

Henry VIII as Writer and Lyricist

Raymond G. Siemens

Introduction¹

As George Puttenham tells us in his *Arte of English Poesie*, Henry VIII was a man drawn to poetic expression, even spontaneously so.² Intended in part to illustrate the principle of decorum in poetic ornament, Puttenham recounts an interaction between Sir Andrew Flamock, standard-bearer to the king, and the king himself as they were on a barge passing from Westminster to Greenwich to visit “a fayre Lady whom the king loued and was lodged in the tower of the Parke.” The story continues:

the king comming within sight of the tower, and being disposed to be merry, said, *Flamock* let vs rime: as well as I can said *Flamock* if it please your grace. The king began thus:

Within this towre,
There lieth a flower,
That hath my hart
Flamock for aunswer:
Within this hower
she will, &c.

with the rest in so vncleanly termes, as might not now become me by the rule of *Decorum* to vtter writing to so great a Maiestie, but the king tooke them in so euill part, as he bid *Flamock* . . . that he should no more be so neere vnto him.³

(The full exchange, a variant of which is documented more completely in Samuel Rowley’s drama *When you see me, You know me. Or the famous Chronicle Historie of king Henry the eight* [1605], may be as follows: “In yonder Tower, theres a flower, that hath my hart,” with a response in Rowley’s text attributed to the king’s fool, Will Sommers, of “Within this houre, she pist full sower, & let a fart” [l.3055].)

While revealing something of the characters both of Henry, who casts the foul poet aside, and Flamock, whose poetic indecency results in an increased distance from the monarch, Puttenham’s story draws attention

to something well known in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, but less so today: Henry's literary pursuits, and particularly his love of lyrics as a writer, a composer, and a performer.

Henry as Author: Models and Texts

To one approaching the early Renaissance by way of the literary canon alone, it might seem out of place to consider Henry VIII as an author, or even to consider that a monarch such as Henry chose to occupy himself with writing. Yet it is not in the least odd that Henry wrote. Tutors such as the humanist literati John Skelton, who would later become Henry's *Orator regius*, and likely Bernard André, the continentally trained Latin secretary and historiographer to Henry VII who acted also as Prince Arthur's tutor, would have instilled in Henry a respect for literature. Even without the respect for literary arts that such an education would foster, a young Prince Henry could hardly have been unaware of the value of writing, be it of a literary or a more humanistic nature. This was, after all, an age beginning to fashion notions of "the literate courtier" that would crystallize in some leading figures of Henry VIII's later court, among them Henry himself, Francis Bryan, and Thomas Wyatt, as well as Thomas and Henry Howard (Earl of Surrey).⁴

If we are to believe Erasmus, Henry began his literary patronage as an eight-year-old in the summer of 1499, and, therefore, was already at this time aware of the role of the writer in the early Tudor court, and also of the reputation of the continental humanist who reports Henry's earliest beneficence.⁵ At this time he may also have been aware of the nobility preceding him that had a penchant for the literary. To name an exemplary few,⁶ Richard I is known to have lived in the courts of Provence during the last years of his father's reign and practiced their poetic arts, doing so as part of the polite behavior in that court;⁷ Edward II wrote a lamentation in verse;⁸ to Henry V is attributed a composition as well, preserved in the Old Hall MS,⁹ and to Henry VI "Kingdomes are bote cares," a proverbial poem on the nature of worldly vanity.¹⁰

Closer to Henry's immediate experience—and bearing in mind that his father, though a reasonable patron, did not himself devote time to such matters—his own mother, Elizabeth of York, is generally acknowledged as the author of the love lyric "My heart is set upon a lusty pin,"¹¹ and a lament is ascribed to her as well.¹² Henry's grandmother, Margaret of Beaufort, who was placed in charge of the young Prince's education and thus became Skelton's employer, herself translated part of the *Imitatio Christi*.¹³ Margaret of Austria, with whom Henry's father had considered marriage (around approximately 1505 and

later), also wrote many lyrics.¹⁴ Moreover, Henry's first wife, Katherine of Aragon, appears also to have participated in courtly poetic exchanges.¹⁵ Truly, Henry had many good models of literary virtues, or models that he would also ensure for his own offspring, who would in turn participate in literary activities of their own. Most notable of writers among Henry's children are Edward VI—to whom is attributed a poem in Edward Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, a chronicle, and a comedy entitled *The Whore of Babylon*, the latter now lost¹⁶—and Elizabeth I, whose lyrics number enough to comprise a collection and whose other works, including translations of a humanist nature,¹⁷ are enough to attest to an astute literary and humanistic sensibility, as well as to warrant praise for such efforts by Puttenham.¹⁸

In such a context, Henry's literary efforts seem far less anomalous. However, considering Henry's own aversion to writing—an act, as he stated to Wolsey, that he found somewhat “*tedius and paynefull*”¹⁹—Henry's literary output appears quite outstanding for one in his position; it would be surpassed only by James VI of Scotland (James I of England), who himself might have looked to Henry's exemplary participation in literary culture.²⁰ While Henry did not write a notable work of literary criticism as James did, to Henry's chief credit as author is his tract written in answer to Martin Luther's *On the Babylonian Captivity* (1520), the *Assertio septem sacramentorum aduersus M. Lutherum* (1521), a work that would earn him the title “Defender of the Faith” from Pope Leo X. Other activities of note include Henry's participation in the revision of the *Bishop's Book* (*The Institution of a Christen Man*, 1537), wherein he wrote the preface to what would then become known as the *King's Book* (*A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Chrysten Man*, 1543). He supervised the production of, and wrote a foreword to, the Church of England's *Book of Hours* (*The Primer . . . Set Foorth by the Kynges Maiestie and his Clergie to be Taught Learned, and Read*, 1545); composed a number of love letters documenting aspects of his early relationship with Anne Boleyn²¹; conceived of and wrote the challenge for the tournament of 1511 to celebrate the birth of a male heir, and he is known to have written considerable marginalia in his own books.²² He was also an avid composer: Henry set at least two masses, wrote the music for a masque, and composed the devotional motet “*Quam pulchra es*” and an anthem still used occasionally in services today, “*O Lord, The Maker of All Things*” (from the *Book of Hours*).²³ He is also reported to have authored a tragedy dealing with the fall of Anne Boleyn,²⁴ a book justifying his divorce from Katherine of Aragon (perhaps *A Glasse of the Truthe* of 1530 or *Henricus Octavus* of 1529),²⁵ several shorter poems (known by their incipits, “*The eagles force*

subdues each bird that flies” and “Blush not fayer nimphe”), and what has been described as a “book of sonnets” commemorating his loves.²⁶

