lady herself took Mark to the queen's bedroom when the two copulated<sup>230</sup>. In order to confess his crimes, Mark was invited by Cromwell to dine in his house. However, it was a trap, and Mark was probably tortured before his confession<sup>231</sup>. It was said that Mark was the only one who had been tortured since he was not noble by birth. He affirmed he only had gone to the queen's chamber one evening to play music. However, the queen had never spoken to him, except for the previous Saturday, when she saw him unhappy and asked him the reason for his sadness. He replied that her appearance was enough for him<sup>232</sup>.

On 15 May, the trial of Anne and George Boleyn took place. The queen was accused of having satiated her appetite with five men, including her own brother. In addition to this, the five men became jealous of each other, and competed to give gifts to the queen. As a result, the queen could have conspired her husband's death, declaring she would marry one of those men, since the king had never been in her heart<sup>233</sup>. In the letter that Chapuys wrote on 19 May, other accusations were mentioned: she poisoned Katherine of Aragon and tried to do the same with Mary; then, she ridiculed her husband, laughing at him, reporting also comments about his virility. Specifically, a paper was given to George with the only instruction of saying 'yes' or 'no'; however, George read out loud the paper, on which was written whether the king was impotent. After all the accusations, Anne was confined to the Tower, and there, she would be burned or beheaded, as the king would have commanded. At receiving the sentence, Anne said

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<sup>227</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 793 (*Sir William Kingston to [Cromwell]*, written on 3 May 1536).

<sup>228</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 797 (*Sir Wm. Kingston to Cromwell*, written in May 1536).

<sup>229</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 799 (*Sir Edward Baynton to Mr. Treasurer*, undated).

<sup>230</sup> Bell and Sons (1889): 55-57.

<sup>231</sup> Bell and Sons (1889): 60.

<sup>232</sup> Lingard (1902), vol. V: 66-67.

<sup>233</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 876 (*Trial of Anne Boleyn and Lord Rocheford*).

she was ready to die, although she was displeased that some innocents would die with her. The people of England were joyous, even though somebody had doubts about the way the process had taken place<sup>234</sup>.

The king, who had just discovered his wife's crimes, was really displeased at the news; in particular, he was really afraid of the danger he had escaped. Furthermore, he could not understand how Anne had to attempt his life after all the things he had done for her<sup>235</sup>. On the contrary, the news given by Chapuys reported that the king went out to dine every evening, surrounding himself with ladies. In particular, during a dinner at Bishop of Carlion's house, he seemed really pleased at Anne's arrest<sup>236</sup>.

After having received news from his Ambassador, Charles V thought Henry VIII, after having sentenced his former wife to death, would take another wife, since he desired of having a male heir<sup>237</sup>. In a letter written by Chapuys on 19 May, he compared Anne with the Ancient Rome Empresses Messalina and Agrippina, since news reported that she could have sex with 100 men. However, Elizabeth was declared a bastard from Cranmer. The said marriage between Henry and Anne was declared null by the said Archbishop, since the king had previously had a carnal relationship with Anne's sister. Concerning his relationship with Jane Seymour, the lady was lodged in a house 7 miles away from the king, in order to hide their liaison. Anyway, the king was ready to have a third marriage<sup>238</sup>. Moreover, the said Archbishop wrote the dispensation by which the sovereign could marry Jane Seymour, even if they were in the third degree of affinities<sup>239</sup>.

The said Chapuys also mentioned the executions of the men who were accused with the queen, on 17 May. Specifically, he said they were all beheaded at the Tower, and the queen being a witness of their ends from her windows<sup>240</sup>. However, Mark Smeaton sentence was not that of being beheaded, so he was hanged, drowned and quartered.

The morning of Anne's execution, on 19 May, Anne revealed to Kingston that she had always been a good woman, in particular to the king. However, she knew the executor was a good man, although she was worried about her thin neck. Master Kingston, after having seen numerous

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<sup>234</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 55 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 19 May 1536).

<sup>235</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 61 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 6 June 1536).

<sup>236</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 55 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 19 May 1536).

<sup>237</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 888 (*Charles V to Chapuys*, written on 15 May 1536).

<sup>238</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 908 (*Chapuys to Charles V*).

<sup>239</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 915 (*Henry VIII and Jane Seymour*, written on 19 May 1536).

<sup>240</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 55 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 19 May 1536).

executions, affirmed that Anne was not displeased of her imminent death<sup>241</sup>. The king, having pity for his wife, changed her sentence, so Anne had to be beheaded. Furthermore, he designated a French swordsman from Calais to perform the act. This gesture may be seen as a pure homage to Anne, since in her entire life, she behaved like a French woman. At first, Anne's execution was to take place on 18 May, but the swordsman was late, and the execution was postponed. Chronicles of Anne's execution said she was beheaded in a scaffold which was properly built for the occasion, with open gates. Anne was accompanied by Mr. Kingston and four ladies that, after her final speech, undressed the queen, leaving her jewels and her furs. Then, with a linen cap, they covered Anne's hair, while one of the said ladies bandaged her eyes. As soon as the executioner did his work, her head was covered with a white cloth, and her body was put into an arrows case, and then buried into the near church of St. Peter in Vernacular<sup>242</sup>. Chapuys, as a foreign ambassador, could not witness the end of the woman he had so much hated, although he heard that the queen's head would be exposed on the bridge<sup>243</sup>.

After having received the news of Anne's death, the king went to Jane Seymour on a boat, since she was lodged in a house by the Thames, a mile from the king's palace<sup>244</sup>. Successively, on 30 May, the king married his third wife, at York Place or Manor<sup>245</sup>, after 10 days of their official engagement in grand style.

A letter written by Chapuys on 6 June, returned to mention Anne's fate, believing she deserved it. However, through the letter, Cromwell's involvement in the tragic end of Anne Boleyn emerged. He was directly charged by the king to pursue Anne's trial<sup>246</sup>.

In 1540, after Cromwell's execution, a letter emerged through his correspondence: this letter was inscribed from "the Lady in the Tower", and it was addressed to the king. The writing was not that of Anne Boleyn, although it was possible that the letter was transcribed from the original one, which had been previously destroyed by the sovereign himself. A reconstruction of the fact dated the said letter 6 May 1536, although witnesses provided by Anne's ladies-in-waiting did not mention the writing in any form of letter<sup>247</sup>.

Weir (2009) suggested that Anne's end may be only due to political reasons. Furthermore, she believed the conspiracy against Anne and the other men who were condemned with her, was

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<sup>241</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 910 (*Sir Wm. Kingston to Cromwell*, written on 19 May 1536).

<sup>242</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 911 (*Anne Boleyn, Rocheford, & c.* Date unknown).

<sup>243</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 55 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 19 May 1536).

<sup>244</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 926 (*Chapuys to Granvelle*, written on 20 May 1536).

<sup>245</sup> Gairdner (1887): n. 1000 (*John Husee to Lord Lisle*, written on 31 May 1536).

<sup>246</sup> De Gayangos (1888): n. 61 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*).

<sup>247</sup> Ives (2005): 58.

totally Cromwell's fault. From her point of view, Anne opposed the king's chief minister in his case against the dissolution of monasteries: that was the straw that broke the camel. Fearing his possible failure due to Anne's influence on the king, he started to plot against her, without saying anything to the king. Still, also the men condemned with Anne were all linked by political matters. Anyway, the most curious fact is that there were no women condemned with Anne: the queen was surrounded by ladies in her private apartments. So, if Anne really betrayed the king, some of her ladies had to help her to satisfy her carnal desires.

In conclusion, we agree with Weir (2009) that Anne's fault was only due to Cromwell. For being understood by the king, he charged her with the most grievous facts: Henry's cuckoldry and the plot against his own life. Accusations which could not be ignored by the sovereign, who was already trying to organize his third marriage.

### **I.11 An Elizabethan Witness**

In a letter written by Alexander Ales to Elizabeth I in September 1559<sup>248</sup>, new facts about Anne emerged. At first, Stephen Gardiner was said to be the main person who spread false news about Anne's infidelity. This news reached Cromwell, and then the king himself. As a result, the king opened an investigation and Anne was surrounded by spies, who watched her night and day. However, people charged with finding proofs of Anne's adultery invented all accusations, seeing how they immensely hated her. Furthermore, this witness is extremely important since it contained a fact that no other sources reported, i.e. Anne's imploring her husband with Elizabeth in her arms, while he was looking at the courtyard from a window.

### **I.12 The Book of Hours**

Apart from the love letters, another witness of the love between Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII could be found in their book of hours. Probably, the notes under the two following images may have been written during morning Mass, while they were praying. However, we do not know the year in which those notes were written. Fraser (1992) hypothesized the book was shared by the royal couple and that the messages they exchanged through the pages of the book were written while Anne was expecting Elizabeth. Furthermore, Fraser guessed that the first to write was Anne, who announced to the king of expecting a male child. Then, the sovereign replied to

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<sup>248</sup> Stevenson (1863): n. 1303.

her by assuring her of how much he loved her<sup>249</sup>. On the other hand, the version given by Ives (2005) was the exact opposite, i.e. he hypothesized that it was the king who first wrote the note to Anne, and then she replied to him<sup>250</sup>. Moreover, he hypothesized that the notes were written during the years in which Henry and Anne were not married.

The note of the king was found under the image of Christ during his passion:



**Fig. 4:** Psalms of the Passion  
© British Library, King's MS 9 fol. 231v.

*Si silon mon affection la sufvena(n)te sera en voz prieres me seray gers oblie car v(ost)re suis*

*Henry · R · à Ja(m)ays*

We could guess that Henry's feelings at the moment of the writing were those of a suffering man, who wanted to be remembered by Anne since he was hers forever. While she was saying her prayers, the sovereign wrote to Anne that if his feelings could be remembered in her prayers as much as they were intense inside him, he could not be able to be forgotten. Anyway, the crown of thorns, which Jesus wore in the picture, was a Medieval symbol of Christian kingship.

<sup>249</sup> Fraser (1992): 197-198.

<sup>250</sup> Ives (2005): 6-7.

Anne's reply may be found under the image of the annunciation:



**Fig. 5:** The Annunciation  
© British Library, King's MS 9, fol. 66v.

*be daly prove you shalle me fynde to be to you bothe lovyng and kynde*

She told the sovereign that the proof of her love may be found in the fact that she was present daily. The figure she chose was emblematic: Angel Gabriel who told the Virgin Mary that she was pregnant, and that the child would be a son.

In Henry's dreams, having a son in order to safeguard the Tudor's dynasty was extremely important. As a result, through this image, Anne told him that she would give him the son he had long awaited. Although, the reality was not as she had thought.

From a stylistic point of view, it is curious to observe that Henry chose French, meanwhile Anne wrote to him in English. It seemed plausible that this linguistical exchange was a favour that they did to each other, since Anne, despite her being English from birth, was French in her soul.

## CHAPTER II

### BEHIND THE EDITIONS OF THE *LOVE LETTERS OF HENRY VIII TO ANNE BOLEYN*

The *Love Letters of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn* is a set of 18 letters written by the English sovereign to his lover Anne Boleyn, with the only exception of letter 8, which was written by Anne to Cardinal Wolsey and contains a postscript added by the king. Historically speaking, those letters are important since they attested the beginning of the relationship between King Henry and Anne Boleyn. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly when their love story began since the letters were undated. Anyway, different studies tried dating the correspondence as we may see in the next paragraph (II.1, p.58).

If we pay attention to the collocation of the manuscripts, they are preserved at the Vatican Library. We do not know for certain how and when they reached Rome; among the numerous hypothesis, Yves (2005) suggested that the letters may have reached Rome during the reign of Mary I<sup>251</sup> (1553-1558), meanwhile Starkey (2004) among others, suggested that the letters were stolen from Anne's chambers at Hever Castle and then sent to Rome in order to provide proof against Henry in his 'great matter', i.e. the divorce from Katherine of Aragon. The fact that we only have the letters written by the king seemed to prove this last theory; by the way, Starkey went further, guessing that the answers of Anne Boleyn were destroyed by the sovereign after his love for her became hate<sup>252</sup>.

Fraser (1992) gave us another possible hypothesis regarding the manner the letters reached Rome: she agreed with Ridley that the letters might have remained at Hever for thirty years, and then, its catholic owner, gave them to a priest who sent them to Rome<sup>253</sup>.

Hints of Henry's immeasurable love for Anne was proven by the fact that he did not like writing<sup>254</sup>. In fact, his letters were prevalently short, reporting only the reasons which led the king to write them. Essentially, these epistles were the only sustained correspondence written

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<sup>251</sup> Yves (2005): 375 (note 49). Mary I of England was the daughter of Henry VIII, born from the marriage with Katherine of Aragon. She was judged 'bastard' after her parents' divorce. By the way, in 1544, Henry VIII cited Mary in his Act of Succession: the legitimate heir remained Edward, followed by Mary and then by Elizabeth, the daughter who was born from his marriage with Anne Boleyn.

<sup>252</sup> Starkey (2004): 278

<sup>253</sup> Fraser (1992): 129

<sup>254</sup> Norton (2009): 50; Ives (2005): 86; Plescia (2013): 118

by his own hands<sup>255</sup>. Throughout the letters, the king put himself in the roles of a lover, ruler, author and killer, depending on the case. By the way, in some letters we find Henry as a narrator: he reported news about the sweating sickness epidemic and its victims, or about the matter of the divorce and other processes at court. Another evidence of his dislike in writing may be found in the fact that some letters ended due to lack of time; talking about his signature, the king hated writing so much as he disliked signing his name: he usually signed his letters as “Henry R.”, although in the letters addressed to Anne Boleyn, he signed “H.R.”, except for letter 2, 8 (addressed to Thomas Wolsey), and letter 17. Overall, those were the only documents that the sovereign signed with his initial; probably, it was a way of hiding his identity. Furthermore, he signed documents only when he was in the mood. Examples of this evidence may be found in more missives, i.e. in a letter that Brian Tuke wrote to Cardinal Wolsey on 23 June 1528<sup>256</sup>, the king asked Tuke to read two letters to him. Then, he ordered Tuke to write a reply, which Tuke had already done, and it only needed the signature of the king; at that moment, the king was not in the mood, so he said to Tuke to bring the letters back after supper. Still, in previous years, in a letter which Pace wrote to Wolsey on 8 July 1521<sup>257</sup>, the king was said to be indisposed for the “pains in his head”, so he could not write to lady Margaret with his own hand. Two weeks later, on the 21st<sup>258</sup>, the same Pace reported to Wolsey that the king postponed the writing of a letter addressed to Francis I by his own hand on the next day. Those are only three of the numerous examples that we may find throughout correspondences during Henry VIII’s reign. Furthermore, the king himself in a letter of January 1519, wrote to Wolsey that the act of writing is for him “tedius and paynefull”<sup>259</sup>. As a result, the existence of a stamp with the signature of the sovereign was attested since 1512<sup>260</sup>, sparing him also the act of signing documents when he was not in the mood.

If we pay attention to the correspondences that he wrote with his own hand, we notice that the only man who received words directly from the pen of the king was Thomas Wolsey, mainly due to the fact that he wanted to maintain some secrets between them, in particular those regarding Katherine of Aragon and the matter of the divorce. On the contrary, we notice that the other letters of the king were addressed to women, although among the women, we may attest that his correspondence with Anne was the most continuative one that he ever had. Still,

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<sup>255</sup> Lerer (2006): 89

<sup>256</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4409.

<sup>257</sup> Brewer (1867): n. 1399.

<sup>258</sup> Brewer (1867): n. 1429.

<sup>259</sup> Brewer (1867): n. 1. The date is uncertain although Brewer catalogued it on January 1519.

<sup>260</sup> Brewer (1920): n. 1217 [3229] (*Musters*, written on 30 May 1512).

after Anne, he also wrote some letters to his third wife, Jane Seymour, but the letters were not as intense as those addressed to Anne.

In conclusion, it is fascinating to see how much the monarch loved Anne: despite his numerous duties and his rejection in writing, he found time to write to his lover and to send her presents, as some letters reported.

As far as the letters are concerned, missives were at first organized in a different arrangement, i.e. 4, 6, 10, 1, 5, 17, 16, 2, 11, 3, 13, 9, 12, 7, 14, 15, 18, 8. Then, the new arrangement, which is the order that it is considered in this essay, was provided by J. S. Brewer in his *Calendar of State Papers*<sup>261</sup> (1875).

The letters only appeared in England in 1714, the year in which Gilbert Burnet gave them to the editor Churchill. Curiously, Mr. Burnet saw the letters by chance during his trip to Rome, where the letters were shown freely to visitors, while the English people did not even know of their existence. As we have anticipated above, the first publication of the letters appeared in 1714 by Editor J. Churchill. The miscellany came from the translation made by Dr. Fall, a Precentor of York. Subsequently, in 1720 the letters were published in a volume entitled *Roberti de Avesbury Historia de mirabilis gestis Edwardi III*, printed at Oxford under the supervision of Thomas Hearne; progressively, the miscellany was inserted in the *Harleian Miscellany* vol. 3, in 1745.

In the edition provided in 1714, we notice the translation of the letters written in French, meanwhile in the 1720 edition, no translations were provided; still, we observe some differences between those two editions, particularly in the spelling. Besides, the 1745 edition was reprinted by the version provided in 1714.

At the beginning of the 19th Century, the original manuscripts came to Paris, specifically to the Bibliotheque du Roi, where they remained for eighteen years. The reason why those letters came to Paris was due to the Treaty of Tolentino, signed in Bologna on 23 June 1796, with which, following article VIII, the Pope was obliged to deliver 500 manuscripts to the French. Still, the manuscripts arrived in Paris on 1 December 1797 and later returned to Rome on 10 October 1815<sup>262</sup>. It was during their stay there that Meon provided a new copy of the letters. From Meon's translation, it was provided the edition of G.A. Crapelet (1826), under the title *Lettres de Henry VIII à Anne Boleyn*. This edition is considered as the standard text, due to the

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<sup>261</sup> Brewer (1875): n.3218, 3219, 3220, 3221, 3325, 3326, 3990, 4360, 4383, 4403, 4410, 4477, 4537, 4539, 4597, 4648, 4742, 4894.

<sup>262</sup> Crapelet (1826): vj (*Avertissement*).

fact that it included the two letters which were not present in the translation provided by Meon, i.e. letter 5 and letter 12; in fact, Crapelet copied the version from Hearne's edition and then translated them into French. A comparison of Crapelet's edition with the original manuscripts attested that his edition contained only few little errors. Still, from Meon transcription, it was provided the edition of Halliwell Philipps (1906). In 1949, another edition of the letter was provided by Henry Savage, which attested that all previous editions were not really representative of the manuscripts. Following his way of reasoning, errors came directly from ortographic errors and from the king's calligraphy, which was not clear through some passages. Still, Savage's edition attached also the facsimile of the letters. Among all the editions, he thought the more reliable one was that provided by Mr. Gunn in 1821, inserted in *The Pamphleteer* vol. XXI-XXII.

## II. 1 Dating the Letters

Providing a date for the manuscripts is not as easy as it might seem, since the letters are undated. By the way, numerous scholars searched hints in order to attribute the years in which those letters were written; if we look at the notes provided by Halliwell Philipps in his edition<sup>263</sup>, he hypothesized that the letters were written after the retirement of Anne at Hever Castle, her parents' residence, and that her final stay at court would not have taken place before May 1528. As a result, following Halliwell Philipps' theory, the correspondence took place from May 1528 to May 1529; the final date may be attributed to the illness of the legate, i.e. Cardinal Campeggio, mentioned in letter 18, which caused a delay in the divorce<sup>264</sup>. By the way, Savage (1949) thought the letters were written from July 1527, the others between February and October 1528, with the exception of the last letter, which was written at the beginning of 1529.