Authorial Evidence and Ascription to Henry VIII: A “Book of Sonnets” and Two Poems

The book of sonnets—first mentioned as such in 1824 by Thomas Warton in his *History of English Poetry*²⁷ and echoed later by others—is what is now known as the Henry VIII MS, British Library Additional MS 31922 (referred to below in folio references as *H*). It came into the possession of the British Museum, via the firm of Quaritch, from the collection of Lord Eglinton (through his son-in-law, Sir Charles M. Lamb), in whose possession both Warton and Sarah Brooks place it. Though it contains works by members of Henry’s court in addition to his own, it is the single largest gathering of Henry’s lyrical works—fifteen consisting of more than an incipit, with an overall total of thirty-three ascriptions—and contains the only extant poetic works which can be reasonably attributed to Henry. This attribution is revealed, most prominently, through typical patterns of ascription for the work of that one figure who exerts a dominating presence in the manuscript and the world it reflects. When other composers’ names are given at all, attribution appears following the music and verse of each piece.²⁸ In contrast, in the case of pieces attributed to Henry VIII, attribution to “The Kyng H. VIII.” (as on 14v) is centered at the top of the leaf on which each piece begins.²⁹ Such a pattern of ascription draws attention to itself and sets Henry’s works apart from that of others collected in the manuscript.

It is more than ascription alone that separates Henry’s works from the others. As a group of compositions, they reflect a musical ability of lesser stature than the court composers represented in the manuscript; from the perspective of the musicologist, David Fallows notes that many of them are “shallow efforts.”³⁰ With reference to the lyrical texts alone, we may note that many ascribed to Henry share common views on specific subjects and, notably, a similar tone. Chiefly, Henry’s lyrics are pieces in which the speaker has a greater individuality than that typically expected in works of this time, and certainly greater than that in any other in the manuscript. In a manuscript containing many works that served impersonal functions—such as state occasions, entertainments, and jousts—Henry’s are more personal in nature. In them, the speaker, in the role of lover, addresses his lady directly in “Alas what shall I do for love” (*H* 20v–21r) and “Withowt dyscord” (*H* 68v–69r), and pays heed to her reply in “Grene growith *the* holy” (*H* 37v–38r) and “Wherto shuld I expresse” (*H* 51v–52r). Such works make frequent

use of the first-person voice and while this method of direct address is common in lyrics in which the speaker adopts a part—the lover, the forester, and others are common in works of this period—what is unusual is an attribute unique to Henry’s lyrics: the individual who makes proclamations about the rights of courtly love. In works such as “The tyme of youthe is to be spent” (H 28v–29r), “Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne” (H 39r), “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” (H 48v–49r), “Thow that men do call it dotage” (H 55v–56r), “Whoso that wyll for *grace* sew” (H 84v–85r), and “Lusti yough shuld vs ensue” (H 94v–97r), the speaker presents himself as one of the nobility³¹ and employs a self-justifying tone when proclaiming chivalric doctrine in a manner for which there is no clear English precedent.³² Such a precedent, however, was set by Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands and ruler of the Burgundian “court of love” with which Henry had much contact³³ and whose motto is reflected in the line “gruche who lust but none denye” (“Pastyme with good companye” [H 14v–15r] l.3).³⁴

Internal evidence such as this, however, is only tangentially suggestive unless one considers the courtly context in which these lyrics were presented. Henry was given to public performance of song, not just alone and unaccompanied, but also with courtiers such as Peter Carew and with members of his Chapel.³⁵ This public aspect of his works fostered a strong contemporary identification of Henry with his widely disseminated lyric “Pastyme with good companye,” also known as early as 1509 as “The Kynges Ballade” (in the Ritson Manuscript dated approximately 1510). The anonymous drama *Youth* (of roughly 1514) employs Henry’s lyrics, specifically those presenting his persona of youthful lover (given exemplification in other courtly entertainments as well) and identifying him with the interlude’s protagonist.³⁶ Identification of Henry with the singular, noble, and self-consciously youthful speaker of the lyrics testifies to his authorship, and the element of proclamation contained in the poems becomes less awkward when (as with the works of Margaret of Austria) one considers that they are the product not of a court poet but of a monarch. The point of such identification is perhaps made nowhere clearer than in the concluding lines of “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” (H 48v–49r), which put forward an ambiguous riddle—“To louers I put now suer this cace: / which of ther loues doth gett them grace” (ll.11–12)—to which a fitting answer is “Henry VIII.” The riddle itself evokes a court of love in which (as in other works by Henry) the suitor sues for grace from the reigning regent. While Henry is not Venus, nor the object of the lover’s pursuit, the court of love in

which Henry, the performer, plays the part of one who issues edicts of chivalric doctrine recalls immediately the head of the actual court.³⁷

The music that accompanies Henry's lyrics, like that of Thomas Wyatt, does bear witness to processes of authorized adaptation³⁸—suggesting also his participation in the milieu of the lyric as something of a troubadour—but Henry's English texts do not appear to be part of the tradition of adaptation and re-adaptation out of which many of the lyrics in Henry VIII MS have come. They appear, rather, to have a history akin to those occasional pieces represented in the manuscript;³⁹ that is, as with the lyrics that reflect events specific to the court, they have their first appearance in this manuscript and, in all but exceptional cases, they have little currency beyond. One such exception is the widely disseminated “Pastyme with good companye” (Figure 1), which appeared first in the Ritson Manuscript around 1510 and which had resonance in courtly circles for the next several decades. Specific instances of this resonance, however, clearly identify Henry as the lyric's author.

Two other poems ascribed to Henry can be effectively removed from Henry's poetic canon on the grounds that both lack evidence of his authorship. “Blush not fayer nimphe,” the first of these, is not listed in any catalog of Renaissance verse in print or manuscript form and has no resonance in any later literature. It appears solely in a book of prayers owned by Queen Katherine Parr on the recto of a page used for book binding (just before the title page; Figure 2)⁴⁰:



Figure 1a. “Pastyme with good companye.” British Library Add Ms 31,922 (14v–15r). Reprinted with permission of the British Library. All rights reserved.



Figure 1b. Block capital “H” from the second voice of Henry’s “*Helas madam cel que ie me tant*” (18v). British Library, Add Ms 31,922. Reproduced with permission of the British Library Board. All rights reserved.

Respect

blush not fayer nimphes / thei nee of nobell blod /
I fain avouch it . & of maners good /
spottles in lyf of mynd sencere / & sound: /
in whoam a world of verteis / doth abowend:
& sith besydst ye / lysens giu *withhall* /
set doughtes asyed and to som / sporting fall: /
therfoor suspisyon I do / banysh thee /
that casles the thens nimphe / dost terifye
[. . .]
yo wilbe clear of euery suspysion⁴¹

The poem was transcribed—save for the penultimate line which contains several illegible words—and the script identified as Henry’s own by E. Charlton in 1850; this transcription and attribution would be repeated just after the turn of the century by Lady Mary Trefusis in her collection of *Songs, Ballads, and Instrumental Pieces Composed by King Henry VIII*.⁴²

As a poem, it appears that it may be quite personally and, perhaps, contextually bound. It is scrawled in an area of a book typically reserved for indications of ownership, dedications, and other personal writings, and the book’s owner was the wife of the alleged author—a bibliophile, patron, and writer herself. Considering the approximate date of the

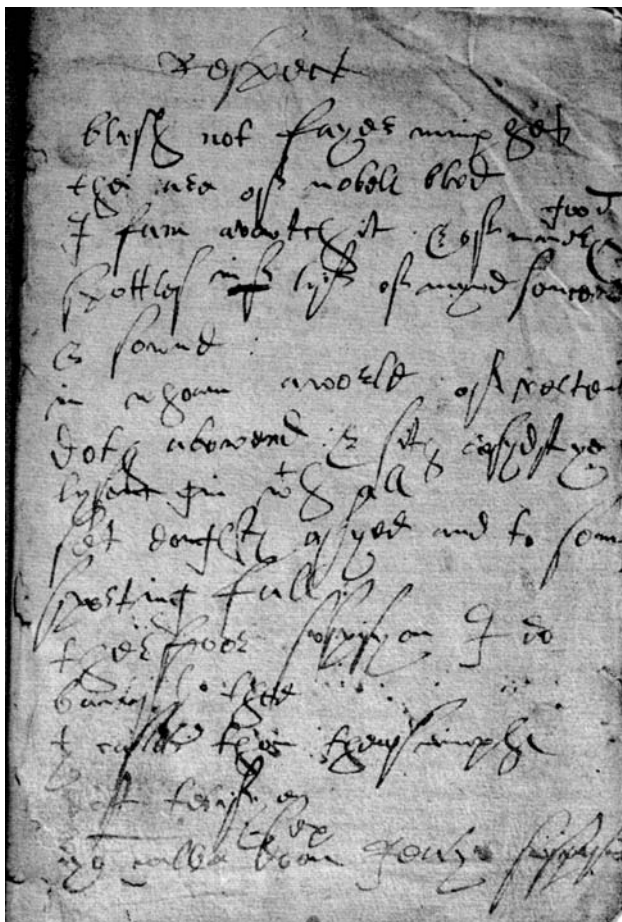


Figure 2. “Blush not fayer nimphe,” attributed to Henry VIII. From a prayer book belonging to Katherine Parr, at Sudeley Castle. Reproduced with permission.

volume’s binding (after 1541), the nature of the work in which it appears, its title (“Respect”), the poet’s encouragement of the lady to “set doights asyed,” and its double declaration that she now is free from his suspicion, one might suppose that it reflects events of 1545 when Katharine, because of her religious beliefs, was the object of a movement against her led by Archbishop Cranmer. A book of sermons with such an ascription would be a fitting present to indicate Henry’s own process of atonement with his wife after the movement was ultimately put down.⁴³ Such a poetic situation is dependent upon the poem being written in Henry’s own hand, for there are no other indications of his authorship in the work; however, while in a secretarial script which can

be roughly placed at 1540–70, the hand is quite different from what is extant of Henry's writings and likely belongs to another person in Katherine Parr's circle of the 1540s.⁴⁴ Without confirmation of Henry's hand, attribution to him has very little supporting evidence, though the circumstances are suggestive and plausible.

The second of these two poems, "The eagles force subdues each bird that flies," was attributed to Henry by John Harrington in a letter dated 1609 and addressed to King James I's eldest son Prince Henry. Harrington discusses and reprints

a special verse of King Henry the Eight, when he conceived love for Anna Bulleign. And hereof I entertain no doubt of the Author, for, if I had no better reason than the rhyme, it were sufficient to think that no other than suche a King could write suche a sonnet; but of this my father oft gave me good assurance, who was in his houshold. This sonnet was sung to the Lady Ann at his commaundment, and here followeth:

THE eagle's force subdues each byrd that flies; What metal can
resyst the flaminge fyre? Dothe not the sunne dazle the clearest
eyes,

And melt the ice, and make the froste retyre? The hardest stones
are peircede thro wyth tools; The wysest are, with Princes, made
but fools.⁴⁵

These lines, which are included set to music in William Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* (1611; B1r),⁴⁶ appear also in *A Mirror for Magistrates* (1563) as lines 85–91 of Thomas Churchyard's "Shore's Wife," where the verse is spoken by Shore's wife, a concubine to Edward IV who has been spoiled by Richard III and is forced to do penance.⁴⁷ The lines appear as part of a moral exemplum and seem quite unlike that which might result from the budding love of a monarch and a noblewoman—though their situation in such a place by Harrington is not unusual and fits a pattern of association (and ascription) for the group of poems associated with Henry VIII that lasts to this day.

Henry's Lyrics, Their Contexts, and the Realms of Their Interpretation

While spurious, these two poems present valuable minor studies in themselves, for they serve to illustrate the parameters of interpretation typically and traditionally allowed Henry's poetic efforts: that is, the process of their attribution helps exemplify one vein of critical engagement given Henry's works since the time of their authorship. Notably, these interpretive traditions suggest the idea of a "poetic situation."

In the case of “Respect,” the location of the verses in the book of sermons suggests that it—a statement of affirmation—along with the book may, perhaps, serve as an apology; even if not exactly this, we can at least acknowledge that such a poetic expression is something given by one familiar to another, with a specific intent in mind. The aspect of poetic situation is also integral to Harrington’s attribution of “The eagle’s force”: Harrington, on the evidence of the words of his father, who may have witnessed such events and also was able to testify to Henry’s lyrical abilities, suggests a performance of Henry’s lyric to Anne Boleyn, intended to woo.