On the contrary, Starkey (2004) supposed that the correspondence started in the late summer 1526 and ended in 1528. He agreed that the letters started to be written after Anne's retirement, but he anticipated the date of her departure<sup>265</sup>. Ives (2005) collocated the writing of the first letter in autumn 1526, but he divided the letters in four groups, since the correspondence was not continuative<sup>266</sup>. Following his way of reasoning, the first three letters belonged to the period in which Henry's infatuation became a promise of something more serious than a simple

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<sup>263</sup> Halliwell Philipps (1906): 52

<sup>264</sup> Halliwell Philipps (1906): 55

<sup>265</sup> Starkey (2004): 279

<sup>266</sup> Ives (2005): 84- 92; 97-101

Courtly Love. By the way, the first three letters may have been written in a different order than the official one: the first letter written by Henry was letter 3, followed by letter 2 and then, after a year, by letter 1. The second group of letters, including progressively letter 6, 5, 4 and 13, referred to the start of the relationship, in which Anne accepted Henry's courtship, even if she did not accept to be his official mistress. Besides, Ives fixed the writing of the other letters from December 1527 to October 1528. In the third group of letters, we find news about the divorce (letter 7, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18), meanwhile the fourth group of letters referred to the outbreak of the sweating sickness in summer 1528, which infected Anne during her stay at Hever Castle (letters 9, 10, 11, 12).

Ridley (1988)<sup>267</sup> supposed the correspondence mostly took place in 1528, with the exception of letters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6, which were written before July 1527. Regarding the letters written in 1528, he thought letter 5 was written in January 1528, being the 'gift' mentioned in the letter, a new year's gift. Letter 7 was written in February 1528, and letter 8 on 17 June 1528. Still, letter 9 was written on 23 June, letter 10 on the 20th, and letter 11 on the 15th of the same month. During July 1528, he fixed the writing of letters 12 (on the 7th), 13 (on the 21st), 14 (on the same day of letter 13) and letters 15 (no specific day mentioned). Letter 16 was fixed on 20 August, while letter 17 was written on 16 September. The last letter, i.e. letter 18, was fixed on 8 October.

The reprint of Halliwell Philipps, made in 2010 by Project Gutenberg, gave a possible date to almost all the letters. As a result, it concluded that the first six letters were written before the return to court of Anne; specifically, letter 6 was written around July 1527. The writing of letter 7 was fixed in February 1528, letter 8 in June, before she left the court. The next three letters, which relate to the sweating sickness, were written until the end of June. As for letter 12, it was written after the 5 July, while the following two letters were written at the end of the same month. Still, letters 15 and 16 were written in August, this last specifically set on 20 August 1528. Letter 17 was written in September, while the last letter, i.e. letter 18, must have been written at the end of October 1528.

In conclusion, we agree that the letters were written over a period of two years, during the time that Anne intermittently retired to Hever, precisely in 1527 and 1528. Numerous facts help us to approximately set the writing of the letters; for instance, we know for certain that the

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<sup>267</sup> Plescia (2013). Since it was impossible to find the said edition, every mention of the said would be through secondary sources.

sweating sickness, which is mentioned throughout letters 9, 10 and 12, spread in July 1528<sup>268</sup>. Still, as we have previously mentioned, we know from correspondence that Cardinal Campeggio arrived in London on 7 October 1528<sup>269</sup>. The other fact that we may find in the correspondences is the death of the old abbess of Wylton, mentioned in letter 12, that happened on 24 April 1528<sup>270</sup>.

By the way, analysing the letters and the other correspondences of the two-year period mentioned, we agreed with Ridley (1988) that letter 10 was written before letter 9 (chapter III, pag.90). Anyway, in this essay we decide to maintain the dates which were provided by J.S. Brewer in his *Calendar of State Papers* (1875).

## II.2 Manuscripts' Description

The love letters of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn are *codex unicus*, certainly written by the king himself, as it was proved at the conclusion of the letters, e.g. “*escripte de la main de celluy qui voulientiers demureroyte v(ost)re*” (letter 1), “*w(i)t(h) the hand off yours*” (letter 11), “*wrytting w(i)t(h) the hand off hym whyche I wolde wer yours*” (letter 17).

Seventeen manuscripts are today kept at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.pt.A. with the exception of letter 8, which is preserved in the British Library under the collocation MS.Cott.Vitellius B.xii.f.4.

All the manuscripts in the Vatican Library are in good state, while the manuscript of letter 8 was damaged by fire of the Cotton manuscripts in 1731. Fortunately, only the right side was burned.

The manuscripts were written in both Middle French and Early Modern English, specifically 9 letters were drafted in French and 9 in English. Among the manuscripts written in French, we find letters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, meanwhile letters 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 were drafted in English. Ridley (1988) suggested that the use of French in the writing might be seen as a defence against informers, or as a way to express his feelings with more accurate words which could not have a proper translation in English<sup>271</sup>. In a sense, French was also the language of prestige, so it was used to be spoken at court, even if the role of English language at court started becoming imperial. Anyway, we must consider also the fact that French may have been a pure homage to his lover, who grew up at the French court.

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<sup>268</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4391 (*Du Bellay to Montmorency*, written on 18 June 1528).

<sup>269</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4857 (*Campeggio to Salviati*, written on 17 October 1528).

<sup>270</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4197 (*Thos. Benet to Wolsey*, written on 24 April 1528).

<sup>271</sup> Plescia (2013): 120-121

Looking at the writing style of those letters, we may observe that they were written in the *Early Tudor Secretary* hand style, a mixture of the *Secretary* and the *Anglicana* cursive style. In particular, this writing pattern covered the reign of Henry VIII and that of his father, Henry VII<sup>272</sup>.

### II.2.1 The Secretary Hand

The term “Secretary” honoured the royal secretaries, who were used to transcribe documents and decrees. However, this peculiar hand divided into three categories, i.e. set, facile and fast. Among England’s hands, the most common one was the facile secretary, which presented rounded letter. On the contrary, set secretary displayed square letters and it was only used in official documents. Instead, the fast secretary was used for sentences composed of few words, i.e. book titles, epitaphs, and engrossments (texts which were written in large letters).

By the way, the secretary was not the only hand which was learned by an English man; in fact, also continental hands were usually learned, particularly French and Spanish hands.

As a result, we may find different hand styles in the same document, or a mixture of styles. For example, at the beginning of the 17th Century, writers started to report italic letters forms, into their secretary style; the reason of this may be found in the fact that italic letters were easier to write. Still, in the middle of the 17th Century, italic hand prevailed in England, leaving only few secretary letters forms.

Talking specifically about Henry VIII’s writing style, we attested that it was a mixture between Secretary letters and Anglicana ones. Still, he also endorsed the influence of French handwriting which would have become the *Lettre Bastarde*. Despite his constancy in writing, the beginning of the 16th Century saw a mixture of handwriting textures, mainly due to the fact that scribes were continuously finding ways for making the act of writing easier and faster. Looking deeply at the influence of French handwriting in the king’s writing style, we may find it in letters *a*, *d*, *g*, *c* and *e*, where the broken strokes typical of Anglicana style were replaced by curved ones. Returning to the monarch’s handwriting, he seemed to have chosen the easier style possible, maybe for the fact that he did not like the act of writing. On the whole, finding missives written by the sovereign himself was not an easy operation. By the way, reading his style is quite difficult, mainly due to abbreviations (see II.2.2) and misinterpreted letters. As a matter of fact, we have to notice the interchangeable use of *i* and *j*, e.g. words *iames* (jamais, letter 6) and *deia*

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<sup>272</sup> Bravo García (1992): 30

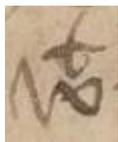
(dejà, letter 4) In fact, letter *j* was used only capital at the beginning of words or in numeral, as we may see in numerals *iiij* (iv) in letter 15 and *xj* (xi) in letter 17. Besides, if we consider the case of *v*, it was easily changed for *u*, and, in some case, with *w*. Still, *v* and *u* in the 16th Century were interchangeable.

Talking about the *s*, we may find different graphemes in the documents; the most found *s* is represented by the long *s*, similar to an *f*, which was inserted in all part of the word, especially were it was followed by the letters which present the horizontal trait typical of letter *f*. An *s* like the one we use today was also found in the documents, but it prevalently appeared at the end of words. Still, we find an example of this *s* at the beginning of the word only in letter 2. Meanwhile, letter *c* may be confused with letter *t* in middle of a word, if the upper trait of the *t* was not elongated.

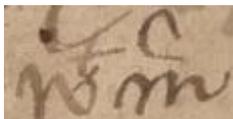
By the way, all letters presented a different form depending on the position they appeared in, e.g. letter *n* at the beginning or in the middle of a word was like our modern cursive *n*, while at the end of the word the last trait lengthens. Anyway, letter basic letter *n* may be confused with letter *w*.

## II.2.2 List of abbreviations present in the manuscripts

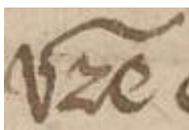
Before reading the manuscripts, let us look at the abbreviations which were present in them:



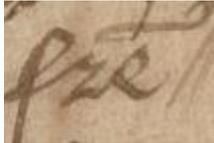
This is the abbreviation of ‘with’. Giving a modern key to the original manuscript, we may have reported the abbreviation as  $w^t$ . By the way, we expanded the graphemes, reporting the word as  $w(i)t(h)$ .



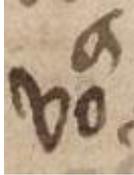
This is the abbreviation of ‘within’. Taking into account the original manuscript, we may have reported it as  $w^t in$ . By the way, in our version, we decided to expand the abbreviation as  $w(i)t(h) in$ . Besides, this contraction is only present in letter 17 (leaf no. 6).



This is the abbreviation of the French pronoun *votre* (‘your’). Giving a modern key to the original manuscript, we may have reported it as  $\overline{vre}$ . By the way, we decided to expand the abbreviation as  $v(ost)re$ . The same abbreviation regarded also the pronoun *nostre* (‘our’), originally written as  $\overline{nre}$ , that we expanded as  $n(ost)re$ .



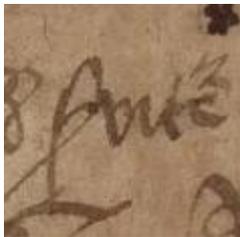
This is the abbreviation of the French noun *frère* ('brother'). In the original manuscript, it was reproduced as  $\overline{fr̄e}$ . Besides, we expanded the abbreviation, reporting the word as *f(re)re*.



This may be seen as an abbreviation of *vous* (second-person-plural 'you', and French formal pronoun). With the modern graphemes, we may have reported it as *vo<sup>os</sup>*, although we expanded the abbreviation as *vo(s)*.



This is the abbreviation of the word 'sir'. In the original manuscript, it resembled the modern *B'*. The initial graphic sign, in this case, abbreviated as "si". By the way, this was not in its standard use, as we may observe in the word below.



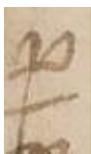
This is the abbreviation of the French word *serviteur* ('servant'). Giving a modern key to the manuscript, we may report the word as *Bvite'*. In this case, the initial graphic sign replaced letters "ser", which represented its standard meaning.



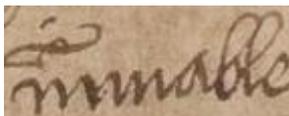
This is the abbreviation of the French word *que* (*that*). In our transcription, we expanded the abbreviation as *q(ue)*. This abbreviation was found alone, as a conjunction, or in the middle of words.



This particular letter *p* was the standard abbreviation for the letters "pro". In our transcription, we decided to expand it as *p(ro)*.

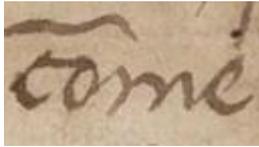


Differently from the letter *p* above, this *p* with a straight dash represented the abbreviation of letters "par". In our transcription, we decided to expand it as *p(ar)*.



This is the abbreviation of French the word *immutable*. Reproducing the word with modern graphemes, we may report it as *imuable*. In fact, the interlinear symbol abbreviates "im". By the way, it was not clear what the symbol represented, due to the fact that we have not found examples of it in dictionaries of abbreviations. Considering that the rest of the word is *mutable*, it could be a simple *i* with a wavy dash in order to abbreviate the *m*. For this particula abbreviation, we may

better see the word below.



This is the abbreviation of the French word *comme* ('as'). Observing the original document, we may have reported it as *cōme*. By the way, we decided to expand the abbreviation as *co(m)me*. We also find this kind of line over the other vocals and *y*. Basically, the trait means that a nasal sound (*n* or *m*), which normally follows the vocal, is abbreviated by the dash above the vocal.

In the end, it is curious to notice that abbreviations were more common in the letters written in French than in those written in English.

Talking about punctuations, we may see that it is not present in the way we know today: there are only slashes and dots, which we may consider as today's commas. Still, round brackets were sporadically present. Two slashes at the end of the palaeographical lines meant that the word continued in the next line. Regarding the use of capital letters, it was not diffused at all; in fact, where capital letters appeared, they seemed not to follow a specific rule. It is strange to observe that names of cities and proper names did not begin with capital letters.

### II.3 Through the King's Love Letters

Looking closely at the seventeenth letters that the sovereign wrote, we could easily distinct two groups of letters, which corresponded also with language change.

Basically, the letters written in French were marked by expressions of feelings, absence, and by the Courtly Love. In fact, it was only in the French letters that we could find Henry both in the role of a secretary and a servant. They are letters in which the sovereign showed his romantic nature, although his written language was not as fluent as that of English. As a result, in the French letters numerous grammatical errors were present, prevalently in the genre of words: in letter 3, he gave to the word *p(ro)sperite* ('prosperity', line 6) a masculine interpretation instead of its being a feminine noun. In letter 4, he wrote the word *espoir* ('hope', line 8) as a feminine noun and *chose* ('thing', line 12) as a masculine one. In letter 5, he attributed to the word *estrene* ('gift', line 1) a masculine genre, despite its feminine nature, and interpreted the word *absolution* (line 14) as a masculine one. In letter 6, he interpreted the word *santé* ('health', line 1) as a masculine noun. Then, in line 2 and 11, the noun *affection* was interpreted as a masculine noun. In line 6, he wrote *report* with a feminine value. In line 10, nouns *personage* ('person') and *eloignement* ('departure') were treated as feminine nouns,

despite their masculine nature. Then, in letter 9, the noun *pleasire* ('pleasure'), present at line 10, was interpreted as a masculine one instead of its feminine nature. In letter 10, he wrote word *certenyte* ('confidence', line 2) as a masculine noun instead of its feminine meaning. Finally, in letter 13, the king wronged the genre of other three nouns, i.e. *co(m)panye* ('company', line 5), *ayme* (intending *aimée*, 'beloved', line 5) and *penser* (intending *pensée*, 'thought' presented at line 6), which wrote as masculine words in the place of feminine ones.

Evidently, the thing that show us the erroneous interpretation made by the sovereign was articles. As a matter of fact, the article system in French is more accurate than English, since French has genre distinction. It is also interesting to observe that some nouns were attached to their articles, since apostrophe was not used at that time, i.e. *lamoure* (letter 1, line 5). Overall, it is curious to notice that Henry tried to find the French words more similar to his mother-language. In a sense, he revealed to be unsure about his French knowledge.

It seems that Henry's French letters were purely Courtly Love. Letters which want to express all Henry's romance and love for this peculiar kind of courtship. Naturally, the aim of this courtship was service: a man had to choose one of the ladies present at court and serving her by songs, poems and gifts. Numerous were the presents which Henry attached to his letters to Anne: jewels, bucks, but also a physician when Anne needed to be cured by the sweat. As of the famous song *Greensleeves*, some theories attested that Henry could be the real author of the said lyrics, which were arranged only under the reign of Elizabeth I. The infatuation for Anne was also showed in Henry's dresses, since he ordered Holbein, his painter, to design some jewels with the letters HA or HISA, which meant *Henry Immuable Serviteur de Anne*, 'Henry immutable Anne's servant'<sup>273</sup>.

As for King Henry's English, it was very rich in syntax since it was full of subordinate clauses. The English letters tended to be the more practical ones, since he wrote about life at court and its administration and duties. Still, the figure of the servant disappeared, and Henry's feelings were less present than in the French letters. From this point of view, the English letters tended to be shorter than the French ones, and they prevalently ended for a lack of time (letters 16, 18), for Henry's headache (letter 15), or for the late hour in which he wrote (letter 17). As a result, Henry's English letters finished when he finished to write to Anne the reason of his writing. The lack of time was also present at the end of some of the French letters (3, 10 and 13), although the letters tended to be longer than the English ones. Despite the reasons previously

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<sup>273</sup> Plescia (2013): 7.

attested for a possible change in language, it was also possible that Henry wrote in English when he did not want to waste time in writing letters in a foreign language, whose writing required him more time than the English ones. From this point of view, when his thoughts were not related to the Courtly Love, he preferred to write in his own language, in order to save time. Continuing our opinion, it could be that Henry dedicated time to French letters when he was inspired, searching expressions of pure romance in order to leave an impression on Anne's heart.

Looking closely at the king's language education, Starkey (2008) suggested he learned to write from his mother, Elizabeth of York, since his writing was extremely similar to those of his younger sister Mary.

Among his tutors, the first one was the poet John Skelton, who consolidated Henry's English skills, and taught Latin to him. At that time, Latin was the key to all other knowledge. After Skelton's resignation, Henry's education was assigned to John Holt, and then to Lord Mountjoy, two friends of Thomas More and of Erasmus. Specifically, Henry's French learning came from his first tutor, who started to read to him old French chronicles. Then, in February 1503, his French education was improved by Giles Duwes, a native French speaker. The said Duwes was both a linguist and a musician, and he seemed to be the responsible for teaching the lute to Henry<sup>274</sup>.

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<sup>274</sup> Starkey (2008): 179-180.

## CHAPTER III

### THE LOVE LETTERS OF HENRY VIII TO ANNE BOLEYN

In order to give an accurate and legible transcription to the letters, we have tried to maintain as much as possible the original characters, expanding the abbreviations (previously mentioned in II.2.2, p. 62) between round brackets. It is important to say that in letters 1, 3, 5, 11, 12, round brackets were also present in the original manuscripts. Furthermore, between square brackets, we tried to reconstruct words or illegible letters. Still, we decided to also report deleted words in order to follow the thoughts of King Henry VIII at the moment he wrote.

Making a comparison between the manuscripts and the modern editions, we will denote that in the modern editions some errors are present. The reference editions that we took into account are *Love-Letters from King Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn* (1714) provided by Churchill, *Letters in Roberti de Avesbury Historia de mirabilis gestis Edwardi III* by Hearne (1720), *Lettre de Henry VIII à Anne Boleyn*, provided by editor Crapelet (1826), Gunn's edition containing in *The Pamphleteers* (1823) and *The Love Letters of Henry VIII*, edited by Savage (1949). Basically, we decide to concentrate our attention into those five editions since they contained the transcriptions of the French letters. Still, Crapelet and Savage provided also the English translation of the said letters. Anyway, in letters written in English, we will also discuss about the edition provided by Halliwell Philipps (1906), under the title *The Love Letters of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn*. Halliwell Philipps would not be taken into account regarding the French letters since he only reported the translation of the said letters. Finally, it is important to say that no orthographical errors will be taken into account if they were not relevant for the bad interpretations of words.

Our decision depends on the fact that Early Modern English was not a language with a standard spelling yet. As a result, in the same work we could even find differences on how the same word was written. However, the need for a national language started to emerge: a language which was not French, which strongly dominated at court, or Latin, the language that pupils learnt at school and read daily. As a matter of fact, English was likely a familiar language, which changed depending on social class or geographical areas. Henry's decision in writing English letters to Anne seems to be a way to make her feel part of his private sphere.

### III.1 Letter 1



Fig. 6: The manuscript of letter 1.

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The following letter was possibly written in July 1527, and it was signed in the beginning of Henry's correspondence with Anne Boleyn.

The manuscript is preserved in the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.pt.A., paper no. 4. The letter is in good state of conservation, despite some ink spots and some illegible words mainly due to the disappearance of the ink in the right margin of the document. By the way, the letter was written in Middle French.

*en debatant dapper moy · le co(n)tinu de vous lettres · me suis mis en grande agonye non  
shachant co(m)mant les entendre ou a mon desavantage co(m)me en aucu(n)ne · lieu le  
mu(n)stres ou a mon avantayge co(m)me en des aucunes aultres lieux Je les entende vous  
suppliant de bien bon ceur me voloire certeffyere expresse[r] v(ost)re inte(n)tion entiere  
5 tochant lamoure entre nous deux car necessite me co(n)traint de purchasere ceste  
responce ayant este plus q(ue) ung anne attaynte du dart damours non estant assure de  
faliere ou trover plase en v(ost)re ceur et affection carty(n) leq(ue)l dernyre point men a  
gerde de puis peutemps en ca de vous point nomere ma mestres avec ce q(ue) si vous ne  
me aimes de aultre sorte q(ue) damoure co(m)mune cest nome ne vous est point  
10 appropriee car ill denote ung singularis le quel est bien longne de la co(m)mune mes si  
vous ple[t] de faire loffyce de ungwe vray loyal mestres et amye et de vous do(n)ner corps  
et ceur a moy qui veus estere et a este v(ost)re tresloyal s(er)viteure (si p(ar) rigere nis  
me defendes) vous promes que non seullement le nome vous sera deu mais ausi vous  
pranderay pour ma seulle mestres en reboutant · tretoutes aultres au pres de vous hors*

15 *de pense · et affection et de vous sellement s(er)vire vo(s) supplia[nt] me faire entiere  
responce de ceste · ma rude lettre aquoy et en quoy me puis fiere / et si vo(s) plet de me  
faire requeste per escripte assine moy q(ue)lq(ue) lieu ou Je la pourroy avoir de bouce  
et Je me Y troueray de bien bon ceur / non plus de peur de vous annuyere / escripte de la  
main de celluy qui volentiers demureroyte v(ost)re*

H.R.

From a historical point of view, we may attest that this is the most important letter in order to set the beginning of Henry's infatuation for Anne. In fact, it is from this letter that we know that his infatuation for Anne possibly started in 1526, as he reported in the letter that he was "*plus q(ue) ung anne attaynte du dart damours*" (more than a year struck with the dart of love). At the beginning of the letter, the king appeared confused by the letters which Anne had written to him; unfortunately, we do not know what she had written in her previous letters since none of them were found.

Then, he begged Anne to let him know her feelings about "the love between us" due to the fact that he was in pain for the ambiguous letters which he had received from her. Therefore, he pleaded to Anne to give him an answer; still, he offered her to become his official mistress, a role similar to the French *maîtresse en titre*, as it was reported in a phrase that we may translate as "I will take you as my only mistress, leaving all the others out of my thoughts". Evidently, Henry did not consider at that time to marry Anne, but he only offered her the promise of a permanent relationship. We may see this request as a simple Courtly Love, in which a king could serve many ladies, nevertheless we may only imagine how strong Henry's feelings for Anne were. Anyway, the letter continued with the king professing himself her "loyal servant", a typical role that we find in Courtly Love, and he begged Anne to answer to his request, both in written form or by fixing a meeting in which they could meet.

He finished the letter with the fear of annoying her and with the formula "written by the hand of him who wanted to be yours".

### III.1.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Starting from the edition provided by Churchill (1714), in line 1, he reported the word *dapper* as *de par*. In line 3, he did not report the article *des*. In line 4, he reported the expression *appresent* (modern *à present*, which means 'now'), instead of what we have reconstructed as *expresse[r]*. Then, in line 7, he reported the adjective *certain* ('sure') instead of the conjunction

*carty(n)* (Modern *car*, ‘because’). In lines 9 and 10, there was the omission of phrase “*cest nome ne vous est point appropriée car ill denote ung singularis le quel est bien longne de la co(m)mune*”. In line 13 there was the addition of the personal pronoun *je* (‘I’) between the verb *defendes* and the pronoun *vous* (second person plural, but also the French formal pronoun ‘you’); the said addition was also present in Gunn (1823) and in Crapelet (1826). In line 15, he added the preposition *de* between the conjunction *et* (‘and’) and the word *affection*. In line 16, he reported the preposition *a* instead of *de* between the word *responce* (‘answer’) and the demonstrative adjective *cette* (feminine singular form of ‘this’). In line 17, he reported the verb *asseure* (Modern *assurrer*, ‘provide’) instead of the verb *assine* (Modern *assigner*, ‘assign’). Finally, in line 19, he divided the verb *demureroyte* (future form of Modern *demourer*, ‘will remain’), obtaining *de meureroite* (prep. *de* + future form verb *mourir*, ‘that will die’).

Hearne (1720) made another version provided by Dr. Fall, although it contented numerous mistakes. In lines 2 and 3, there was the complete omission of the phrase “*co(m)me en aucu(n)ne lieu le mu(n)stres ou a mon avantayge*”. Still, in line 4, like Churchill’s edition, the word *express[r]*, was interpreted as *appresent*. In line 8, there was the addition of the conjunction *de* between the attached word *peu* and *temps*; the said preposition was also added in Crapelet’s edition. In line 14, we notice the omission of the word *seulle* (‘only’). In line 17, he made a bad interpretation of the word *requeste* (‘request’), interpreting it as *responce* (‘answer’). Still, in the same line, he also interpreted badly the verb *assine*, having transcribed it as *assuré*; this said error was also observed in Churchill’s edition.

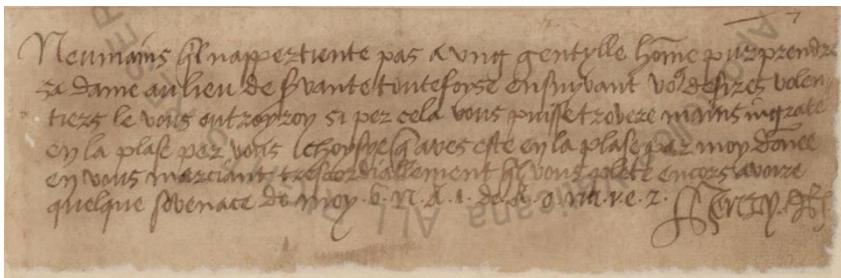
Gunn (1823) contained numerous mistakes. In line 2, he omitted the words “*co(m)me en*” (‘as in’). In line 4, he reconstructed the adverb *expressement*, although we cannot know the complete word due to the disappearance of the ink. As a result, the only letter that we can reconstruct is letter *r*, even though it can be the initial part of the letter *m*, successively disappeared. The said adverb was also present in Crapelet (1826) and Savage (1949). Still, in line 7, there was the omission of the conjunction *et* between words *ceur* (Modern *cœur*, ‘heart’) and *affection*. In line 13, he transcribed the past participle *due* in the modern way. Still, we decide to leave it as it was present in the manuscript, i.e. *deu*; the said transcription was present also in Crapelet (1826). Furthermore, in line 14, he reported the expression *tretoutes* as *tretantes* (‘likewise’). In line 16, he added the negative particle *ne* between the conjunction *si* (‘if’) and the pronoun *vo(s)*. Then, in the next line, the word *requeste* was reported as *responce*. In the same line, there was the addition of the particle *la* between words *lieu* (‘place’) and *ou* (‘where’). In line 18, there was the omission of the adverb *Y* (‘there’) between the reflexive pronoun *me* and the verb

*troueray* ('will find'). At the same line, there was also the omission of the expression "*de peur de*" ('for fear of').

Crapelet (1826), who used the transcription made by Meon, made only few minor errors, that we have just reported since those errors were also present in the previous editions.

Talking about the edition provided by Savage (1949), only little imprecisions were present. In line 7, he reported the pronoun *leq(ue)l* ('which') as *le plus*. Finally, in line 18, he omitted the first preposition *de*, the one which was collocated before the noun *peur* ('fear').

### III.2 Letter 2



**Fig. 7:** The manuscript of letter 2.

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Following Brewer (1875), the letter was written at the beginning of July 1527. The original letter was attached below the manuscript of letter 16, preserved at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, in paper no. 7. As we may see from the image above, it is in a good state of conservation. Talking about the language, it was written in Middle French.

*Neumains q(ue) il nappertiente pas a ung gentylle ho(m)me pur prendre sa dame au lieu  
de s(er)vante toutefoyse ensuyvant vo(s) desires volen//tiers le vous outroyroy si per cela  
vous puisse trovere mains ingrate en la place per vous choysye q(ue) aves este en la plase  
par moy do(n)nee en vous merciant tres cordialement q(ue)il vous plete encors avoir  
quelque sovenace de moy .*

5

*V · N · A · I · de A · o · na · v · e · r ·*

*Henry R.*

The letter was very short, and it was not particularly interesting from a historical point of view. We may hypothesize that the answer which Anne gave to Henry, about the request that he previously made to her in Letter 1, was not a positive one. In fact, we may hypothesize that she

rejected becoming his mistress, since, being one of Catherine of Aragon ladies-in-waiting, the act of serving was her role. Basically, being a servant for a lady was not part of the duties of a king. Returning to the negative answer she gave him, the king did not agree with the decision she made, but he thanked her for remembering him thus.

### III.2.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

If we pay attention to all the modern editions of the letter, we may not find any kind of mistakes from our own transcription, except for the cypher present in the last line. As a result, the real “mystery” of this letter consisted in the said cypher, which has been object of a lot of interpretation, mainly due to the fact that every scholar gave a different transcription of the single letters. In fact, in the edition published by Halliwell Phillipps in 1906, the cypher was transcribed as “*6. n. A. I de A. o. na. v. e. z.*”, meanwhile in the edition by Ridley (1988), reported in Fraser (1992), the transcription was “*B. n. r. i. de r. o. m. v. e. z.*”. Still, Bernard (2011) reported the cypher as “*B. n. A. i. de a. o. na. v. e. r.*”. As far as the transcriptions provided by Dr. Fall and Meon were concerned, in Hearne (1720), the formula was transcribed as “*6.n.R.I.De.R.O.M.V.CZ.*”, while in Crapelet’s edition (1826), the cypher was transcribed as “*6.n.A.I.de.A.o.na.v.e.z.*”. We may observe that Crapelet’s formula was the one which Halliwell Phillipps adopted in his 1906 edition. Talking about Savage’s edition (1949), he transcribed the formula as “*O.N.R.I. de R.O.M.V.E.Z.*” suggesting that a certain Henry de Romvez could have been a joke or the name of a novel character of the period. As we may observe from the different transcription, the first letter was the most difficult to decode: we may interpret it as a 6, a B or V. Thus, also the last letter led to a different interpretation as we may interpret it both as R or a Z. As for the M presented in Ridley’s version, it clearly was an erroneous interpretation. Churchill (1714) reported it as “*6. N. R. I. De R. O. M. V. C. Z.*”. To solve the rooting problem, Gunn (1823) omitted the said cypher.

By the way, our transcription agreed with the version given by Starkey (2004), who also tried to give an interpretation of the cypher; particularly, he hypothesized that it was a mix of Latin, English and French words for ‘Anne’. Still, *A · o* seemed to refer to “a year”, which in Latin was abbreviated with these two letters. In views of this decoding, we may see that Henry wanted to celebrate one year of Anne’s dominion of his heart<sup>275</sup>.

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<sup>275</sup> Starkey (2004): 281

Little imprecisions, which were not related to the cypher, were found in Churchill (1714). In line 3, he reported the verb *puisse* (subjunctive present) as *pussies* (subjunctive imperfect). Still, in line 4, he omitted the pronoun *qu(e)* and transcribed badly the following particle as *si* ('if'), instead of the third person singular pronoun *il*.

### III.3 Letter 3

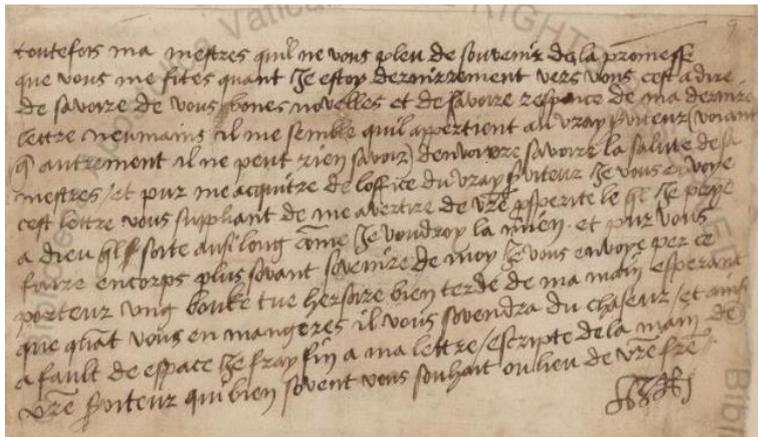


Fig. 8: The manuscript of letter 3.

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Following Brewer (1875), the letter was written at the beginning of July 1527, as it was the previous one. Today the manuscript appears in the collection preserved at the Vatican Library, under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, in paper no. 9. As we have attested, the manuscript appeared to be in a good state of conservation and it was written in Middle French.

5 *toutefois ma mestres quil ne vous pleu de souvenir de la promesse que vous me fites quant*  
*Je estoy deronirrement vers vous cest a dire de savoir de vous bones nouvelles et de*  
*savoir responce de ma dernire lettre neumains il me semble quil appertient au vray*  
*s(er)viteur (voiant q(ue) autrement il ne peut rien savoir) denvoiere savoir la salute de*  
*sa mestres / et pur me acquitre de loffice du vray s(er)viteur Je vous envoie cest lettre*  
*vous suppliant de me avertire de v(ost)re p(ro)sperite le q(ue)l Je pry a dieu q(ue)l soit*  
*aussi long co(m)me Je voudroy la mien · et pur vous faire encorps plus sovant sovenire*  
*de moy Je vous envoie per ce porteur ung bouke tue hersoire bien terde de ma main*  
*esperant que qua(n)t vous en mangeres il vous sovendra du chasseur / et ainsi a fault de*  
10 *espace Je fray fin a ma lettre / escripte de la main de v(ost)re s(er)viteur qui bien sovent*  
*vous souhait ou lieu de v(ost)re f(re)re //*

H.R.

This is the first letter in which Henry addressed Anne as “ma mestres”. It seems plausible that Anne accepted his proposal. Anyway, we know that she did not maintain the promise of writing to the king in order to give him good news and to give a reply to his last letter. He wrote to her to enquire about her health, in a sense, he was worried for Anne’s health, and he hoped she would have been healthy as it was him. In fact, if we consider the attitude of the sovereign, we will discover that he was apprehensive and hypochondriac. For instance, he studied the medical properties of herbs and sometimes he created his own medicaments<sup>276</sup>. Then, in order to remember to write him, he sent her a buck which he killed the evening before, hoping that she remembered him when she ate the prey. Then, he concluded the letter for “lacking of space”, followed by the formula “written by the hand of your servant who quite often wanted you instead of your brother”. Evidently, George Boleyn was at the court. Lerer (2006) made a parallelism between Anne and George: in his view, George was seen as part of the Privy Chamber, so he represented the political intimacy that reigns at court, meanwhile Anne represented the private intimacy of the king<sup>277</sup>. As a matter of fact, in Lerer’s vision, Anne had the privilege to share with the king both types of intimacies. Thinking about his view, Anne was not properly seen as a woman, due to the fact that women at Tudor’s time did not take part in political life.

Analysing the letter from a more critical point of view, Lerer (2006) attested that this letter was full of words related to ingestion and knowledge<sup>278</sup>. We may find a proof of this in the French verb *savoir*, which derived from Latin *sapere*, a verb meaning both “to know” and “to taste”. The alliteration which reported the verb was found throughout the entire letter, with the words: *souvenir/sovenire, savoir (x3)/savoir, sovant/sovent, souvendra, souhait, serviteur (x3)*. In a sense, remembering is an act of knowledge, knowledge is an act of eating and eating is an act of embodiment. A link with religion appeared natural; that is to say, religion is an act of knowledge about the history of Jesus Christ among others, and celebrating the Eucharist is both an act of embodying Christ and an act of remembering the history behind the act. With this letter, Henry gave Anne a buck, which he had killed the evening before he wrote the missive, and he underlined that he hoped she would be thinking about him while eating it. Basically, the hand, which was writing the letter, was the same hand which had killed the buck; as a result,

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<sup>276</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4409 (*Brian Tuke to Wolsey*, written on 23 June 1528). In the letter, we may find hints of Henry’s medicine knowledge: he gave Tuke remedies for his health problem, but also some advice in order to avoid the sweat. In Tuke words, he gave him some remedies “as any most cunning physician in England could do”.

<sup>277</sup> Lerer (2006): 108.

<sup>278</sup> Lerer (2006): 104-105.

the hand was both seen as an instrument of love and an instrument of violence. If we see the king as the hunter, we may see Anne as the buck, as Henry's prey. Obviously, this is a classical image of Courtly Love. Thus, we may also interpret this image embodying Henry in the buck, a buck which would be eaten by Anne: a way for entering in her body in order to be remembered, but it is recalling the Eucharist once again. In this last view, Henry equated himself with Jesus Christ, and it seems a foretaste of what will have happened in 1534, the year in which Henry VIII proclaimed himself Head of the Church of England.

### III.3.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Paying attention to the transcription given by Churchill (1714), Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823), Crapelet (1826) and Savage (1949), we did not find any kind of difference from our own transcription. However, only a little mistake could be found in Hearne's, at line 5, where he transcribed the pronoun *cest* as *cette*.

## III.4 Letter 4

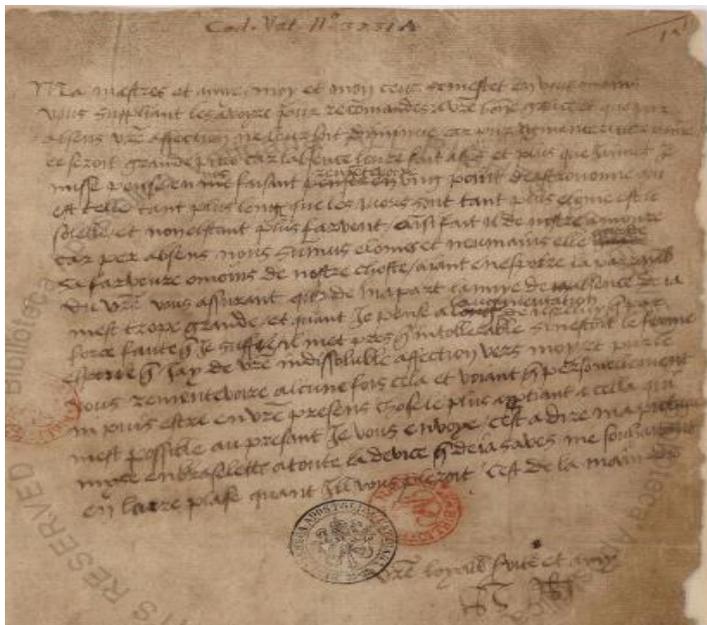


Fig. 9: The manuscript of letter 4.

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The letter must have been written around the end of July 1527. The manuscript, which today is preserved at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 1, is in a good state despite some illegible words in the right margin of the document for the disappearance of the ink. Anyway, it was written in Middle French.