Such poetic situations are suggested in engagements of Henry’s actual poetic work as well. In a nineteenth-century description of the Henry VIII MS by William Chappell, Henry’s lyrics are critically approached as straightforward love songs and statements of personal character. In his article discussing the lyrics Chappell notes that though Henry “was professing love for the Queen [Katherine of Aragon] . . . in his songs,” he promises future, not present, self-denial of the pleasures of his age and status.⁴⁸ In the eighth chapter of his novel *Here Comes the King*, Philip Lindsay associates Henry’s proclamation of unwavering devotion in the second stanza of his “Grene growith *the holy*” (H 37v–38r) with his relationship with his fifth wife, Katherine Howard⁴⁹—“As the holy grouth grene. / and neuer chaungyth hew. / So I am euer hath bene. / vnto my lady trew” (ll. 5–8). James Joyce, in a letter to his Nora from around July 1904, places what he identifies as a lyric by Henry into a romantic context while commenting on Henry’s character:

I found myself sighing deeply tonight as I walked along and I thought of an old song written three hundred years ago by the English King Henry VIII—a brutal and lustful king. The song is so sweet and fresh and seems to have come from such a simple grieving heart that I send it to you, hoping it may please you. It is strange from what muddy pools the angels call forth a spirit of beauty. The words express very delicately and musically the vague and tired loneliness which I feel.⁵⁰

The lyric to which he refers, “A the syghes *that cum* fro my hart” (H 32v–33r), was, in fact, set by William Cornysh, leader of Henry’s Chapel Royal, and not Henry.⁵¹ Nonetheless, Joyce’s empathy with the mood of the work is notable, and the personal situation into which he brings it reflects the one in which Henry’s poems are often seen.

Nowhere are the situational parameters of Henry’s lyrics better demonstrated than in their first critical engagement in a purely literary context, that of Sarah Brooks’s “Some Predecessors of Spenser.”

Referring to the verses of Thomas Wyatt's "Forget not yet the tried intent" as it relates to the author's relationship with Anne Boleyn, Brooks comments on "Old bluff Hal's wooing verses" and, following a passing reference to and quotation of "The eagle's force," she continues: "But that the King spread his claws with some pretension to literary neatness is evident from his book of sonnets . . . commemorating the loves of this royal butcher."⁵²

The harsh, stereotypical view of Henry as a royal butcher aside, Brooks's views of 1889 share much with popular sentiments held to this day. The lyrics, such sentiments contend, are to be viewed as having intimate and, perhaps, romantic overtones. The recent entry on Henry in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* urges, similarly, consideration of the personal elements of Henry's works through the context of their intended delivery. These were performances of the sort that C. S. Lewis suggested for early Tudor lyrics as a whole (mainly some of Wyatt's verses), that is, in a coterie "with many ladies present."⁵³ To this model of poetic interchange, we might add the expansion offered by A. C. Spearing that it is the personal blush of recognition that becomes the center of the literary experience.⁵⁴

Contrary to this tradition, however, it is important to note that Henry's lyrics do not specifically commemorate his loves—and certainly not his later ones. If that were the case, we could truly engage them in the manner suggested by the more popular perceptions of Henry and his poetic works. In this imaginative critical lens, then, we might have Henry giving voice to his undying love for Anne Boleyn, wooing her during the time in which his councilors were working through the details of his divorce from Katherine of Aragon; we, as contemporary audience, would have the dark pleasure, perhaps, of hearing (and knowing) the irony in such words as "Now vnto my lady / promyse to her I make. / Fffrome all other only / to her. I me betake" ("Grene growith *the* holy" [*H* 37v–38r] ll.13–16). Then, perhaps, we might view him doing the same with his next wife, while orchestrating the trial of Anne Boleyn and the arrest of Wyatt, and so on. But such interpretations, in the case of these lyrics, are less plausible because the lyrics belong to a situation quite different from that suggested by traditional assumptions.

Several misunderstandings inform what may be called the "traditional" view of Henry's lyrics, and these are not so much misconceptions as they are transpositions of assumptions which hold up well with poetry of a kind other than Henry's. Before embarking upon a discussion of the proper context for the interpretation of Henry's poems, however,

the issue of their date should be reviewed, for their temporal placement can clear up some misunderstandings.

The date of Henry's lyrical works can be set with some accuracy to be quite early in his reign. While the compilation and binding of Henry VIII MS itself took place after mid-1522, Henry's works therein are more suggestive of the first few years of his reign.⁵⁵ Some lyrics, such as "Pastyme with good companye," date from the first two years of his reign—a time during which, as Edward Hall says of the court's progress to Windsor in the second year of his rule, Henry was "exercising hym self daily in shotyng, singing, daunsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, plaiyng at the recorder, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, [and] makyng of balettes."⁵⁶ "Pastyme with good companye" itself appears twice in the Ritson Manuscript, where it is given the title "The Kynges Ballade" (141v). The majority of the lyrics appear to have been completed prior to 1514, such that the character Youth, in the interlude of the same name (dated roughly 1513–14), is able to echo several lines and sentiments.⁵⁷ During these early years, the young monarch, skillful himself with many instruments, often played and sang in public.⁵⁸ His enthusiasm for courtly and popular song, and the populace's general knowledge of his love for song itself, would last throughout the time of his rule and beyond into the early seventeenth century, as evidenced by Thomas Ravenscroft's 1609 publication of a book of freemen's (also called "three-men's") songs, the subtitle of which, *K[ing] H[enry's] Mirth*, is an explicit reference to Henry's pleasure in them.⁵⁹ Though the lyrics and Henry's reputation as lyricist would last for some time, the early date of these poems dispels notions of their being love poems referring to specific romantic situations in his later life.

So, too, should the condition of their production and performance dispel, in a large part, the urge to consider his lyrics as "little poems" written to Katherine of Aragon, "sonnets to his lady loves," or anything resembling a commemoration of Henry's *amours*. Issues of production and performance of the lyrics in Henry VIII MS are closely related, as John Stevens demonstrated some years ago.⁶⁰ The lyrics of the manuscript are secular and public in nature, documenting one aspect of an active and youthful court's sense of contemporary politics and culture. Henry's poems, chiefly in the courtly love tradition, draw freely on its models and motives, and take their place in the public sphere of activities surrounding the king. But we tend to discount their place in the public life of the early Tudor court and, instead, relegate the lyrics to the more private critical domain in which we view Thomas Wyatt.