Ma mestres et amye / moy et mon ceur se mestet en vous mains vous suppliant les avoyre  
 reco(m)mandes a v(ost)re bo(n)ne grace et que par absens v(ost)re affection ne leur soit  
 diminue / car pur egmenter leure pai(n)ne ce seroit grande pitié car labsence leure fait  
 asses et plus que Jaimés Je misse pense en ~~me~~ nos faisant reme(n)tevoire ~~penser en~~ un  
 5 point deastronomie qui est telle tant plus longe que les iours sont tant plus elonie est le  
 solelle / et non obstant plus farvent / ai(n)si fait il de nostre amoure car per absens nous  
 su(m)mus elonies et neumains elle ~~grade~~ garde sa farveure omoins de nostre choste /  
 aiant enespoire la parrayll du v(ost)re / vous assurant qu[e] de ma part lanuye de absence  
 10 deia mest trope grande / et quant Je pense a ~~long~~ laugmentation de il celluy q(ue) par  
 force faute q(ue) Je suffre / il me pres q(ue) intollerable si nestoit le ferme espoire q(ue)  
 Jay de v(ost)re indissoluble affection vers moy et pur le vous rementevoire aucune fois  
 cela et voiant q(ue) personnellement ni puis estre en v(ost)re presens / chose le plus  
 app(ro)tiant a cella qui mest possible au presant Je vous envoie / cest a dire ma picture  
 myse enbraselette atoute la device q(ue) deia saves me souhaitant en la~~r~~e plase quant Ill  
 15 vous pleroit / cest de la main de

v(ost)re loyall s(er)vite(u)r et amy

H.R.

The letter began with the appellation “*ma mestres et amye*”, i.e. my mistress and my friend, so we may guess that their relationship had already begun. From the first sentence, we have to observe that he talked about himself mentioning his body and his heart; in a sense, it seems to remark that his feelings for his mistress were equal both in the body and in the heart. If we want to find one word to describe the missive, we may entitle it “absence”; in fact, the letter talked entirely of absence. Expressions of absence were recalled by numerous words in the French language, which better explored feelings than the English one, i.e. *painne* (‘pain’), *grande pitié* (‘great pity’) *indissoluble affection* (‘indissoluble attachment’), *lannuye de labsence* (‘the agony of the absence’). As a result, we understand that Anne was not at court at that period, i.e. the king explicitly talked about her “absence”, hoping that her affection for him was not reduced. His heart and his person were in so great pity for her distance that he compared himself to an astronomy point, farther from the sun as the days passed; although, the heat of the sun is more intense as the earth distances itself from the sun. Then, he confessed that her absence was already unbearable to him (“*de ma part lannuye de absence deia mest trope grande*”). In his

agony, only Anne's affection for him remained steady. Still, the extension of his sufferings was unbearable, being Anne's feelings for him the only thing that comforted the sovereign. With the letter, he gave her a bracelet with his picture inserted in it. This gift was justified by the fact that Henry wanted to be replaced by the object in order to be remembered by her. In fact, in 1520s a new politics of ornament emerged: the miniatures were a representation of a high social role; obviously, the fashion of miniatures arrived from France, the country that mainly influenced Anne's attitude; in a sense, Henry wanted to elevate Anne at the same level of the French royal family, not for the position but for the fact that those ornaments were part of the French style<sup>279</sup>. Behind this gesture, we may also see a pure homage, to honour Anne's real nationality, a way to make her fashionable.

### III.4.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Making a comparison between the modern editions, we do not observe many diversities from our own transcript. Starting from Churchill (1714), we notice the bad reproduction of the word *mestres*, since he transcribed it as *Maitresse* in every occasion. Between lines 1 and 2, he added a preposition *pour* ('for') between the verb *avoyre* ('to have') and *reco(m)mandes* ('to recommend'); this addition was also present in Hearne (1720). In line 4, the verb *misse* (subjunctive of verb *mettre*, 'put' or a calque from English verb 'miss') was interpreted as *n'eusse* (the negative form of the imperfect subjunctive of verb 'to have'); this bad-interpretation was also reported in Hearne (1720) and Crapelet (1826). Still, in line 5, there was the misinterpretation of the word that we transcribed as *iours* (he modern *jours*, 'days'): Churchill's edition reported it as *Mores* ('the Moors'), giving the sentence a complete change of meaning. This change was also found in Hearne (1720). In line 6, he omitted the conjunction *car* between words *amoure* ('love') and *per* (Henry meant to wrote preposition *par*, 'by'). In line 7, he reported the masculine pronoun *il* instead of the feminine pronoun *elle*. In line 8, he added the definite article *l'* ('the') between the partitive article *de* ('of') and the noun *absence* ('miss'). In line 12, he added a personal pronoun *je* between the adverb *personnellement* ('personally') and the conjunction *ni* ('either').

The last error present in this edition was in the conclusive formula of the letter, at line 16: in this case, the adjective *loyall* ('faithful') was omitted; this omission was also found in Hearne (1720).

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<sup>279</sup> Lerer (2006): 96-97

Gunn (1823), in line 1, wrote the verb *remestet* ('to refer') while we transcribed the said verb as *se mestet* (reflexive verb of 'to put'); this interpretation was also present in Savage (1949). Then, between lines 1 and 2, he added the preposition *par* ('by') between the verb *avoyre* and *reco(m)andes*. In line 4, contrary to previous editions, he translated the verb *misse* as *eusse* (not in the negative form), as did Savage (1949).

Savage (1949), between lines 1 and 2, added the preposition *pur* ('for') between verbs *avoyre* and *recom(m)andes*. In line 13, he translated the adjective *ap(pr)otiant* ('close') with *apperliant* ('pertaining').

### III.5 Letter 5



**Fig. 10:** The manuscript of letter 5  
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Following Brewer (1875), the letter might have been written in August 1527. Anyway, seeing its contents, Starkey (2004) hypothesizes that it was written after New Year's Eve 1527, which was the occasion for the exchange of presents<sup>280</sup>. Obviously, we may only hypothesize the real order in which those letters were written, so we do not know if Starkey's hypothesis may be true or not<sup>281</sup>. By the way, in our research, we maintained the order that Brewer fixed in 1875.

<sup>280</sup> Starkey (2004): 282.

<sup>281</sup> Starkey (2004): 279. The scholar fixed the writing of the first letters in late summer 1526. As a result, it seems plausible that letter 5, following his interpretation, was written on 1 January 1527. Still, if we want to continue Starkey's idea, we have to suppose that the history between Henry and Anne began in 1525, a year before his first letter was written.

Talking about the manuscript, it is still in a good state of conservation despite little ink spots and the disappearance of the ink in the right margin of the document. Like all the other letters, it is conserved at the Vatican Library, Vat.lat.3731.A, no. 5. As for the choice of language of the letter, it was written in Middle French.

*de lestrene si bel q(ue) rien plus (notant le toute) Je vous en marcy trescordi//allement /  
 non ~~set~~ seulement pour le beau diemende et navire enquoy la seulle damoyzell est  
 tormente · mais principalement pour la bell interpretation et trop hu(m)ble submission  
 per v(ost)re benignite en ceste case use / bien pensant q(ue) a meriter cela per occasion  
 5 me seroit fort difficill si me nestoyt en aide v(ost)re grande humanite et faveure pour la  
 q(ue)lle Jay cherse · chers · et cherseray · per toutes boutz a moy possible dei demourrer  
 en quelle mon espyre a mis son immuable intention / qui dit · aut ~~h~~ illic · aut nullibi /  
 les demonstrances de v(ost)re affection sont telles · le belles motz de lettre si  
 cordialement cache[s] qui me obliget ~~en voz lettres~~ a toute ia(m)mes crenent de vous  
 10 honourrer · aimer · et s(er)vire · vous supplyant les vouloire co(n)tinuer en ce memes  
 ferme et co(n)stant propose / vous assurant que de ma part Je laugementaray plus tote  
 que la faire rescii//proke · si loyaute du ceure · desire · de vous co(m)plere · vo(s) sans  
 aultre racine en ceure le peute avancer / vous priant ausi q(ue) si aucunement vous ay  
 percy devant offence que vous me(n) do(n)nes le memes absolution q(ue) vous  
 15 de//mandes vous assurant q(ue) dorre(n)avant a vous seulle mon ceur sera dedie /  
 desirant fort q(ue) le corps ainsi pouoyte · cu(m)me dieu le peut faire si luy plet a qui Je  
 supplye une fois le iour pour ce faire / esperant q(ue) a la longe ma pryer sera ouye /  
 desirant ~~esperant~~ le temps brife · pensant le long · iusque au reveue dentre nous deuz /  
 escripte de la main du secretere qui en ceur · corps · et volente est / v(ost)re  
 20 v(ost)re loiall et plus assure s(er)viteure*

H aultre  ne cherse R

The old French word *estrene* referred to a gift, which Anne donated to Henry, maybe as a New Year's homage. From the letter, we understand that the gift was a diamond in the form of a ship, in which a lady in agony resided. Probably, the gift was accompanied by a letter which gave an interpretation of the jewel, and this interpretation was a good one. Starkey (2004) reported that the possible explication of the gift consisted on the fact that the lady on the ship

might have been Anne herself, meanwhile Henry could have been the harbour in which she could protect herself from the storms of life<sup>282</sup>. That was Anne's way of declaring her submission to the king, and we may attest this from Henry's words about the "humble submission and benignity for this case".

Henry was enthusiastic, he talked about its "immutable intention" followed by the Latin words "*aut illic aut nullibi*", i.e. either there or nowhere. Then, he continued by saying that her words obliged him to honour, love and serve her; three verbs which contrasted with the end of their love story.

The letter ended with the formula "written by the hand of the secretary that by heart, body and will is your humble and most assure servant". In this conclusive formula, we have again the personification of the king into a servant, ready to serve his mistress. Despite the previous letters, the sign was original and attested, graphically talking, his love: his two initials were separated from the words "other" and "not seek", and between those words, he put a heart with the initial of his lover. Obviously, the heart which he painted represented his own heart, full of "AB". It is a childish gesture to make, but it represents how deep Henry's love for Anne Boleyn was.

### III.5.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Between the modern editions, it is important to say that Crapelet (1826) copied Hearne's version since letter 5 was not present in the manuscripts that lied at the Bibliotheque du Roi in Paris. However, some changes may be observed between the two mentioned editions.

Churchill (1714) bad transcribed *en marcy* in line 1, transcribing it as *remercy* ('to thank'); this fact was also present in Hearne (1720) and in Crapelet (1826). In line 2, he added a suffix to the adjective *seulle* ('alone'), obtaining the diminutive *seullette*; this addition was also present in Hearne (1720), Crapelet (1826) and Savage (1949). In line 4, there was the omission of the auxiliary verb *a* (third person singular of verb *avoir*) between the conjunction *q(ue)* and *meriter* ('to deserve'). Still, in line 6, Churchill transcribed badly the word *boutz*, interpreting the word as *bontes*; the said could also be found in Hearne (1720) and in Crapelet (1826). In line 9, the adjective *cache[s]* ('hide') was interpreted as *couche* ('lying'), as it was also reported in Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823), Crapelet (1826) and Savage (1949). Still, in the same line, he made another mistake: he mistook the verb *crenent* ('to believe') for the adverb *vrayment* ('really');

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<sup>282</sup> Starkey (2004): 282.

the said error was also present in Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823), Crapelet (1826) and Savage (1949). In lines 12 and 13, he omitted the phrase “*desire de vous co(m)plere vo(s) sans aultre racine en ceure*”. Still, in line 13, he added a pronoun *je* between the adverb *aucunement* (‘in no way’) and the pronoun *vous*; this addition was also found in Hearne (1720). In line 16, he omitted the preposition *cu(m)me* (‘like’) between the verb *pouoyte* (‘will do’) and the word *dieu* (‘God’).

Hearne (1720), in line 8, interpreted badly the word *motz* (‘words’), interpreting it as *motts*, while Crapelet (1826) reported it as *motto*. In line 18, he reported badly the word *iour* (the modern *jour*, which means ‘day’), transcribing it as *jeur*; the said was also found in Crapelet (1826).

In Gunn (1823), only another imprecision occurred, at the beginning of line 12: he added a partitive article *de* between the conjunction *que* and the definite article *la*.

Talking about Savage (1949), his version was really good, despite the omission of an entire phrase at line 13 and 14: After the adverb *aucunement*, he omitted the sentence “*vous ay Percy devant offence que vous me(n) do(n)nes le memes absolution q(ue)*”.

### III.6 Letter 6



**Fig. 11:** The manuscript of letter 6  
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According to Brewer (1875), the letter was written in August 1527. This missive, which is the paper no. 2 of the collection preserved at the Vatican Library, has been damaged with time; in fact, we may observe numerous holes in it. Still, in the right margin of the manuscript, the paper was ruined. Regarding the choice of language, even this letter was written in Middle French.

*A ma mestres*

*pour ce quil me semble le temps estre bien longe depuis avoir ouye de v(ost)re bon sante  
et de vo(s) / le grande affection q(ue) Jay vers vous ma persuade de vous envoyere ce  
porteur pur estre mieulx assertene de v(ost)re sante et vouloire / et pur ce q(ue) depuis  
mon partement de avec q(ue)s vous on ma averty q(ue) v(ost)re lopinion en quoy Je vous  
5  
laissoye est du toute asture chaynge et q(ue) no voulies venire en court ni avec madame  
v(ost)re mere si vous pouv[ait] ni aultrement ausi / la quel report estant vraye Je ne faroy  
asses emarvelliere veu q(ue) depuis Je massure de vous navoir[e] iames faite faute / et  
il me semble bien petite retribution pur le grand amour q(ue) ie vous port de me ~~elogne~~  
eloingniere et la parrole et la personage de la fame du monde q(ue) plus Jestime / et si  
10  
vous me aimes de si bon affection co(m)me Jespere / Je suis sure q(ue) la eloy[g]//nement  
de nos deux parso(n)nes vous seroyt ung peu a(n)nuieusse toutefois q(u)il nappertient  
pas tant a la mestres co(m)me au s(er)viteur panses bien ma mestres q(ue) labsens de  
vous fort me grefe esperant quil ne pas v(ost)re volente q(ue) ainsi ce soit / mais si Je  
ent[en]//doy pur verite q(ue) volenterement vous la desiries Je nen pou[s] mai(n)s fere si  
15  
non plaindre ma mauvais fortune en rebatant peu a peu ma grande folie / et ainsi a faulte  
de temps fay fin de ma rude le[ttre] vous suppliant de doner foy a ce porteur en ce qu[il]  
vous dira de ma part / escript de la main du toute v(ost)re s(er)viteure .: /*

*H.R.*

From a historical point of view, the correspondences of the beginning of August 1527 started to report some rumours about a possible divorce between Henry and his first wife. Still, in a letter that Wolsey wrote on 1 August to Ghinucci and Lee, the news was denied<sup>283</sup>. Evidently, the king would have maintained his secret matter a private one. By the way, if we pay attention to a Spanish correspondence, we notice that the Spanish ambassador reported the news of the divorce to the Emperor on 18 May 1527, the day in which a secret assembly was set in order to discuss about the annulment of the marriage<sup>284</sup>. The king appealed to the assembly to the fact that Katherine had been his brother's wife.

In this letter, we found Henry anxious of receiving some news about his mistress' health, mainly due to the fact that it had passed too much time from the last time he was given news of her.

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<sup>283</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 3327.

<sup>284</sup> De Gayangos (1877): n. 69

Desirous of being assured about the health and will of his mistress, he sent a bearer to her. Through the letter, we discover that Anne's opinion regarding the proposal of the king had totally changed from the last time he saw her. Her change of mind was attested also to the fact that she did not want to return at court neither with her mother, nor alone. It seemed to the sovereign that it was a little recompense for the love that he brought her, and he did not want to distance himself from her. Then, he continued by saying that if she shared his same feelings, he hoped that she suffered from the distance in the same manner as him. Still, he agreed that the sufferings were appropriate to the servant, not to the mistress. Basically, the roles of the servant and the mistress were part of the Courtly Love.

By the way, Henry was not happy, and he felt lonely, due to his lover's absence and for her ambiguous feelings. He proceeded in the letter by saying that if Anne's change of mind was real, he had only to cry his misfortune, and mending his folly. He put an end to the letter by a lack of time, although the bearer had also an oral message to report to Anne. Unfortunately, we could not know what that message was.

The letter ended with the formula "written by the hand of your entire servant", followed by the symbol "·:·", which was a highlighter mark used by the scribes. As a matter of fact, Henry concluded the letter identifying himself as a servant, at the mercy of his mistress' feelings.

### III.6.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Churchill (1714), in line 3, reported the word *voloire* (the modern *vouloir*, which means 'will') with its synonym *volenté* (the modern *volonté*); this may also be found in Hearne (1720). In line 4, he omitted the conjunction *q(ue)s* between the conjunction *avec* ('with') and the pronoun *vous*. In line 5, he replaced the particle *no* with the pronoun *vous*. Still, in line 6, he omitted words "*si vous pouv[ait]*" between words *mere* ('mother') and *ni* ('or'); this may also be found in Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823) and Savage (1949). In line 9, there was the misinterpretation of the word *parole* ('word'), which was transcribed as *personne* ('person'); this version was also found in Hearne (1720). Still, in the same line, he transcribed the word *femme* ('woman') instead of *fame* (Modern *faim*, 'hunger'). Apparently, the sovereign intended to write the word woman, although the said word recalled to French word *faim*. In line 14, he reported the verb *pou[s]* ('can') as *puis*. Still, the said report was also found in Gunn (1823). At the same line, he also transcribed the adverb *mai(n)s* (i.e. *moins*, reinforcer of the negation) as the conjunction *mais* ('but'); the error was also reported by Gunn (1823). In line 15, he omitted the preposition *a* ('of') between the adverb *ainsi* ('so') and the word *faulte* ('fault'). In line 16, he omitted the

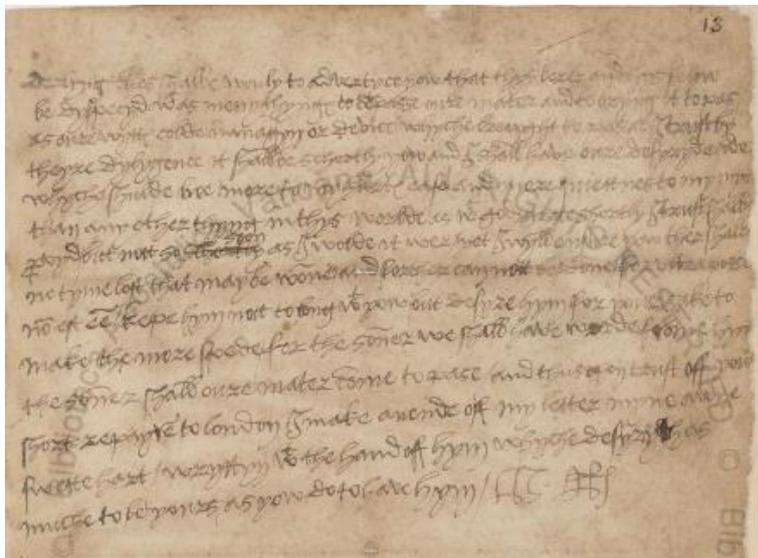
pronoun *vous* between *le[ttre]* ('letter') and *suppliant* ('begging'); the said omission was also present in Gunn (1823).

Hearne (1720) presented some errors. In line 5, there was the omission of the particle *no* between the words *q(ue)* ('that') and *voulies* ('to want'). In line 11, the adjective *a(n)nuieuse* ('boring'), was badly interpreted as *envuyeuse* (the modern *envieux/-se*, which means 'envious'). In line 14, the word *mai(n)s* (the modern *moins*) was transcribed as *mieux* ('better').

As to the edition of Crapelet (1826), it did not present any kind of errors.

Savage (1949), at line 6, he confused the verb *faroy* ('will do') with the verb *saroy* ('will be'); this was probably due to the resemblance between long *s* and letter *f*.

### III.7 Letter 7



**Fig. 12:** The manuscript of letter 7  
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.3731.A., 13.

This letter seemed to have been written in February 1528. As we may observe, this is the first letter of the series written in Early Modern English. The manuscript is preserved at the Vatican Library, Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 13. As we may see from the manuscript, it is in a good state of conservation except for two tiny holes in the middle of the paper and the ruined right margin. Fortunately, it does not prevent us from decoding the words collocated on that part of the manuscript.

Derlyng thes shalbe wonly to advertyce yow · that thys berer and hys fellow be dyspecyd ·  
 w(i)t(h) as meny thyng · to co(m)passoure mater and to bryng it to pas / as oure wytte  
 colde innagyn or device / whyche brought to pas as I trust by theyre dylygence it shall  
 be schortly yow and I shall have oure desyryd ende whyche shulde bie more to my harte  
 5 case and more quietnes to my myn[de] than any other thyng in this worlde / as w(i)t(h)  
 gods grace shortly I trust shalbe p(ro)vvyd / but nott so ~~schortly~~ soon as I wolde it wer /  
 yet I will ensure yow ther shalbe no tyme lost that may be wo(n)ne / and forther can nott  
 be do(n)ne for ultra posse no(n) est e(ss)e / kepe hym nott to long w(i)t(h) yow / but desyre  
 hym for your sake to make the more spede / for the so(n)ner we shall have worde frome  
 10 hym the so(n)ner shall oure mater co(m)me to pase / and thus opon trust off yow short  
 repayre to london I make anende off my letter myne awne swette hart / wrytyn w(i)t(h)  
 the hand off hym whyche desyryth as muche to be yours / as yow do to have hym /

H.R.

From the letter, we understand that the king sent Anne news with two men, i.e. Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox, who were designated to make an end to the first marriage of the king. For this reason, they were sent to Rome, to obtain the papal dispensation<sup>285</sup>. In fact, during 1528, the ‘great matter’ started to become a real royal affair. Still, some advice from France, written on 10 February 1528, reported the news that the king wanted to divorce from his first wife, attesting that the dispensation that the Pope had given them for marrying was defective and invalid; this news reported also the fact that Katherine was aged so she could not conceive children, so Henry wanted to marry the daughter of Thomas Boleyn, who was very beautiful. The Pope would like to give his consent to the annulment, and if he did it, the discrepancies between England and Spain would increase<sup>286</sup>. Then, he recommended Anne to not entertain them due to the fact that “*for the so(n)ner we shall have worde frome hym the so(n)ner shall oure mater co(m)me to pase*”. Evidently, the king thought that the matter would have found a brief resolution, and he was very glad for it. Unfortunately, the matter was not concluded as soon as he expected. Returning to the letter, he inserted also the Latin proverb “*ultra posse non est esse*”, which meant “one cannot do more than the possible”. By the way, he continued by hoping that Anne returned soon to London; this meant that she was still at her parents’ castle.

<sup>285</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 3900 (*Wolsey to Montmorenci*, written on 11 February 1528).

<sup>286</sup> Rawdon Brown (1871): n. 236 (*Advices from France, transmitted to the Signory by Coresara*, written on 10 February 1528).

The letter ended with the phrase “written by the hand of him who desire as much to be yours as you do to have him”; whatever the situation between them in the previous letters was, we now know that Anne agreed to be his *wife*?. We put the word ‘wife’ with an interrogative point since we do not know if the proposal elevated to the rank of wife. Actually, the thing that we know for certain is that the matter of the divorce touched the king in May 1527 for the first time<sup>287</sup>; this was the date in which Cardinal Thomas Wolsey started an inquiry in order to establish whether Henry and Katherine of Aragon’s marriage was legal or not<sup>288</sup>.

By the way, if we have to consider the situation in the previous letter, in which Anne changed her attitude towards Henry’s feelings (letter 6), we understand that the situation would soon change.

### III.7.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Few errors are present if we consider the modern editions. Starting from Churchill (1714), at the real beginning of line 5, the word *case* was transcribed as *ease*. This same transcription was also found in Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823), Crapelet (1826), Halliwell Philipps (1906) and Savage (1949). However, if we analyse the manuscript we could not be sure of the correctness of our interpretation, since the initial is unclear; we opted for the initial *c* since the upper circle, characteristic of letter *e*, was not closed. As a result, in our opinion, the initial was more similar to letter *c*.

In Gunn (1823), in line 3, the verb *innagyn* was transcribed as *menggyn*.

In Halliwell Philipps (1906), in line 7, there was the addition of conjunction *that* between the pronoun *yow* and the adverb *ther*.

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<sup>287</sup> Bernard (2011): 25

<sup>288</sup> Fraser (1992): 138. The examination called *inquisitio ex officio* is reported into Brewer (1875): n. 3140.

### III.8 Letter 8



Fig. 13: The manuscript of letter 8  
© British Library, MS.Cott.Vitellius B.xii.f.4

This letter is the only letter which is not included into the Vatican collection, due to the fact that it is preserved at the British Library, under the collocation MS.Cott.Vitellius B. xii, paper no. 4. However, the letter was not written by the king. It was written by Anne Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey. Anyway, the king adjoined a postscript to it. Officially, following Brewer (1875), the letter was written on 11 June 1528. Talking about the language, it is written in Early Modern English. Unfortunately, the manuscript was not in a good state, since it was damaged by the fire in 1731; besides, only the right margin of the document was ruined, and we may reconstruct the missing words from Crapelet's edition (1826).

Anne Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey:

5 *My lorde in my moste hu(m)blest wys that my hart can th[ynk I desyre you to pardon] me that I am so bold to troubyd you w(i)t(h) my symplyd [and rude writing esteeming] ytt to prosed from her that is muche desirus to kn[ow that your grace does well as] I persave be this berar that you do the wiche [I pray god long to continue] as I am moste boude to pray for I do know the gr[eat pains and troubles that] you have taken for me bothe day and nyght [is never like to be reco(m)pensed on] my part but allonly in loveing you nest an to the [kings grace above all] creatures loveing and I do not dought but the [daily proofs of my deeds] shall manefestly declaer and aferme my wryt[ing to be true and I do] trust you do thynke the same my lord I do assure you [I do long to hear] from you som*

10 *neues of the legat for I du hope [as they come from you they] shall be very god and I am  
seur that you desyryd [it as much as I] and more and ytt waer possibel as I knolbe ytt ys  
nott [and thus remaining] in a stedefast hope I make a nend of my letter [written w(i)t(h)  
the hande] of her that is moste bounde to be*

Post-script by Henry VIII:

*the wrytter off thys letter wolde nott ecase tyll she [had causyd me likewise] to sett to my  
hande / desyryng yow thought it be short to [take it in good part] I ensure yow ther is  
nother off us but that grettly desir[eth to see yow and] ~~grettly~~ mucche more reioyse to here  
that yow have scapyd thys plague [so well trusting] the fury theroff to be passyd specyally  
5 w(i)t(h) them that ke[epeth good diet] as I trust yow doo / the nott heryng off the lege  
aryvall in [France causeth] us su(m)what to muse nott w(i)t(h)standing we trust by your  
dilyg[ence and vigilancy] (w(i)t(h) the assystence off all mighty god) shortly to be easyd  
awght [off that trouble] no more to yow att thys tyme but that I pray god send yow [as  
good health] and prosperyte as the wryters wolde / by your lovyng s[overeign and]  
10 friende*

*Henry R.*

*[your hu(m)ble servant*

*Anne Bolein]*

In all history books, it is written that Anne was responsible for the fall of Cardinal Wolsey due to the fact that she detested him since he had made an end to her love story, and to her marriage, with Henry Percy. Furthermore, as Cavendish reported, she was so offended by the cardinal's attitude that she would have avenged the injustice if she had had the means for doing it<sup>289</sup>. Besides, in a letter written by Mendoza to the Emperor on 26 October 1527, he reported the fact that Anne was present during a private meeting between the king and the cardinal. Still, Mendoza wrote about Anne's displeasure for the cardinal, which was caused by the lack of assignment of a high position to her father years before<sup>290</sup>. By the way, in this letter we do not find any hints of hate; the missive begins with Anne's apologies for her "*symplyd and rude*"

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<sup>289</sup> Cavendish (1962): 36.

<sup>290</sup> De Gayangos (1877): n. 224.

handwriting. Anne sent the letter to receive news of the cardinal's health and she attested that she loved him "*nest an to the king grace above all creatures loveing*", seeing the pains that the matter of the divorce caused him. Then, she wrote she could not wait to hear news from the legate, i.e. Cardinal Campeggio, hoping that they were positive ones. It is important to remember that when the matter of the divorce began, the two legates, who were designated by Pope Clement VII to inquire the king's matter, were Campeggio and Wolsey<sup>291</sup>. Furthermore, the king wrote with his own hand a letter to the Pope pleading him to investigate the matter in England rather than in Italy, mainly due to the fact that it was where the things happened. Still, Henry and Katherine were not common people to bear a trip to Rome, and there were also old and infirm witnesses who were indisposed for quitting the kingdom<sup>292</sup>.

In the king's postscript, we discover that Anne persevered the king on adjoining a postscript to her letter to the cardinal. He wrote they both wanted to see him, having Wolsey healed from the plague, mainly for having "*keepeth good diet*". Then, he hoped to receive some good news too, due to the fact that there was no news about the arrival of the legate in France. By the way, the journey of Cardinal Campeggio would have been a long one, due to the fact that he suffered from gout, so he delayed his arrival in England. Specifically, he arrived in Paris in the middle of September (letter 17), joining England's coast only at the beginning of October 1528.

### III.8.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Churchill (1714) in line 3, reported the Modern verb *perceive* instead of the verb *persave*; the said was modernized also by Gunn (1823)<sup>293</sup>. Still, between line 9 and 10, he omitted the adjective *som* between the pronoun *you* and *neues* (modern 'news'); the said adjective did not appear also in Crapelet (1826) and in Halliwell Philipps (1906). Another omission appeared in line 11, where he did not report *that* between *seur* (modern 'sure') and the pronoun *you*. In the said line, he also reported the particle *and* instead of *as*; the same thing appeared in Gunn (1823), although we could not know which kind of particle was right, since the manuscript was ruined by the fire.

Talking about Henry VIII's post-script, in line 3, the adjective *reioyse* was reported by Churchill (1714) as *joyous*; Gunn (1823), Crapelet (1826) and Halliwell Philipps (1906) gave the same interpretation of the word.

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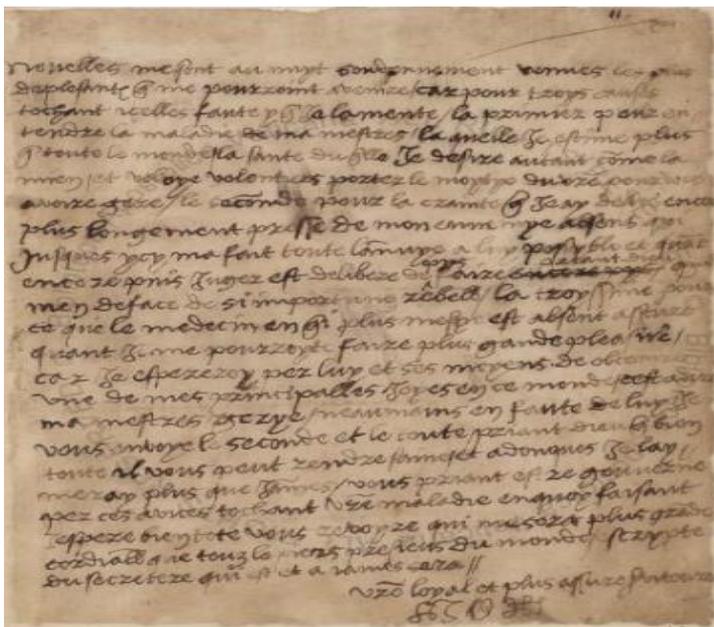
<sup>291</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4345 (*Clement VII*, written on 8 June 1528).

<sup>292</sup> De Gayangos (1879): n. 160 (*Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor*, written on 21 September 1529).

<sup>293</sup> Gunn copied the letter from the *Harleian Miscellany*, p. 164.

Halliwell Philipps (1906), in line 2, added the conjunction *that* between the pronoun *yow* and the adverb *ther*. Another *that*, which was present in our version in line 3, was omitted in the edition taken into account. A difference may also be found in the sovereign's signature: Halliwell Philipps reported it as *H.R.*, while in the manuscript the king clearly signed his name entirely. Still, in Crapelet's, the signature was reported as *H. Rex*. Still, in Crapelet (1826) and in Halliwell Philipps (1906), the signature of Anne Boleyn, preceded by the closing formula, were not present in the manuscript. However, we do not know if the formula was added by editors or if it was burned in the fire. Besides, other editors reported Anne's signature after king Henry's own, so, we decide to report the signature in the place they suggested, since no signature appeared in the manuscript immediately after Anne's letter.

### III.9 Letter 9



**Fig. 14:** The manuscript of letter 9  
 © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.3731.A., 11.

Following Brewer's categorization, the letter was written on 16 June 1528; however, this did not seem possible, as we will report at the end of letter 10, page 95. As far as the language was concerned, the king chose to write the missive in Middle French. Today, the manuscript is preserved at the Vatican Library, under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 11. As we may see, the document appeared in a good state of conservation; we may also notice the smears of the ink. It seems that the letter was written in a great hurry.

nouvelles me sont au nuyt soudennement venues les plus diplesante q(ue) me pourroint  
 avenire / car pour troys causes tochant icelles faute y q(ue) Ja lamente / la primier pour  
 en//tendre la maladie de ma mestres / la quelle Je estime plus q(ue) toute le monde / la  
 sante du q(ue)lle Je desire autant co(m)me la mien / et voloye volentiers porter le moytye  
 5 du v(ost)re pour vous avoire gere / le seco(n)nde pour la crainte q(ue) Je ay destre  
 enco[re] plus longement presse de mon ennemye absens qui jusques ycy ma fait toute  
 la(n)nuye a luy possyble et qua(n)t encore puis Juger est delibere de pys faire / ~~eneore~~  
~~pys~~ priant dieu / qui men deface de si importune rebell / la troysime pour ce que le  
 medecin en q(u)i plus mefye est absent assture quant il me pourroyte faire plus gande  
 10 pleasire / car Je espereroy per luy et ses moyens · de obtenir une de mes principalles  
 Joyes en ce monde / cest adire ma mestres gerye / neaumains en faute de luy Je vous  
 anvoye le seconde et le toute priant dieu q(ue) bien toute il vous peut rendre saine / et  
 adonques Je lay//meray plus que ja(m)mes / vous priant estre gouuerne per ces avices  
 tochant v(ost)re maladie enquoy faisant Jespere bien tote vous revoyre qui me sera plus  
 15 gra(n)de cordiall que touz le piers presieus du monde / escrypte du secretere qui est et a  
 iames sera//

v(ost)re loyal et plus assure s(er)viteure

H  R

From the letter, we discovered that Anne contracted the sweating sickness. Talking about this  
 plague in depth, the first mention of its spread in London appeared on the 17 April 1528, in the  
 letter that the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, wrote to Wolsey<sup>294</sup>. More accurate  
 hints of its diffusion may be found in the letter that Du Bellay wrote to Montmorency on 18  
 June 1528<sup>295</sup>: before Anne’s illness, one of her ladies contracted the sweat, possibly on 12 June,  
 due to the fact that in the letter he mentioned that it had happened last Tuesday, so Anne went  
 to Kent, meanwhile the king went 12 miles from London, “as yet the love was not abated”. Du  
 Bellay described the sweat as a “most perilous disease”; the first symptoms were some pains in  
 the head and in the heart, followed by sweat. Doctors appeared to be useless, and death came  
 in great pain after about 4 hours. The epidemy scared the king so much that he still moved  
 further from the plague. Besides, he also wrote his will and took the sacraments, fearing a

<sup>294</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4181.

<sup>295</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4391.

sudden death<sup>296</sup>. Furthermore, news of the king's will also appear in the letter that Tuke wrote to Wolsey on 21 June 1528, where he reported the fact that the king heard three masses per day<sup>297</sup>. The anxiety of the king regarding the possible contraction of the epidemy was evident in all letters of the period; still, on 23 June 1528, in the letter that Thomas Hennege wrote to Wolsey<sup>298</sup>, the king appeared happy with the fact that nobody was sick in the house; Henry also said to Hennege that Anne and her Father, lord Rochford contracted the sweat but they recovered.

Returning to Henry's letter to Anne, we discover that the news of Anne's illness arrived to the king during the night and that it was why he wrote in a hurry; evidently, he was worried for Anne, at the point that he would like to bear "half of her sickness to make her well". It was quite a bold choice for Henry, seeing how he was afraid to contract the disease; in a sense, we may have again the confirmation of how strong his feelings for Anne were. The second news that the king reported to his lover concerned that the *absense* of Anne continued to harass him. Then, he wrote that he sent her one physician in order to cure his mistress from the illness. By the way, he did not send to Anne her best doctor since he was not present at court at the moment. Still, he recommended her to follow his doctor's advice in order to heal due to the fact that he hoped to see her as soon as possible, and that her presence would be more "comfortable than all the jewels of the world".

The letter finished with the formula "written by the secretary who is and always will be, your loyal and most assured servant". In the sign, we notice again a heart painted between the king's initial, and in it, there were Anne's initial.

### III.9.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Churchill (1714), in line 1, substituted the preposition *au* for *en*; the said substitution was also found in Hearne (1720). Then, in line 2, *Ja* (the modern *j'ai*, which means 'I have') that we found in the manuscript, was transcribed as *je*. On both cases, the verb which followed was *lamente*; from a grammatical point of view, we do not have much difference of meaning except for the verbal form which was chosen: in the manuscript is clearly a *passé composé*, corresponding to the English present perfect, meanwhile in Churchill's edition appeared as a simple present. The said grammatical imprecision was also present in Hearne (1720). In line 5,

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<sup>296</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4440 (*Du Bellay to Montmorency*, written on 30 June 1528).

<sup>297</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4404.

<sup>298</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4408.

he reported the adjective *gere* ('managed') as *guery* ('get well'), giving its true meaning. Then, in line 6, he reported the word *ennemye* ('enemy') as adjective *ennuyeux* ('boring'). In line 9, he omitted the verb *faire* between the verb *pourroyte* and the adverb *plus* ('more'). In line 16, the adverb *jamais* ('never') was transcribed as *j'amais* (I loved), giving to the sentence a completely different meaning.

Hearne (1720), in line 2, interpreted the pronoun *y* as *il*; the same imprecision was also found in Crapelet (1826). Then, in line 12, the adjective *toute* ('all') was reported as *tot* ('early'). Meanwhile in line 13, the noun *avices* ('news') as *avises* ('opinions').

Gunn (1823), in line 4, omitted words "*du q(ue)lle*" between the word *sante* ('health') and the pronoun *Je*. Still, in line 6, he reported the word *ennemye* as *enneueye*, although we do not know what was the meaning that Gunn attributed to the said word. Probably, it meant *ennui* ('boredom').

As far as concerned the editions of Crapelet (1826) and Savage (1949), they did not present any kind of significant mistake.

### III.10 Letter 10

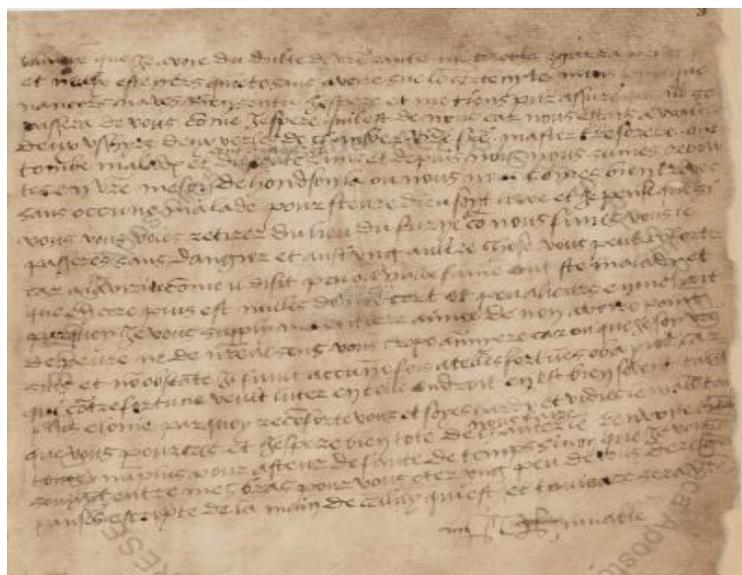


Fig. 15: The manuscript of letter 10  
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Following Brewer (1875), the letter was written around 20 June 1528. Today, the letter is part of the collection preserved at the Vatican Library, Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 3. Even at this time, the choice of the language fell again on Middle French. The manuscript appeared in good state

of conservation, even if it presented some ink spots and it is a little ruined in the right margin, facts that impede us to decode some words.