A much more prominent poet today than Henry, Wyatt would inherit and expertly interpret aspects of this tradition several decades

later, but Wyatt's engagement of it comes from a very different perspective than Henry's. Chiefly working in the milieu of the coterie—the same literary coterie in which those related to the Devonshire Manuscript operated, among them Thomas Howard, Anne Boleyn, Mary Shelton, Mary (Howard) Fitzroy, and Henry's illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy⁶¹—Wyatt's verse reflects the personality of the early Tudor lyric accentuated by C. S. Lewis and Spearing, and also Wyatt's own position in society. His lyrics, therefore, are inherently more personal in nature, with anticipated audiences and performance situations as intimate as the circle in which he wrote. His love poems—those both espousing and despairing love—can rightly be interpreted within the context suggested by the coterie. "My lute awake," present in both the Devonshire and Egerton manuscripts, is often taken to be exemplary of this tradition. The situation constructed by the poem is of a lyricist, his lute, and his former lover (often construed, rightly or wrongly, to be Anne Boleyn); he sings alternately to his lute, and to his lover, about his relationship with her.

Worth consideration also is the nature of the references employed in Wyatt's verses. His lyric "If yt ware not"⁶² illustrates the degree of topicality one can expect of a work in the milieu in which Wyatt lived. This poem appears only in the Devonshire Manuscript and is especially notable because of its echoing of the third line from Henry's lyric "Pastyme with good companye" (H 14v–15r)—"gruche who lust but none denye"—a defiant statement which has been paraphrased as "let grudge whosoever will, none shall refuse (it to me)."⁶³ This line has its root in the Burgundian "court of love" presided over by Margaret of Austria, who employed the motto "Groigne qui groigne et vive Burgoigne."⁶⁴ Anne Boleyn, prior to 21 December 1530, had adopted a motto that echoed both Henry's line and that of the Burgundian court. Embroidered on her servants' liveries was "Ainsi sera, groigne qui groigne," which approximates in English, "What will be, will be, grumble who may."⁶⁵ The first line of the burden to Wyatt's lyric is "Grudge on who liste, this ys my lott," and the matter of the poem itself—a woman's address to a male lover in reference to her marriage to another man—provides a plausible gloss on the situation existing at this time between himself, Boleyn, and Henry VIII.⁶⁶

Following the established tradition of interpretation for Henry's lyrics, one critic has noted that "the King's poem contains a veiled reference to the relationship between Anne and the King in the latter months of 1530" and that "Pastyme" was "surely meant as a reassuring reply to Anne that the King was determined to marry her."⁶⁷ However, such a relationship cannot exist because of the evidence dating each

text, for “Pastyme” belongs to roughly 1510, some twenty years before Boleyn’s use of the allusive motto.⁶⁸ A more plausible series of events is that Boleyn’s motto, intended to echo Henry’s very popular lyric⁶⁹ and the defiant spirit of the Burgundian motto (which itself urges reminiscence of a shared past held by Henry and Anne at the Burgundian court),⁷⁰ was adopted by Wyatt. By echoing elements of both Anne’s and Henry’s statements, he is able to situate his work in terms suitable for his coterie—in this case, that of the Devonshire Manuscript alone—and to document explicitly and privately his own sorry place in this confusing love triangle.

Such a technique, common to Wyatt, appears not to have been employed by Henry, in large part because for a monarch the idea of poetic milieu by necessity of social position would be much different. While the courtier Wyatt, in a work whose topical reference would be known to the few of his poetic coterie, could employ Henry’s line to such an end, Henry’s own use is, like much of his verse, much less topical, betraying in this instance what would have been a very publicly known admiration of (and acknowledged cultural debt to) the court from which the motto originated. In his lyrics, Wyatt might have performed for his lover and his coterie, but Henry performed for the whole court, accompanied by at least two other singers (as evinced by the settings in Henry VIII MS)—a point which must be kept in mind, even though lyrical works such as his “Grene growith *the* holy” (H 37v–38r) and “Wherto shuld I expresse” (H 51v–52r) may suggest at times an intimacy of sorts. Henry’s poetic performances were, thus, public, whether given to groups that included ambassadorial retinues or the comparatively smaller group of Henry’s personal entourage (Figure 3)⁷¹. Even when performing later in life with his courtier Peter Carew, for the pleasure of Katherine Parr and her ward Princess Elizabeth, that audience would include the court and entourage of each.⁷² Best shown by the appearance of “Pastyme with good companye” in early Tudor song books more often than any other lyric,⁷³ its mention first in the list of shepherd’s songs in *The Complaynt of Scotlande* and its appearance later in a popular moralized version,⁷⁴ it is through the presentation and circulation in such a public arena that sentiments from Henry’s lyrics could become identifiable targets for anti-court satire,⁷⁵ be incorporated into court-centered didactic works such as Thomas Elyot’s *Governour*⁷⁶ and sermons of the day,⁷⁷ as well as become part of the historiographical record of the early court, along with the pageants, tournaments, and revels noted by Edward Hall in his chronicle.⁷⁸

Such a public audience, seen most clearly in the occasional pieces of the Henry VIII MS commemorating events such as the birth of a son



Figure 3. Henry VIII playing the harp, with fool Will Summers nearby. From the Henry VIII Psalter, British Library, Royal MS 2 A. xvi, fol. 63v. Reproduced with permission of the British Library Board. All rights reserved.

in 1511 and the war with France in 1513, must also be seen as the context for even the most seemingly private of Henry's lyrics. The manuscript, we must remember, bears none of the signs of its operation in the coterie fashion of the Devonshire Manuscript (BL Add MS 17,492) most closely associated with Wyatt's work. It is a fine vellum manuscript, professionally copied, illuminated, and bound, and too large in size to be grouped with manuscripts of an authorial personality such as those of Wyatt. The manuscript also reveals no personal connection to the king himself. Rather, connection appears to be to the king's friend and comptroller Sir Henry Guildford, who played a large part as participant in and organizer of many of the public spectacles and revels of the early Tudor court.⁷⁹

Textually, and in terms of the poetic situation constructed by my example, Wyatt offers a sole voice as part of a larger poetic (and personal) exchange in works in the Devonshire Manuscript. Henry's lyrics

are presented in a different manner. As a whole, they do not support as intimate a performance situation as Wyatt's, even those lyrics which may suggest tête-à-tête exposition. What is amplified by the textual evidence is the nonintimate situation in which the lyrics were performed. With little variation, Henry's lyrics were intended for performance as the type of song that he enjoyed singing, that is, freemen's, or three-men's, songs. In the Henry VIII MS, both lyrics and musical settings are for three and four voices. While this reflects the fact that the manuscript is musical as much as poetic, it is notable that most of Henry's lyrics are captured in the Henry VIII MS solely, a document that presents them in a form which suggests a public nature.⁸⁰