*la(n)nuyere que Je avuyere du dubte de v(ost)re sante mi trobla egarra per[?] et neulx este  
gers quiete sans avoir sue le certenyte miais puis que nancors naves Rien sentu Jespere  
et me tiens pur assure que ill se passera de vous co(m)me Jespere quil est de nous car  
nous estans a Wulthe deux usshyrs · deux verles de chamber · v(ost)re fr(er)e · master  
5 tresorere · ont tombe malade et sont dasteure du toute sains et depuis nous nous sumes  
rebou//tes en v(ost)re meson de hondson la ou nous nous somes bien troves sans occune  
malade pour steure dieu soyt loive et Je pense que si vous vous voles retirer du lieu du  
furye co(m) nous fimes vous le passeres sans dangier et ausi ung aultre chose · vous peut  
co(m)forter car a la virite co(m)me il disit peu ouu nulle fame ont ste malady et que en  
10 core plus est nulles de n(ost)re cort et peu alieurs en meurit parquoy · Je vous supply ma  
entiere aimee de non avoir point de peure ne de n(ost)re absens vous trope a(n)nuyere  
car ou que Je soy v(ost)re suis et no(n) obsta(n)te Il fault accu(n)ne fois atelles fortu(n)es  
obayire car qui co(n)tre fortune veult luter en telle endroit en est bien sovent tant plus  
elonie parquoy reco(m)forte vous et soyes hardy vidies le mall tan[t] que vous pourires  
15 et Jespere bien tote de nous faire chanter le renvoye ~~bien toute~~ / nu(n)plus pour asteur de  
faute de temps sinon que Je vous souhait entre mes bras pour vous oter ung peu de vous  
deresona[ble] panses · escripte de la main de celluy qui est / et touiours sera v(ost)re*

*im HR muable*

From the letter, we discover that Anne was not with the sovereign, so the king wrote to her in order to have some news about her health; besides, he suggested her to go away from the place where she was, since the sweat sickness infected numerous people in there. He was very worried since in Walton, the place in where he had stayed for some days, some suitors fell ill, among them George Boleyn, who also contracted the sweat sickness. Fortunately, at the time he wrote the letter, the court moved to Hunsdon and all were well recovered. The news of his settlement in Hunsdon House was reported on 21 June, in the letter that Tuke wrote to Wolsey<sup>299</sup>, in which he also reported that the king thought about staying there only 10-12 days.

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<sup>299</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4404.

Continuing the letter's analysis, he also reported to her the news that no women nor persons of the court died of the plague. For this reason, he recommended Anne not to be scared or in agony for his absence; and that is why "*ou que Je soy v(ost)re suis*" (everywhere I am, I am yours). Still, he suggested her to avoid the plague, hoping to make her sing "*le renvoye*" (la renvoyé). At the end of the letter, he said that he wished her to be in his arms in order to erase all her unreasonable thoughts, so we may hypothesize that the missive which Anne previously wrote to Henry was full of negative or catastrophic thoughts, mainly due to the plague that claimed thousands of victims.

The letter ended with the formula "written by the hand of him, who is and always will be yours", and then the sign "HR" preceded by the prefix *im-* and followed by *-muable*. Obviously, the sign suggested that Henry's feelings had not changed; indeed, they were "immutable".

After having read and analysed the letter, we thought that letter 10 was written before letter 9. Numerous hints helped us to hypothesize it: first of all, the king wrote that Anne and her father did not contract the sweat yet, meanwhile we discovered in letter 9 that they fell ill. As the correspondence previously mentioned in letter 9 attested, King Henry settled in Hunsdon, and it was only in the letter that Thos. Hennege wrote to Wolsey on 23 June that the illness of Anne and her father was mentioned. After this consideration, we may hypothesize that this letter could be written on 20 June, but that letter 9 was written on 21 or 22 June 1528, considering that the danger for Anne's health ran out.

### III.10.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Comparing the manuscript with the modern editions, we find some discrepancies.

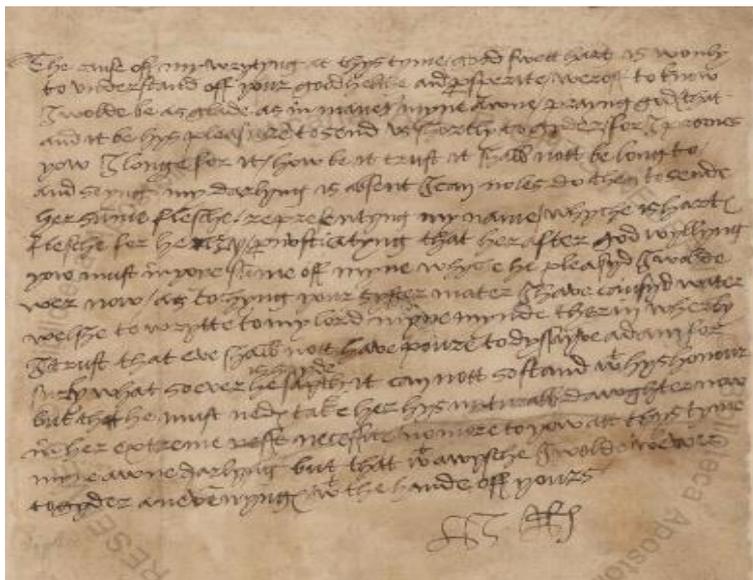
Churchill (1714), in line 1, added a conjunction *et* between the adjectives *trobla* ('troubled') and *egarra* ('shocked'); the said addition was also attested in Gunn (1823) and Crapelet (1826). Still, in the same line, he interpreted the adverb *beaucoup*, instead of *per[?]*. Making a comparison with other editions, Hearne (1720) gave the same version of Churchill, Gunn (1823) wrote it as *peucup*, Crapelet interpreted it as adverb *trop* and Savage (1949) wrote *peucoup*. As a result, the first three letters were well legible in the manuscript, although we could not decode the rest of the word since the manuscript was ruined.

Returning to focus our attention on Churchill (1714), in line 1, he made another mistake: he interpreted the word *neulx* (the ancient *nulle*, 'nothing') with *n'eusse* (the negative particle + imperfect subjunctive of the verb to have); the said version was also present in Hearne (1720).

Then, in line 3, he omitted the phrase “*et me tiens pur assure que ill se passera de vous co(m)me Jespere*”. However, the *co(m)me* inserted in the same clause was postponed between the verb *est* (‘is’) and *de nous* (‘of us’). In line 8, he transcribed the word *furye* (‘furye’) as *Surye* (‘the Surrey’); the said bad interpretation was also present in all the other editions, although after our analysis of the manuscript, we opted for the interpretation of the initial letter as an *f*. In fact, Hever was in the Shire country of Kent, instead of in Surrey. As a matter of fact, “*lieu du furye*” (‘place of fury’) was referred to a place knocked down by an epidemic. In line 9, he reported the verb *visit* (unknown meaning) instead of the verb *disit* (‘say’). In line 13, he omitted the preposition *en* between the word *endroit* (‘place’) and the verb *est*. In line 14, he added the conjunction *et* between words *hardy* (‘bold’) and *vidies* (‘to avoid’); the said addition was also present in Hearne (1720) and Gunn (1823). In line 15, the pronoun *nous* (first person plural) was interpreted as *vous* (second person plural or courtesy pronoun); the said bad interpretation was also present in Hearne (1720) and Gunn (1823). Another little imprecision may be found at line 16, where the partitive pronoun *de*, which followed the noun *faute* (‘lack’), was interpreted as *du*; this interpretation was also shared by Hearne (1720). Churchill’s last mistake can be found directly in the signature of the sovereign, i.e. he interpreted the words which were at the sides of the signature, as *ma* (‘my’) and *aimable* (‘lovable’). However, in the manuscript they were written as *im* and *muable*, which formed the modern English adjective ‘immutable’; the said error was also present in Hearne (1720).

Despite the mistakes just mentioned, Hearne (1720), in line 3, badly transcribed the verb *tiens* (‘to consider’) as *biens* (‘good’). Then, in line 13, he omitted the verb *est* (‘is’) between words *en* and *bien*.

### III.11 Letter 11



**Fig. 16:** The manuscript of letter 11  
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This letter was probably written around 22 June 1528. Talking about its preservation, it is conserved at the Vatican Library, under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 8. Overall, the manuscript appeared in good state of conservation, even if it seems to present a cut in middle of the paper, which was promptly repaired. Regarding the choice of the language, we notice that the king opted for Early Modern English.

*The cause off my wrytyng at thys tyme (good swett hart) is wonly to understand off your good helthe and p(ro)sperite / weroff to know I wolde be as glade as in maner myne Awne / prayng god (that and it be hys pleasure) to send us shortly to gyder / for I promes yow I longe for it / how be it trust it shall nott be long to / and seyng my darlyng is absent I can no les do then to sende her su(m)me flesche / representyng my name / whyche is harte flesche for henry / p(ro)nostiatyng that her after god wylllyng yow must inyoye su(m)me off myne whiche he pleasyd I wolde wer now / as tochyng your syster mater I have causyd water welshe to wrytte to my lord myne mynde therin wherby I trust that eve shall nott have poure to dyssayve adam / for surly what so ever ~~he sayth~~ is sayde it can nott so stand w(i)t(h) hys honour but that he must nedy take her hys naturall dawghter now in her extreme nesse necessite / no more to yow at thys tyme myne awne darlyng but that w(i)t(h) awysche · I wolde we wer togyder aneve(n)nyng / w(i)t(h) the hande off yours /*

*H.R.*

This is another letter written with the premise of knowing how Anne's health was. He remarked also the fact that Anne was absent from court, even if he hoped to see her soon. In order not to be absent from Anne, he decided to send her some hart flesh representing his name. In doing so, he hoped that she would have tasted his flesh soon. The parallelism between the animal flesh and Henry himself is a *pun* which was conventional in English Renaissance; the linguistic assonance between 'dear' and 'dare' and 'hart' and 'heart' seem to corroborate this pun.

Then, he talked about her "*syster mater*", Mary Boleyn. He said that he charged Walter Welshe to write to Anne and Mary's father, i.e. Thomas Boleyn (Lord Rochford), simply "*my lord*" in the letter, in order to take care of his daughter Mary. In fact, during the plague of the sweating sickness, Mary became a widow, since her husband William Carey was one of the thousand victims. We may find the news of Mr. Carey's death in the letter that Brian Tuke wrote to Wolsey on 23 June 1528<sup>300</sup>.

The letter ended with Henry's wish to spend an evening together. The erotic reference is explicit throughout the entire letter: it was clear that Henry wanted Anne with all his body, and he hoped to have her as soon as possible. The fact that Anne ate the flesh that he had sent her might be a pleasure for Henry, but also a solace for not having his mistress at court. It might also be a way to create a link between them, to the detriment of their physical distance. Still, the metaphoric relation between the flesh of the hart and that of Henry may recall again Eucharist, but also the fact of being prey for the love that he felt for Anne.

### III.11.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Making a comparison with the modern editions, no relevant errors were present in Churchill (1714). However, in line 7, we notice the addition of *if* between words *which* and *he*; the said error was also present in Hearne (1720).

Hearne (1720) omitted the pronoun *it* in line 9, between words *sayde* and *can*. Another omission may be found in line 10, where the pronoun *her* was missing between words *take* and *hys*. In the next line, he transcribed the pronoun *myne* as *my*.

Gunn (1823), in line 8, interpreted badly the noun *eve*, reporting it as pronoun *we*. Then, in lines 11-12, he omitted the conjunction *w(i)t(h)* and interpreted the word *awysche* as *a wyle*.

In Crapelet (1826), we may notice the lack of the parenthesis between the words *good swett hart* in line 1.

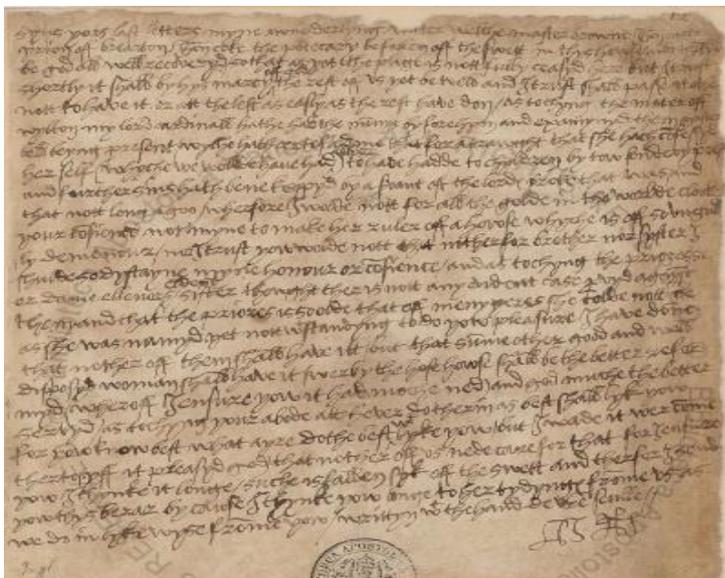
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<sup>300</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4409.

Halliwell Philipps (1906), in line 3, postponed the parenthesis after the particle *that*. Then, in line 5, there was the postposition of *do*, placing it between words *less* and *than*. Meanwhile, in line 6, he transcribed the modal *may* instead of *must*. In line 9, the noun *poure* was transcribed as *power*; the same fact may be found in the editions of Churchill (1714) and Hearne (1720). Still, in line 10, the adjective *nedy* was transcribed as the verb *needs*.

Savage (1949), in line 4, transcribed the particle *to* as *so*. Then, in line 8, he added the pronoun *own* between the pronoun *myne* and the noun *mynde*. Finally, in line 12, he wrote the conjunction *otherwise* instead of the word *awysche*.

### III.12 Letter 12



**Fig. 17:** The manuscript of letter 12  
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.3731.A., 12.

According to Brewer (1875), this letter was written around 6 July 1528. The letter is preserved at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 12. The original manuscript is in good state of conservation, even if it is ruined at the upper and in the right margin. Talking about the language, the king opted for an Early Modern English letter.

*syns yors last letters myne Awne derlyng · water welche · master browne · Jhon care · yrion off brearton · Jhon coke · the potecary · be fallen off the swett in thys howse / and tha(n)ky[d] be god all well recoveryd / so that as yet the plague is nott fully ceasyd here but I trust shortly it shall by hys marcy off god the rest off us yet be well and I trust shall*

5

*passe it othe[r] nott to have it · or att the lest as easily as the rest have don / as tochyng*

10 *the mater off wylton my lord cardinall hathe had the nu(m)mys by forehym and examynyd  
them master bell beyng present / wyche hath certefied me that for a trawght that she hath  
co(n)fessyd her self (whyche we wollde have had abbesse) to have hadde to chyldren by  
tow fondery pre[sts] and further sins hath bene keppyd by a s(er)vant off the lorde broke  
15 that was / and that nott long agoo / wherfore I wolde nott for all the golde in the worlde  
clooke your co(n)sience nor myne to make her ruler off a howse whyche is off so ungod//ly  
demenour / nor I trust yow wolde nott that nither for brother nor syster I shulde so  
dystayne myne honour or co(n)sience / and as tochyng the prioresse or dame ellenors  
eldest sister thought ther is nott any evident case p(ro)v(y)dyd agay(n)st them · and that the  
20 priores is so olde that off meny yeres she colde nott be as she was namyd · yet nott  
w(i)t(h)standyng to do yow pleasure I have do(n)ne that nother off them shall have itt /  
but that su(m)me other good and well disposyd woman shall have it / werby the ~~hose~~  
howse shall be the better refor//myd (wheroff I ensure yow it hatt moche ned) and god  
muche the better servyd / as tochyng your abode att hever do therin as best shall lyk yow  
25 for yow know best what ayre dothe best w(i)t(h) lyke yow / but I wolde it wer co(m)me  
therto (yff it pleasyd god) that nother off us nede care for that for I ensure yow I thynke it  
longe / suche is fallen syk off the swett and therfor I send yow thys berar by cause I thynke  
yow longe to her tydyng fro(m)me us as we do in lyke wyse fro(m)me yow / writtyn  
w(i)t(h) the hand de v(ost)re seulle //*

H.R.

This letter seemed a report of what happened at court. At first, he started by mentioning all suitors who fell ill of the sweat sickness; as a result, among the names, we find also that of Walter Welshe mentioned in the previous letter (letter 11). Fortunately, at that time all were cured. Then, the king reported news about “the matter of Wilton”; specifically, it was a ‘matter’ which began on 24 April 1528, the day of the death of Cecily Willoughby, the old Abbess of Wilton. In order to replace her, and to make an end to the numerous scandals associated with the convent, Wolsey opted for the Prioress Isabel Jourdain, who was a good and discreet nun of the convent. By the way, William Carey, who was the husband of Mary, Anne Boleyn’s sister, proposed the election of Eleanor Carey (his own sister) to replace the defunct Abbess. The king seriously thought about his request, but as emerged by the letter, Eleanor was not a perfect candidate, due to the fact that “*she hath co(n)fessyd her self [...]to have hadde to chyldren by tow fondery pre[sts] and further sins hath bene keppyd by a s(er)vant off the lorde*

*broke*". As a result, Henry did not honour her with the title of Abbess<sup>301</sup>. Furthermore, he also declared that neither the candidate of Wolsey was fit for the new title, mainly due to Anne's pleasure; in this way, the king opted for "*su(m)me other good and well disposyd woman*". By the way, the dispute between Anne and the cardinal did not end at that moment: Wolsey insisted on the designation of Isabel Jourdain over the king's disapproval. Even if Anne felt offended, the decision was made with great pleasure of the cardinal.

Anyway, Anne was still in Hever, and the king sent her another bearer since Suche fell ill.

The letter ended with the formula "written with the hand of *votre seul*". In this case, the recourse of the French expression is a romantic sign.

### III.12.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

There was hesitation in the transcription of the names present in the first two lines: Hearne (1720) reported the surname of Jhon Coke as *cork*, and so did Crapelet (1826). In Gunn (1823) and Halliwell Philipps (1906), the name of Care (*Jhon*) became *Thos*.

Churchill (1714), in line 4, interpreted badly the pronoun *hys*, reporting it as definite article *the*; the said misinterpretation was present in Hearne (1720), Crapelet (1826) and Halliwell Philipps (1906). In line 5, he reported the word *othe[r]* as *either*; the said version was shared by Hearne (1720), Crapelet (1826) and Halliwell Philipps (1906). In line 9, the adjective *fondery* was interpreted as *sundry*; the said bad-report was also present in Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823), Crapelet (1826), Halliwell Philipps (1906) and Savage (1949).

Hearne (1720) and Crapelet (1826), in line 19, omitted the pronoun *your* between the verb *tochyng* and the noun *abode*.

Gunn (1823), in line 2, reported the word *yrion* as *prior*. Then, in line 8, he did not put the parenthesis among the words "*whyche we wollde have had abbesse*". Other parenthesis was missed in line 18, among words "*wheroff I ensure yow it hatt moche ned*", and in line 21, among words "*yff it pleasyd god*".

Halliwell Philipps (1906), in line 2, added a conjunction *and* between *brearton* and *coke*. Then, in line 15, he placed the preposition *for* instead of the preposition *off* between words *that* and *meny*.

Savage (1949), in line 5, reported the conjunction *or* instead of *othe[r]*. Then, in line 18, he did not report the parenthesis among words "*wheroff I ensure yow it hatt moche ned*".

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<sup>301</sup> Fraser (1992): 146

### III.13 Letter 13

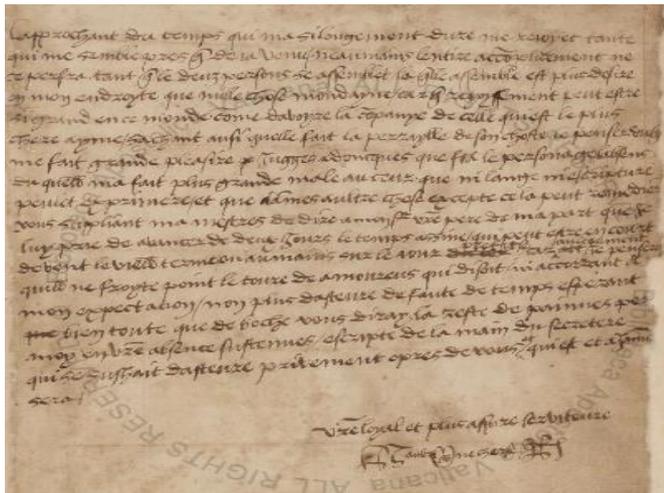


Fig. 18: The manuscript of letter 13  
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.3731.A., 10.

This letter is preserved at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 10. It was written in Middle French, on 20 July 1528. Today, the manuscript is in good state of conservation, even if it is a little ruined in the right margin.

5 *approchant du temps qui ma si longement dure me reioyet tante qui me semble presq(ue)  
 de ia venu / neaumains lentire acco(m)plicement ne ce perfra · tant q(ue) le deuz persons  
 se assemblet / la q(ue)lle assemble est plus desire en mon endroyte que mille chose  
 mondayne / car q(ue) reyoyssement peut estre si grand en ce monde · co(m)mme davoyre  
 la co(m)panye de celle qui est le plus chere ayme / sachant ausi quelle fait la perraylle  
 de son choste / le penser duq(uel) me fait grande pleasire ꝑ Jugges adoncques que fra le  
 escripture peulet exprimere / et que ia(m)mes aultre chose excepte ce la peut remedier  
 10 vous suppliant ma mestres de dire amon s(i)r v(ost)re pere de ma part que Je luy prie de  
 avancer de deux Jours le temps assine / qui peut estre en court devient le viell terme / ou  
 aumains sur le iour ~~du ter~~ preficse / car ~~alt~~ aultrement Je pensera[y] quill ne froyte point  
 le toure de amoureux qui disoit / ni accordant A mon expectation / non plus dasteure de  
 faute de temps esperant ~~que~~ bien toute que de boche vous diray la reste de painnes per  
 moy en v(ost)re absence sustenues / escripte de la main du secretere  
 15 dasteure privement opres de vous et qui est et aJa(m)me[s] sera /*

*v(ost)re loyal et plus assure serviteure*

H aultre  ne cherse R

In this letter, we find a joyful Henry, and this was due to the fact that the two lovers would have to meet soon. By the way, his joy was not fully satisfied until they would meet; in addition to it, he wrote that it was the thing he desired the most. From the letter, we discover that his feelings were returned by Anne. The absence of Anne had been so painful that words, orally said or written, could not explain. Her absence devastated Henry's heart and nobody or nothing could sanate it, except the presence of his lover.

The letter continued with the king's expectation of having Anne's father to court in two days before the prefixed term or, if he could not do this, that he would be at least on time. Then, he said he would give her news of his suffering when they would have met. The letter ended with the words "written by the hand of the secretary who wishes to be with you privately and who is and always will be your loyal and most assured servant". At the end of the letter, the sign presented in letter 5 reappeared.

Actually, this letter only gives us details of how strong might be Henry's feelings for Anne and how painful her absence from court might be. No news about historical facts was present.

### III.13.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Churchill (1714), in line 1, added a pronoun *il* between pronouns *qui* and *me*. In line 3, he transcribed the word *mille* ('a thousand') as *nulle* ('nothing'); the said interpretation was also given by Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823) and Crapelet (1826). However, if we pay attention to the manuscript, both words could be interpreted. As a result, we opted for the transcription of *mille* since on the letter that we interpreted as an "i", there was a little spot which seemed to us the distinctive dot of letter *i*. Anyway, Savage (1949) confirmed our own interpretation. Then, in line 15, he added the pronoun *qui* between the conjunction *et* and *aJa(m)me[s]* (Modern *à jamais*, 'ever').

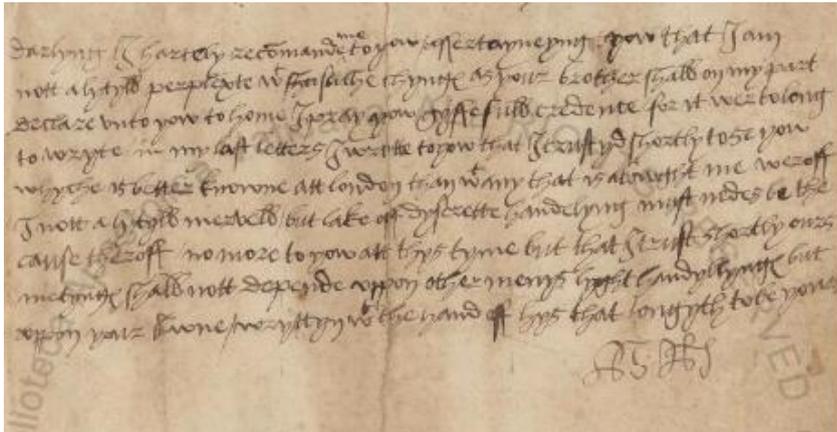
Hearne (1720), in line 12, bad translated the noun *amoureux* ('lovers') as *ancourens*.

Gunn (1823), in line 1, added the definite article *l'* before the noun *approchant* ('the approach'); the same addition was also present in Savage (1949). Then, in line 5, reported the word *amie* ('friend') instead of *ayme* (*aimée*, 'loved').

Crapelet (1826), in line 6, reported the word *penser* ('to think') as *pensez* ('you think'), followed by the word *d'uls* instead of pronoun *duq(uel)*.

Savage (1949), in line 8, omitted the word *chose* ('thing') between *aultre* ('other') and *excepte*.

### III.14 Letter 14



**Fig. 19:** The manuscript of letter 14  
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.3731.A., 14.

According to Brewer (1875), This letter was written on 21 July 1528. The manuscript is preserved at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 14. Today, it is in a good state of conservation even if it is a little ruined on the left margin. The language which the king chose to write this missive was Early Modern English.

5 *darlyng I hartely reco(m)mande me to yow / assertayneyng yow that I am nott alytyll  
perpleخته w(i)t(h) ~~shu~~ suche thyng as your brother shall on my part declare unto yow / to  
home I pray yow gyffe full credence / for it wer to long to wryte / in my last letters I wrotte  
to yow that I trustyd shortly to se yow whyche is better knowne att london than w(i)t(h) any  
that is abowght me weroff I nott a lytyll mervell / but lake off dyscrette handelyng must  
nedes be the cause theroff / no more to yow att thys tyme but that I trust shortly ours  
metyng shall nott depende uppou other menys lyght handyllyng but uppou your Awne /  
wrytyn w(i)t(h) the hand off hys that longyth to be yours*

*H.R.*

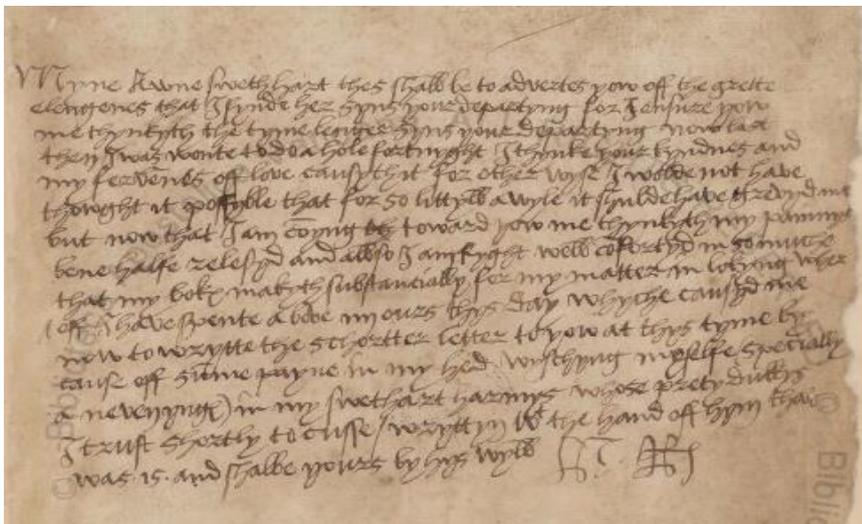
In the letter, the king recommended Anne to believe some things her brother reported to her. Henry was perplexed, and he decided not to personally write the news due to the fact that it was too long to explain. Unfortunately, we cannot know what the news was, since there were no hints in the letter. He recalled to the last letters he wrote to her, mentioning the fact that his hope of seeing her soon was most known throughout London than at court. Probably, it was a reference to all the gossips circulating throughout the city. In this view, the reference to a “lake

*off dyscrette handelyng*”, seems to refer to some news which has circulated from an error in the handling of some documents. Therefore, we may hypothesize that the king referred to the letters he previously wrote to Anne. Regarding this point, it is important to remember that the letters were found in Rome, where they remain till now. By the way, the king hoped that their meeting would happen due to her own behaviour instead of other men’s own. The letter ended with an anxious Henry, who “*longyth to be yours*”.

### III.14.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

No particular mistakes could be recorded if we compare the manuscripts with the modern editions. We may only find little imprecision in the verb tenses, i.e. the verb *wrotte* (line 3) was transcribed by Churchill (1714), Hearne (1720) and Halliwell Philipps (1906) as *writ*, meanwhile in Crapelet’s (1826) reported it as *wrytte*. As a result, the editors opted for a simple present tense, while the original sentence was written using the simple past. Savage (1949), in line 7, wrote pronoun *our* instead of *your*.

### III.15 Letter 15



**Fig. 20:** The manuscript of letter 15  
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.3731.A., 15.

Letter 15 must have been written at the beginning of August 1528. The manuscript is preserved at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 15. It appears to be in a good state of conservation, except for the right margin which is a little ruined. The language that the king chose was Early Modern English.

Myne Awne sweth hart thes shall be to adverts yow off the grette elengenes that I fynde  
her syns your departyng for I ensure yow me thynkyth the tyme lenger syns your departyng  
now last then / I was wonte to do a hole fortnyght I thynke your kyndnes and my ferve(n)nes  
off love causyth it for other wyse I wolde not have thowght it possyble that for so littyll a  
5 wyle it shulde have grevyd me but now that I am co(m)yng ~~th~~ toward yow me thynkyth my  
painnys bene halfe relesyd and all so I am ryght well co(m)fortyd in so mucche that my  
boke makyth substancially for my matter in lokyng wher//off I have spente a bove iiij ours  
thys day whyche causyd me now to wrytte the schortter letter to yow at thys tyme by cause  
off su(m)me payne in my hed wyschyng myselfe (specially a nevenyng) in my swethart  
10 harmys whose prety dukkys I trust shortly to cusse / wryttyn w(i)t(h) the hand off hym that  
was · is · and shalbe yours by hys wyll

H.R.

From the letter, we know that after a period, Anne moved from court. The letter must have been written shortly after Anne's departure, but Henry wrote that it seemed like a fortnight had passed. As a result, Henry started the letter reporting to her that he felt a great "elengenes", i.e. an old word for referring to loneliness and misery. Still, he related his great loneliness to the kindness of his mistress and to his fervour. His pains were only soothed when he thought that he was going to visit Anne. Another source of the king's comfort was the "boke" which was written, specifically *A Glasse of the Truthe*, one of the books that the Sovereign wrote to serve his case about the divorce with Catherine of Aragon<sup>302</sup>. Continuing our reading of the letter, we discover that the previously mentioned book caused him a headache that day, due to the fact that he had spent four hours working on it. As a result, his work represented both the justification for the letter's brevity and the headache.

The letter ended with the wish of being into his lover's arm, especially on an evening, for shortly kissing her *prety dukkys*, i.e. her breasts. Curiously, in November 2016, BBC was banished from filming this specific letter for a new series on Henry's wives, due to the fact of its "risque content"<sup>303</sup>. Then, the formula "written by the hand of him that was, is, and shall be yours by his will".

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<sup>302</sup> Fraser (1992): 147

<sup>303</sup> Furness (2016).

### III.15.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

No significant differences emerged if we take into account the modern editions of the letter. However, Churchill (1714), in line 7, wrote the verb *writing* instead of the verb *lokyng*; the same bad-interpretation was also present in Savage (1949). In line 8, he omitted the preposition *to* between the adverb *now* and the verb *wrytte*.

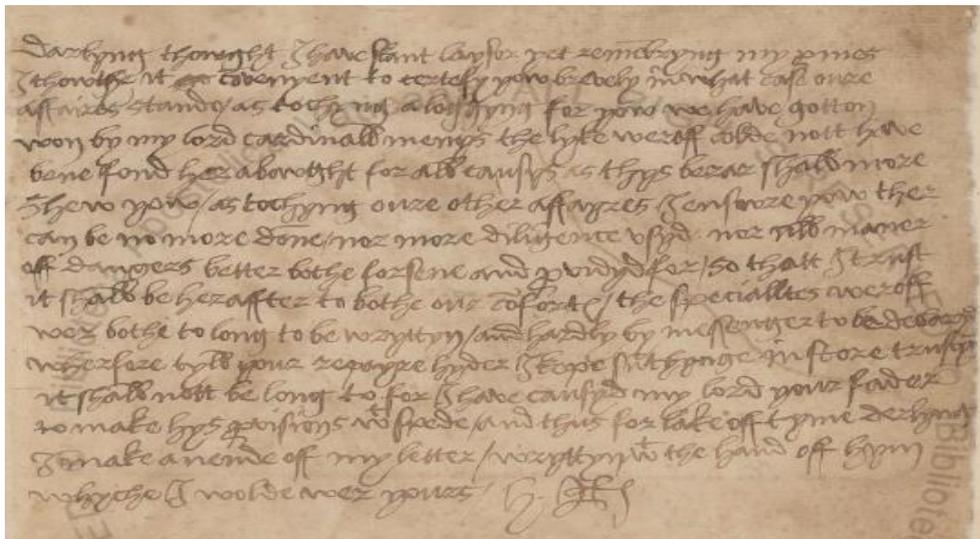
Gunn (1823), in line 7, interpreted the verb *lokyng* as *tokyng*. Then, in line 10, he reported the word *dukkys* as *dubbys*.

Crapelet (1826) reported two little imprecisions in the translation of two words; the first could be found in line 1, where he transcribed the verb *fynde* as *synde*. The second, in line 6, where he transcribed the adjective *ryght* as the verb *fyght*.

Halliwell Philipps (1906), in line 6, transcribed the verb *relesyd* as *removed*.

Savage (1949), in line 2, transcribed the verb *assure* instead of the verb *ensure*.

### III.16 Letter 16



**Fig. 21:** The manuscript of letter 16  
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.3731.A., 7.

According to Brewer (1875), this letter was written on 20 August 1528. Today, the manuscript is preserved at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 7. It is in a good state of conservation despite it is a little ruined in both left and right margins; still, we may see that the paper was repaired after a cut appeared. In the same leaf, it is also present the manuscript of letter 2. Talking about the language, Henry chose Early Modern English to write this missive.

darlyng thought I have skant laysor yet reme(m)bryng my p(ro)mes I thowghe it go  
co(n)venyent to certefy yow brevely in what case oure affaires stande / as tochyng a  
logging for yow we have gotton ioon by my lord cardinall menys the lyke weroff colde  
nott have bene fond her abowght for all causys as thys berar shall more shew yow / as  
5 tochyng oure other affayres · I enswre yow ther can be no more do(n)ne / nor more  
diligence usyd / nor all maner off dangers better bothe forsene and p(ro)vidyd for / so  
thatt I trust it shall be heraffter to bothe our co(m)forte / the specialltes weroff wer bothe  
to long to be wryttyn / and hardly by messenger to be declaryd wherfore tyll your repayre  
hyder I kepe su(m)thyng in store trusty(n)[g] it shall nott be long to · for I have causyd  
10 my lord your fader to make hys p(ro)visions w(i)t(h) spede / and thus for lake off tyme  
derlyng I make a nende off my letter / wryttyn w(i)t(h) the hand off hym whyche I wolde  
wer yours/

H.R.

Despite his lack of time, the king wrote to Anne in order to inform her how their matter proceeded. In doing so, he wrote to Anne that he and Cardinal Wolsey found a beautiful lodging for her. The reason may lay in the fact that the cardinal sent by the Pope was yet to come to London in order to examine the king's matter. Then, he informed Anne that their matter was treated with all the possible diligence, so he hoped from that moment all would go well; still, the details were too long to write or to be reported by a bearer, so he hoped to tell them directly to Anne when she would come to court. The mistrust of Henry to bearers let us think that the "lack of *dyscrette handelyng*", mentioned in letter 14, probably referred to a bearer who gave some letters of the king to wrong hands. Still, a letter written by Du Bellay to Montmorency on 20 August 1528, gave us news about the fact that Anne had returned to court; he also mentioned some intercepted letters that Montmorency sent him<sup>304</sup>. After this other reference, we may hypothesize again that some of the king's letters addressed to Anne had been intercepted. Anne's father was also mentioned in the letter, with the king's hope that he would do his job with speed.

The letter ended with the formula "written with the hand of him which I would were yours".

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<sup>304</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4649.

### III.16.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Churchill (1714), in line 3, transcribed the word *ioon* as *wone*; the said interpretation was also found in Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823) and Crapelet (1826). On the other hand, Halliwell Philipps (1906) interpreted it as *one*.

Gunn (1823), in line 4, added a pronoun *I* between words *berar* and *shall*. In line 9, he reported the adverb *su(m)* as *that*. Then, in line 10, he interpreted the word *lake* ('lack') as *sake*. In line 11, translated words *dear heart* instead of *derlying*; the said bad interpretation was also found in Savage (1949). Then, in line 12, he reported the word *wer* as *ever*.

Crapelet (1826), in line 2, reported the word *tochyng* as *to thyng*. Then, in line 3, he reported the word *menys* as *mengs*. In line 4, he reported the word *abowght* as *a boroght*. Finally, in line 9, he reported the adverb *su(m)* ('some') as *suin*. Crapelet's mistakes, in letters written in Early Modern English, may be as the result of an inadequate English knowledge.

Halliwell Philipps (1906), in line 8, wrote the possessive pronoun *your* as the personal pronoun *you*.

### III.17 Letter 17

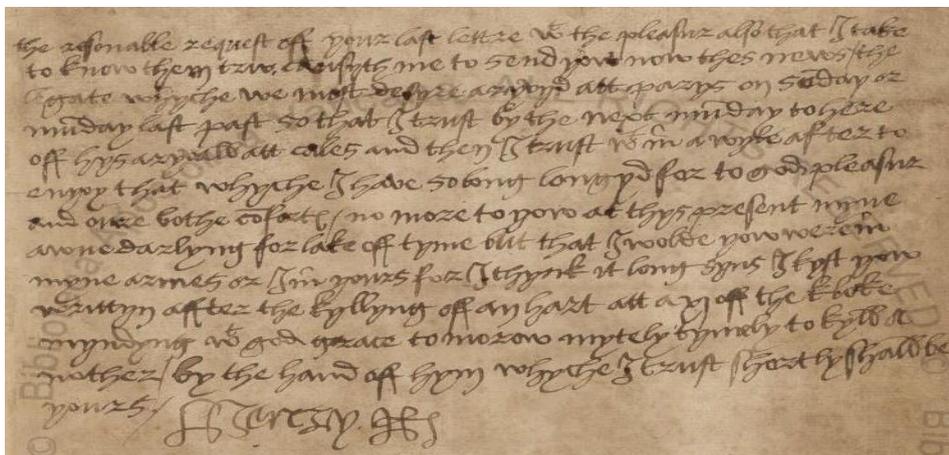


Fig. 22: The manuscript of letter 17.