While an examination of the details of the Henry VIII MS assists in revealing a general strategy of interpretation that challenges the one traditionally held about Henry's lyrics, such a critical strategy arises also from the general situation of the lyrics, as with others written by authors of stature similar to Henry's. What makes it believable that Henry wrote lyrics at all suggests that such writing would be more public and generic than private and occasional. What I am speaking of here is the literary and the related musical traditions of the early Tudor court. Such traditions tend to be performance oriented, and royal performances (recitations, singing, instrumentation, and so on) are well documented, particularly in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, with respect to the heir to Henry VII's throne, and after 1509, to the new king himself. Lyrics such as those written by Henry—and songs such as those performed, as we know from the reports of foreign ambassadors—are quite usual in this context, as exemplified further by the lyric written by Henry's mother, by those written at the Burgundian court by Margaret of Austria, and by those written at the French court by the young Francis I.

Youth and Age, Lover and Disdainer: Poetic Discourses and Royal Power in Henry's Lyrics

The element of public spectacle is especially evident when the lyrics are considered in the context of the life of Henry's early court, for many of the activities of the early Tudor court appear to have been fashioned around a "personal discourse" of Henry—as Youth and (courtly) Lover, poetic personae which are seen quite clearly in the lyrics of the Henry VIII MS. Appropriate to the mood of the court at the date of the manuscript, Henry's lyrics reflect a predominantly lively and happy court; they avoid devotional subjects and focus primarily on topics of love and youth.⁸¹

In the environment of a court that found him young, and in literary works which suggested the lusty age of Henry when a prince and

young monarch,⁸² Henry appears to have fashioned himself in his lyrics as the youth and lover others perceived him to be. It is not surprising to find that love is a predominant topic of the songs, for love is the main theme of many lyrics of this sort, a theme also closely associated with youth. That love is the focus of a king's work is notable, and in the lyrics it appears to reflect Henry's keen interest in the chivalric tradition during the first few years of his reign. "[F]eates of armes [done] for the loue of Ladies,"⁸³ in which the king himself was a chief participant, marked his early court. He surrounded himself with tapestries depicting romance scenes and portraying Cupid and Venus. He jousted in honor of the queen, calling himself "Cure Loial," Sir Loyal Heart.⁸⁴ He appeared in a pageant celebrating the 1511 birth of a son again as "Cuer Loyall," alongside "Amoure Loyall" and others, with all participants, including himself, dressed in garb "embroudered full of H. & K. of golde."⁸⁵ Furthermore, in later events, he jousted on a horse whose decorations included "a harte of a manne wounded"—upon which was written "mon nauera" which Hall interprets as meaning "ell mon ceur a nauera, she hath wounded my harte"—and played the role of "Ardent Desire" in a masque.⁸⁶ Such events clearly portray the court's and, most of all, Henry's own active interest in pursuing courtly love in all the glamour and spectacle of the day. In such a context, Henry's lyrics can be seen to reflect the spirit of the court as a whole, and are part of the expression of a discourse represented in the manuscript but exemplified far beyond it.

While the discourse was something that Henry fashioned—in lyrical, dramatic, and other venues—and therefore may be seen to be personal, it is less personal when one considers that Henry's construction was shared openly and freely, played over several genres and media, with many different courtiers and visitors to court, and thus on a very public stage. Further, it is not something which should be seen to contain a great degree of individual exposition; that is, it is verse of a kind that is not intended to be deeply, personally revealing, though it may well be generally revealing.

To a significant degree, Henry's works fit very well within the panorama of courtly love poetry of the time. What is unique to his verse, however, is that which is unique to him, when considered in the context of other practitioners of similar verse. By this I refer to his gender, his age, and his social position. But it may be useful first to look at another monarchical figure and how similar lyrics are adapted to suit that figure's gender, age, and social position: Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, to whom Henry's own poetry owes a great debt. Roughly a decade older than Henry, her lyrics in the courtly love

tradition reflect aspects of her person. Their authorial voice is clearly female, representing more one who is “served” in the game of courtly love than one who “serves.”⁸⁷ Margaret’s lyrics carry a tone of authority, in the sense of power connected with a regent, and they are prescriptive, for they seem to advise the young ladies sent to her court for grooming, like Anne Boleyn in 1513, on what courtly love is, how one should behave when involved in the game of courtly love, and how men can be deceitful in that game. Moreover, in pointing out the potential pitfalls of the game of courtly love for the young female lover, Margaret’s lyrics construct just as much the figure of the untrue male lover as they do the ideal female lover.

Well versed in the cultural tradition of the Burgundians, Henry had reflected before 1510 the motto of Margaret in his “Pastyme with good companye.”⁸⁸ In his French campaign of 1513, accompanied by his Chapel Royal, Henry and his courtiers would participate in games of courtly love with those in Margaret’s court.⁸⁹ Moreover, his own lyrical presence in his writings seems to draw heavily on that adopted by Margaret as well, reflecting the view of the young male lover in much the same manner as she represents that of the female. The authorial voices in Henry’s lyrics—the personae of the active youth and the ideal lover—represent different aspects of the one who serves in the game of courtly love and delights in such service. The voice of youth is that of Henry’s actual age; the voice of the ideal male lover, closely related to that of youth, is the part Henry shapes for himself in the game of courtly love (in a fashion akin to that of Margaret); both, as mentioned earlier, are images he sought to cultivate in his early court in venues beyond that of the lyric. While Henry’s lyrics do not describe the figure of the untrue male lover as Margaret’s did, Henry’s lyrics do add something more to the youth and ideal male lover: the figure of the aged “disdainer,” to whom the apparently virtuous pursuits of youth must be justified and who hinders pursuits engaged in by true lovers.⁹⁰

Such personae and figures, as they emerge from Henry’s lyrics, are quite suggestive. By adopting his personae of youth and the lover, Henry-as-author positions himself in a traditional poetic debate (that of youth and age) which he places within the context of a contemporary discourse of courtly love, one well accepted in his own court and beyond. Attention to Henry’s poetic positioning, moreover, is the key to understanding the slim element of personal revelation that can now be retrieved from the lyrics.

The lyrics themselves appear unnatural in the context of today’s conceptions of early Tudor courtly poetic production, models of which have been presented most recently and most popularly by those

subscribing to historicist and materialist theoretical positions. Henry's lyrics do not on the surface appear to be the product of one seeking patronage nor court favor (a seemingly pointless task with which a king might occupy himself), nor are they the product of a disaffected courtier: that is, they are the product of neither a prince-pleaser nor a subversive. When read in the context of the personae and figures adopted and engaged by Henry, however, as a group they take shape as part of an act of poetic self-justification, an address of the young lover that Henry really was at the time, to the aged disdainers (of whom there were many in Henry's early court according to extant documents) opposing his actions.⁹¹ In the relationship of youth and age, it is youth who is subservient; in the relationship of the lover and the disdainer who thwarts the efforts of the lover, it is the lover who is subservient.

As Henry adopts these poetic personae, he also allows himself a voice capable of subversion, a voice in an artificial though well-accepted discourse through which aspects of reality can be discussed. While engaging topics of love and youthful pursuits, then, he also addresses elements of the world around him, in keeping with the accepted method of poetic representation practiced by Royal Orators Skelton and Hawes but more expertly exemplified in the later work of Wyatt. Though working in an accepted manner, Henry individualizes his lyrics and his poetic voice (of the relatively powerless youth and lover) by drawing upon his position as king in his poetic proclamations. Such is the case in "Though sum saith that yough rulyth me" (*H* 71v–73r) in which the burden to the lyric, intended to be repeated after the recitation of each stanza, echoes the royal motto "Dieu et mon droit" ("god and my right," l.3) and, in the penultimate line, identifies the speaker: "Thus sayth the king the .viii.th harry" (l.19). There is as well the riddle near the end of "If love now reynynd as it hath bene" (*H* 48v–49r; ll.11–14) which, in noting in the context of courtly love the power held by the person who is capable of begetting grace, gestures also toward the world of the political court, where grace is given chiefly by the king.

That Henry's lyrics were explicitly the words of the king is a point that his public audience obviously could not have missed. Such identification, as Peter Herman has commented, suggests that Henry's lyrics are an exemplary site at which poetry and politics converge,⁹² especially when one considers the implications of regal participation in the activity of poetry, an activity held typically to be reserved for courtiers alone. In Henry's engagement in the debates between the figures of youth and age, and the lover and disdainer, he brings a political weight not typically available to the youth or the lover but only to the king, one who is truly in command of all subjects, including the disdainers.

Conclusion: Henry VIII's Place in Literary History

What emerges from this reading of Henry's lyrics is that the king, working in a public sphere and in a genre noted for its impersonality, displays elements of individuality, though not the same as popular culture and common scholarship have readily urged. In his attempts as a poet to address aspects of courtly reality through the fiction of courtly love and as a lyricist to work with texts and their settings in the fashion of the troubadour, Henry embraces long-standing traditions while he champions them in his own court; at the same time, he also anticipates poetic models that would later be more popularly exemplified in the works of Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey.

Without this precise context in mind, it has been noted that Henry was "the presiding genius of early Tudor literature"⁹³—chiefly as a patron. This much is true, but what is often overlooked is his role as a literary figure of the day, something which is demonstrated best in his lyrics. As an active participant in the poetic exchanges that characterize C. S. Lewis's apparent "drab age," Henry challenged the traditional boundaries of his chosen poetic genre; he personalized the English courtly love lyric, and added to it as none had before a dimension of power to the powerless poetic personae he employed in his work. Henry's work, thus, represents a bridge—and subtly marks a turning point—when one considers the development of the English lyric; reflecting the tradition available to Henry, his canon is at the same time suggestive of elements of the coterie tradition in which the early Tudor lyric would see its most fruitful exemplification.

Notes

Raymond Siemens is professor of English and Canada Research Chair at the University of Victoria. The editor of several Renaissance texts, Siemens is also the founding editor of the electronic scholarly journal *Early Modern Literary Studies*.
Email: siemens@uvic.ca

1. Portions of this section appear adapted, with permission, in Peter C. Herman, ed., *Reading Monarchs Writing: The Poetry of Henry VIII, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth I, and James VI/I* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2002), a collection that provides the most coherent treatment to date of English Renaissance monarchs and their writing.
2. The story recounted is quoted from the first edition: George Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589), 2245. (Other editions: facsimile repr. Menston: Scolar Press, 1968; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936 [ed. G. D. Willcock and A. Walker]). In the copy belonging to Ben Jonson (BL G.11548; repr. Menston, UK: Scolar Press, 1968), this exchange is marked.

3. Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 2245.
4. While the works of Francis Bryan (Henry's "Vicar of Hell") are all but lost, there is considerable evidence suggesting that he was a well-known poet in his time. See David Starkey, "The Court: Castiglione's Ideal and Tudor Reality," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 45 (1982): 232–38. Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey are well known, but Thomas Howard is less so; much of his verse appears in the Devonshire MS (BL Additional MS 17,492) associated with Wyatt, Anne Boleyn, and the wife of Henry VIII's bastard son by Elizabeth Blount, Henry Fitzroy. See Raymond Southall, "The Devonshire Manuscript Collection of Early Tudor Poetry, 1532–41," *Review of English Studies* 15 (1964): 142–50.
5. For an excellent summary of the exchange between Erasmus and Henry, in a context that accentuates Henry's literary aspirations, see Peter C. Herman, "Henry VIII of England," in *The Dictionary of Literary Bibliography* (Detroit: Gale, 1993), 172–73.
6. See also Julia Boffey, *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages: Manuscript Studies I* (Woodbridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1985), 83–85, for further examples of figures that would have been known to Henry VIII.
7. Horace Walpole, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England* (London: 1758), 2. Notable is also the implication of the epitaph that Richard II had commissioned for himself in approximately 1395, which compares him to "Omerus" (Homer), among others. See Mathew Gervase, *The Court of Richard II* (New York: Norton, 1968), 22.
8. "Lamentatio gloriosi Regis Edwardi de Karnarvan, quam edidit tempore suae incarcerationis." See Walpole, *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors*, 2 and 4, and Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannica* (London: Gulielmus Bowyer, 1748), 253.
9. It appears in BL Additional MS 57950, formerly the St. Edmund's College Library's Old Hall MS. See Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, ed., *The Old Hall Manuscript CMM 46* (Chicago, IL: American Institute of Musicology), 1969–73.
10. This attribution may be suspect. See John Harrington, "Letter from Sir John Haryngton to Prince Henry, 1609," *Nugæ Antiquæ: Being a Miscellaneous Collection of Original Papers in Prose and Verse*, ed. Henry Harrington, 2 vols. (London: W. Frederick, 1775), 2:246–49 (at 247).
11. From Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson MS C.86 (155v–156r). A transcription of this text appears at the end of this chapter. See also Boffey, *Manuscripts*, 83–84.
12. Noted in Boffey, *Manuscripts*, 84; R. H. Robbins and J. L. Cutler, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington: Kentucky University Press, 1965), 4263.3.
13. See Margaret Beaufort, *The Earliest English Translation . . . of De imitatione Christi*, ed. John K. Ingram, Early English Text Society Series 63 (London: Early English Text Society, 1983), 259–83; and Janel Mueller's "Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr's *Prayers or Meditations* (1545)," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (1990): 171–97.
14. See Ghislaine DeBoom, *Margarite d'Autriche-Savoie et la Pre-Renaissance* (Paris: Librairie E-Droz, 1935), 123ff.; E. W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 26ff., and Martin Picker, ed., *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria: Mss. 228 and 11239 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Brussels (Berkeley: University of