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Following the chronological order given by J.S. Brewer (1875), we may set the writing of this letter around the middle of September 1528, due to the fact that the letter contains the news of the arrival in Paris of Cardinal Campeggio. Following our source, we know that the legate

arrived in Paris on 14 September 1528<sup>305</sup>, and then he arrived in London on 7 October<sup>306</sup>. As all the other letters, it is preserved in the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.pt.A., paper no. 6. As we may see from the photograph above, the manuscript is in good state and it was written in Early Modern English.

5 *the resonable request off your last lettre w(i)t(h) the pleasur also that I take to know them  
trw · causyth me to send yow now thes news / the legate whyche we most desyre · aryvyd  
att parys on so(n)day or mu(n)day last past so that I trust by the next mu(n)day to here  
off hys aryvall att cales and then I trust w(i)t(h) in a wyle after to enjoy that whyche I  
thys present myne awne darlyng for lake off tyme but that I wolde you were in myne  
armes or I in yours for I think it long syns I kyst yow  
writtyn affter the kyllyng off an hart att xj off the kloke mynding w(i)t(h) god grace  
tomorow mytely tymely to kyll A nother / by the hand off hym whyche I trust shortly shall  
10 be yours-/*

*Henry R.*

The letter must have been written after Anne's request of news in her previous letter to Henry. As we have anticipated above, the missive reported the news of Cardinal Campeggio's arrival: at the moment of the writing, he was in Paris, so in a week he would have arrived in Calais. From the king's own words, we find that he really thought that the arrival of the legate would have put an end to his marriage with Katherine of Aragon: he really believed that so strongly that the news was also reported in some missives of the Spanish Ambassador Mendoza; through his letters, he attested that Henry was so timorous that Campeggio, at his arrival in England, may have thought that the divorce was only a pretext for marrying Anne Boleyn that, in order to prevent his bad thoughts, he decided to send Anne to Hever, so the cardinal would not find her at court<sup>307</sup>. Furthermore, in a letter addressed to the Emperor on 18 September 1528, Mendoza reported that the idea of not reaching his aim was the most annoying thing for Henry;

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<sup>305</sup> Halliwell Philipps (1906): 57

<sup>306</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4857 (*Campeggio to Salviati*, written on 17 October 1528). He wrote that he reached the suburb of London on 7 October and that he spent the night at the Duke of Suffolk's house. His official entry at court was fixed to the next day but he was so indisposed that he could not travel. After two days, he reached Bath House, his assigned lodgings, but he would remain in bed due to a great pain, mainly due to the journey;

<sup>307</sup> De Gayangos (1877): n. 541 (*Don Iñigo de Mendoza, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the Archduchess Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands*, written on 8 September 1528).

in fact, the king believed that his marriage with Anne was a certainty, and preparations for the ceremony had just started<sup>308</sup>.

The news of Campeggio's arrival was the former news contained in the letter, so, for lack of time he concluded his letter. In addition, before doing it, he said that he would like to hug Anne or be in Anne's arms, since it had been a while since he had kissed her. Those romantic phrases clash with the following lines, in which Henry appeared as a killer, due to the fact that he reported his writing at eleven o' clock, after the killing of a hart. Still, he expressed the hope of killing another animal in a short time.

In conclusion, the letter ended with the formula "*written [...] by the hand of him which I trust shortly shall be yours*".

### III.17.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Churchill (1714), in line 2, omitted the word *trw* between words *them* and *causyth*.

Considering the edition provided by Hearne (1720), we may say that the only difference we may find was a word order exchange. That is to say, in line 1, the manuscript's sentence "*the pleasur also that I take*", was interpreted as "*the pleasure I also take*". Specifically, we notice the early apparition of the pronoun *I* and the omission of the conjunction *that*.

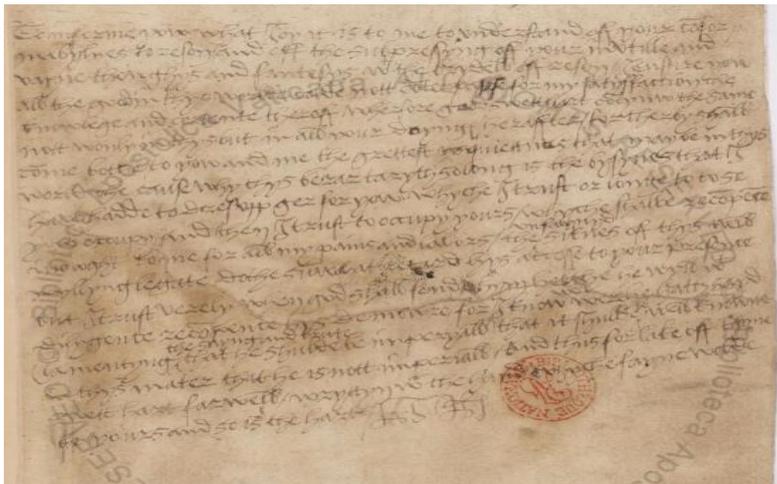
Gunn (1823), in line 5, omitted the adjective *long* between *so* and *longyd*. Still, in line 8, he added the article *a* before *xj* (the numeral 'XI'); the said was also present in Crapelet (1826).

Talking about Crapelet's edition (1826), we may find a different word order in the same sentence that also inverted Hearne; besides, Crapelet reported it as "*the pleasur I also that I take*", only with the addition of the first pronoun *I*. Then, in the closing formula, there was the omission of the words *off hym*. The said omission was also present in Halliwell Philipps (1906).

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<sup>308</sup> De Gayangos (1877): n. 550 (*Don Iñigo de Mendoza to the Emperor*, written on 18 September 1528).

### III.18 Letter 18



**Fig. 23:** The manuscript of letter 18  
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According to Brewer (1875), this letter was written around the end of October 1528. Today, the manuscript is preserved at the Vatican Library under the collocation Vat.lat.3731.A, paper no. 16. Approaching the manuscript, we notice that it is in a good state of conservation even if it is a little ruined in both the left and right margins; still, we may observe a cut in the middle of the missive, which was repaired. Regarding the language, the king wrote in Early Modern English.

*To informe yow what Joy it is to me to understand off your co(m)for//mabylnes to reson /  
and off the sulpressyng off your invtillle and vayne thowghys and fantesys w(i)t(h) the  
brydell off reson / I ensure yow All the god in thys worlde colde nott co(n)terpause for my  
satysfaction the knowlege and certente theroff wherfore good swethhart co(n)tynw the  
5 same nott wonly in thys · but in all your doynge heraffter / for therby shall co(m)me bothe  
to yow and me grettest w quiettnes that may be inthys world / the cause why thys berar  
taryth so long is the bysynes that I have hadde dresopp ger for yow · whyche I trust or  
longe to se yow occupy / and then I trust to occupy yours / whyche shalbe reco(m)pe(n)ce  
in owght to me for all my pains and labors / the vnfaynyd siknes off this well wyllyng  
10 legate dothe su(m)what retard hys accesse to your presence but I trust verely when god  
shall send hym helthe he will w(i)t(h) dilygence reco(m)pence hys demowre for I know  
well werche hath sayd (lamenteyng the sayng and brute that he shulde be inperyall) that it  
shulde be well knonne in thys mater that he is nott inperiall / And thus for lake off tyme  
swett hart farwell / wryttyn w(i)t(h) the hand whyche fayne wolde be yours and so is the  
15 hart /*

H.R.

From the letter, we may discover that the king was glad of how Anne came to reason. He encouraged his mistress to follow in her attitude, in order for their serenity to be a reality soon. By the way, the bearer who brought that letter was late because of the great preparations that the king was arranging for her. Besides, he hoped that his hard work could be recompensed by her; we may see this passage as a sexual reference, considering that Anne had not copulated with Henry yet. By the way, the principal news emerging from the letter was the illness of Cardinal Campeggio, who was suffering from the gout<sup>309</sup>, that impeded the inquiry to start. Still, the same illness was responsible, in some ways, for the delay in Anne's accommodation. Henry hoped that Campeggio would soon be well, and then he could recompense the lovers in their case, mainly due to the fact that the cardinal was not a devotee to the Emperor. The letter ended with the formula "written with the hand which fain would be yours and so is the heart".

### III.18.1 Comparison with Modern Editions

Churchill (1714), in line 1, replaced the preposition *to* with the preposition *with*; the said could be found in Halliwell Philipps (1906). In line 7, the verb *taryth* ('to retard') was interpreted as the verb *stays*, giving to the phrase a different meaning. Still, in the same line, there was the addition of the preposition *to*, which gave the verb *had* the value of an obligation; both errors were also present in Halliwell Philipps (1906). Gunn (1823) added the said preposition in line 7. In line 10, there was the bad interpretation of the noun *presence*, which was reported as *person*; the said mistake was found in Hearne (1720) and Halliwell Philipps (1906). In line 12, the adverb *where* was transcribed as *wer che*, followed by the addition of the pronoun *he* before the verb *hath*; the said error was also found in Gunn (1823). The modals *shulde*, present in lines 12 and 13, were reported as *shall*; the said fact was also found in Hearne (1720). Still, in line 12, he added the verb *thought* between *be* and *inperyall*. In line 14, he omitted words *swett hart* between *tyme* and *farwell*. Hearne (1720), in line 6, there was the addition of the article *the* between the pronoun *me* and *grettest*.

Gunn (1823), in line 12, reported *werche* as *wereby*, followed by the addition of the pronoun *he* before the verb *hath*.

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<sup>309</sup> Brewer (1875): n. 4875 (*Campeggio to Salviati*, written on 26 October 1528). He wrote that he was bodily indisposed and that he has also an "infinite agitation in mind". He added that for twenty days he suffered from gout in one of his knees, impeding him to move without pain.

Crapelet (1826), in line 12, he reported the verb *were* followed by pronoun *he*, which was not present in the manuscript, instead of word *werche*.

Halliwell Philipps (1906), in line 3, the verb *ensure* was replaced by its synonym *assure*. Then, in line 7, he added also the conjunction *and* between *yow* and *whyche*. In the very last word of the said line, he gave another interpretation of *or*, transcribing it as *ere*. Following our analysis, in line 8, the particle *se*, present in the manuscript, was interpreted as *cause*. In the middle of the said line, there was also the omission of the conjunction *and*, between the verb *occupy* and the adverb *then*. Then, in line 12, the pronoun *werche* was transcribed as *where*. Moreover, the verb *lamentyng* was reported as the verb *touching*, meanwhile the noun *brute* was interpreted as the noun *bruit*. Still, the modal *should be* was interpreted as the verb *is thought*. Successively, in line 13, *shall* was reported as *should*. Finally, the entire closing formula was not reported in Halliwell Philipps' as neither was the signature of the sovereign.

## CONCLUSION

The cornerstone of our study (chapter III) was the diplomatic edition of the letters that Henry wrote to Anne at the beginning of their love story. Specifically, our transcription came directly from the original manuscripts of the letters which are preserved at the Vatican Library. In order to make the letters more readable, we have expanded the numerous abbreviations which were present, especially in French letters. Then, we have reported also erased words and the same poor punctuations of the manuscripts. As a result, our aim was to find the real words of the sovereign as well as his thoughts at the moment of writing. Doing this, we could revive Henry's feelings expressed through his long sentences full of subordinate clauses. Still, we analysed all the letters, trying to connect them with historical facts. At this regard, these letters were probably written during the biennial 1527-1528. The date of the missives was uncertain since they were undated. However, if we consider the order provided by Brewer (1875), as we did in this essay, we observed that his order could not be right since letter 10 was surely written before letter 9. Our assertion came after the analysis of the two letters taken into account; specifically, in letter 9 Anne's sickness was mentioned, meanwhile in letter 10 Henry wrote that his mistress' health was good and that she did not have contracted the sweat. No other significant imprecisions appeared in the order given by Brewer.

In order to make a comparison with modern editions, we analysed editions provided by Churchill (1714), Hearne (1720), Gunn (1823), Crapelet (1826), Halliwell Philipps (1906) and Savage (1949). We observed some discrepancies in those editions and that some of them were inevitably due to grammar and orthography, which had changed since the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. However, some mistakes changed completely the meaning of sentences as the king intended them. Resuming our analysis, our comparison (present in chapter III) has reached the following conclusion:

Churchill (1714) provided the English translation for letters written in French. His own edition was made by Dr. Fall's transcription of the letter, without correcting spelling errors. Besides, he wanted to report the true writing of the King Henry VIII, reporting also cypher and devices. He used long *s* as a way to reproduce the king's handwriting. This choice helped us to better see the manuscript from a visual point of view, even though it made the letters difficult to read, since the long *s* resembled to the letter *f*. Numerous errors as well as numerous wrong interpretations were present.

Hearne (1720) did not provide the English version of the letters originally written in French. His version came from the one provided by Dr. Fall. So, numerous mistakes were shared with Churchill (1714). Moreover, he reproduced long *s* as did the king.

Gunn (1823) gave a version which was not easy to read, since he did not expand the numerous abbreviations present in the manuscripts. In addition to this, he reproduced the epigraphs at the beginning of the said letters and the sovereign's signature. No English translations were provided for the letters written in Middle French. The letters were reported in the old order.

Crapelet (1826) based his edition from the transcript made by Meon. Since letters 5 and 13 were not provided by that transcript, he took copies of the said letters from the edition of Hearne (1720). However, the two letters were different from this latter edition. In his version, Crapelet provided a double translation: in English for the French letters and in French for the English letters. As a matter of fact, his edition could be read by both the English and the French people.

In Halliwell Philipps (1906), like the version of Crapelet, letters 5 and 13 were taken from Hearne (1720) since they were not included in the manuscripts that remained in Paris for 18 years. The French letters were hereby present only in their English translation. As a result, this edition was not taken into account when we talked about letters written in French.

Savage (1949) provided a new edition of the said letters, attesting that all the previous ones were inaccurate, since they reported errors due to the king's calligraphy and orthography. However, his own edition was not a perfect copy of the king's own thoughts, since it contained errors as well.

Finally, no previous editions of the letters taken into account could be considered a perfect copy of the king's letters. All things considered, Crapelet (1826) and Savage (1949) seemed to be the more accurate ones. Savage's edition seemed to be the more reliable transposition, even though he made some omissions. We agree with him in saying that the edition made before his own was not perfectly looked after. However, Crapelet's versions of the French letters were in tune with the original manuscript, although his versions of the English ones were not as right as the French letters. As a result, we believe that Crapelet's knowledge of English was not very accurate.

Chapter II, which could be seen as an introduction to our own transcription, provided the history of modern editions of the letters, referring to possible explanations concerning how the letters reached Rome. Then, we analysed the king's own handwriting, showing the abbreviations (present in the manuscripts) in their real form, and then explained. Further indications about Henry's linguistic change in the letters were then examined, concluding that the French letters

were dominated by the Courtly Love, meanwhile the English letters were more practical than the ones written in French. We had also showed the sovereign's insecurity in the French letters and his errors. Specifically, his insecurity could be observed by the numerous linguistic calques that he made from his mother tongue. Still, we observed that he made some errors relating to the genre of the French articles since English did not provide a genre distinction for its nouns.

As far as Henry and Anne's relationship was concerned, in chapter I we had analysed the sources which provided evidence of their relationship. In order to talk about the said relationship, we had analysed all correspondences of the ambassadors present at the English court during that period, as well as other letters circulated among the other European courts. Particularly useful were the references provided by Eustace Chapuys, the Spanish Ambassador, which was the most powerful source in the reconstruction of this love story. However, we do not have first person witnesses of the said love story, since Henry and Anne had never written anything about their relationship, except for the two brief notes in the book of hours and the love letters that Henry wrote to Anne that we had discussed in chapter II and III. As a matter of fact, every correspondence was subjected to the writer's feelings towards the said relationship. Specifically, Chapuys undoubtedly loved Katherine of Aragon and Mary, being a suitor of the Spanish Emperor; as a result, he was a true supporter of the real faith, and gravely criticized the King of England and his suitors when the reformation of the church began. Still, he also criticized the matter of the divorce, and the bad treatments of the real 'queen' and the 'princess' that followed. Regarding Anne, he always used bad words towards her, naming her 'concubine' and even 'whore' in his letters. Meanwhile, he named Elizabeth 'bastard'. For all these reasons, it is clear that Chapuys' opinion and report of the facts was also subjected to the hate he felt for Anne and her daughter, as well as all the whole affairs of the king's great matter. His pride was really heard when he reported how the English people laughed at Anne, or when they were trying to kill her. Moreover, he was proud of reporting Anne's quarrels and scoldings towards members of the court and suitors, as well as towards members of her own family.

Basically, new information regarding the relationship between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn is difficult to find, since more than 500 years have passed from their love story. However, we can give our opinion about the facts, without particularly paying attention to secondary sources.

As a matter of fact, we think that Elizabeth was not conceived during Henry and Anne's visit to France in late 1532. On the contrary, we have observed that some secondary sources provided that information. Overall, Elizabeth could not have been conceived before the mid of December 1532. Still, she could also be conceived after Henry and Anne's marriage on 25 January 1533,

and being the result of a premature birth. From the sources, we know that Anne entered into confinement 10 days before labour. The court's customary was that a woman had to 'take her chamber' and entering confinement two weeks before the labour. As a result, advancing our hypothesis, and having only few information about historical facts, we may also guess that Anne took to her chamber after having the first sporadic contractions. Those contractions, of course, would be hints of a premature labour.

The hate that Anne felt for Katherine and Mary might be seen as her precarious role of queen. She knew she could not be loved by the people and her position depended only on Henry's love for her. As a result, she tried to assure her new role by trying to put an end to their lives. Despite her bold nature, she was an insecure woman, whose aim was assuring the throne for her own daughter. The said thing, in Anne's opinion, was always at risk as long as Mary was alive. Strange alliances were formed to put an end to Anne's dominion on the English throne for the entire duration of her charge, with Katherine being her major enemy. The hatred between the two women might be seen as a fight for assuring the throne of England to their respective daughters.

Even if Anne appeared to be a witch and an adulterous woman at the end of her life, we think that she really was the true love of King Henry. Still, it was for his strong love that the entire history of the nation changed: the kingdom changed its religion, having Henry separated himself from the Catholic Church; even in the idea of marriage as a military and strategic alliance we observed a change: Henry was a man dominated by love and passion, and, in order to have Anne as his wife, he elevated her as Marchioness of Pembroke, a title which was exclusively for men. From our point of view, it seemed like a contemporary love story, totally inappropriate for the 16th Century. Even after her death, we find hints of Henry's overstated reactions, commanding to erase all the traces of their initials in all his palaces, her portraits and her clothes. Besides, even Anne's portraits were printed during Elizabeth's reign. For years, Anne's existence was completely erased. Still, Henry confined Elizabeth and repudiated her. Only little hints remained of Anne and of the great passion that burned in Henry's heart, as the little notes in the book of hours.

The English people, who already disliked her, thought that all the accusations of her death to be true, expecting from her only the worst. As a matter of fact, they always saw her as the king's concubine, a woman who bewitched the king with some kind of spell. However, Anne was more inclined to do acts of charity than Henry's first wife. Anne's temper did not help her to be recognized as the true queen of England, and enemies conjured against her by finding a new

mistress for the king. When she discovered her husband's liaisons, she reacted badly, since she used to be the only woman in Henry's life and heart. Consequently, her bad temper, the fact of being surrounded by enemies, Henry's mistresses and her inability to bear a male heir were all the main factors for her sad endings.

She was a woman totally out of her time, an unconventional one: she imposed herself in a world dominated exclusively by men, where noble women just had to make children.

By the way, history conferred Anne a revenge: her daughter, Elizabeth, assumed the throne of England, giving her nation the most 'golden age' that it has ever had.

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