California Press, 1965), for discussion and examples of Margaret's lyrics. For details of Henry's marriage plans for Margaret, see Jane de Iongh, *Margaret of Austria: Regent of the Netherlands*, trans. M. D. Herter Norton (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 106, 119–20, and Antonia Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1992), 39ff. It is also notable that a lyric shared in the songbooks of both Henry's and Margaret's courts, "Alles regretz uidez dema presence" (H 5v–6r; 115r), is by another royal author, Duke Jean II of Bourbon (lyric set by Hayne van Ghizeghem).

15. The poetic voice of "Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest" (H 54v–55r; 132), a lyric seemingly intended to be sung by a woman in praise of her lover's performance at a running of the ring, appears to be that of Katherine of Aragon. The matter of the poem, as well as marginal notations in Henry VII MS, suggest that the male lover, the "lord," is Henry.

16. The chronicle (BL Cotton MS Nero C x) appears in editions by W. K. Jordan, *Chronicle and Political Papers* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, for Folger Shakespeare Library, 1996), and John G. Nichols, *Literary Remains of Edward VI* (London: Roxeburghe Club, 1857). This work, which is akin to a political diary, was begun roughly at the time of his coronation at twelve years of age, ended when he was barely fifteen, and covers the years from his birth to a time just prior to his death; the final entry is for 28 November 1552. Jordan praises Edward for his "literary style of some distinction and polish" (xvi). The poem is found in the 1596 edition (f. 1936). While Walpole, Warton, and Tanner understand the poem to be attributed to Edward by Foxe, it may be the work of Sir Anthony St. Leger to whom, according to Foxe, the poem was given. See Walpole, *Catalogue*, 63; Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry From the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century* [1781], rev. ed., 4 vols. (London: Thomas Tegg, 1824), 3:193 and Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 255. Lastly, of the comedy, Walpole (noting Henry Holland's *Heroologia Anglica* [27]) mentions "a most elegant comedy, the title of which was, 'The Whore of Babylon,'" Walpole, *Catalogue*, 16–17.

17. See the recent editions of Elizabeth's collected works, namely *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Janel Mueller, Leah H. Marcus, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), and *Elizabeth I: Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals*, ed. Janel Mueller and Leah H. Marcus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). The poems had been gathered earlier by Leicester Bradner; see also L. G. Black's "A Lost Poem by Queen Elizabeth I," *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 May 1968, 535; James E. Phillips' "Elizabeth I as a Latin Poet," *Archaeologia* 28 (1840): 96–151; and Stephen W. May and Anne L. Prescott's "The French Verses of Elizabeth I," *English Literary Renaissance* 24, no. 1 (1994): 9–43. Her translations include *The Glass of the Sinful Soul: A godly medytacyon of the christen soule* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Cherry MS 36, trans. of Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir* in 1544, ptd. 1548); and, later, Petrarch's *Triumph of Eternity* (see Ruth Hughey, *The Arundel Harrington Manuscript of Early Tudor Poetry* [Columbus: Ohio State Press, 1960]), Boethius's *Consolation* (1593), Plutarch's *On Curiosity* (1598), and Horace's *Art of Poetry* (1598), which are gathered in Caroline Pemberton's edition of *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings* (London: Early English Text Society, 1899), among others. See also L. Bradner, "The Xenophon Translation Attributed to Elizabeth I," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 324–26; Janel Mueller, "Textualism, Contextualism, and the Writings of Queen Elizabeth I," in *English Studies and History*, ed. David Robertson (Tampere, Finland: University of Tampere, 1994); Elizabeth Balestrieri, "Prison/Anti-Prison: The Writings

of Elizabeth I and Marguerite de Navarre,” in *Continental, Latin-American and Francophone Women Writers*, ed. Ginette Adamson and Eunice Myers (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), 2:115–22; Frances Teague, “Elizabeth I: Queen of England,” in *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Katharina M. Wilson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 522–47; Michael Brennan’s “Two Private Prayers by Queen Elizabeth I,” *Notes and Queries* 32, no. 1 (1985): 26–28; and finally Anne Lake Prescott, “The Pearl of the Valois and Elizabeth I: Marguerite de Navarre’s *Miroir* and Tudor England,” in *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret Patterson Hannay (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1985), 61–76.

18. Puttenham notes, “But last in recitall and first in degree is the Queene our soueraigne Lady, whose learned, delicate, noble Muse, easily surmounteth all the rest that haue written before her time or since, for sence, sweetness and subtiltie, be it in Ode, Elegie, Epigram, or any other kinde of poeme Heroick or Lyricke, wherein it shall please her Maiestie to employ her penne, euen as by as much oddes as her owne excellent estate and degree exceedeth all the rest of her most humble vassals.” Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*.

19. Letter from approximately 1520 (BL Additional MS 1938; 44r).

20. Gabriel Harvey would praise James for his poetic efforts, specifically his *Lepanto*, as being “fitt for a Dauids harpe.” Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation or A New Prayse of the Old Asse* (1593), vol. 2 of A. B. Grosart, ed., *The Complete Works of Gabriel Harvey* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 102. For an introduction to James’s work, see Herman, *Reading Monarchs*, and, also, G. P. V. Akrigg, “The Literary Achievement of King James I,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 44 (1975): 115–29. See also James Doelman, “The Accession of King James I and English Religious Poetry,” *Studies in English Literature (1500–1900)* 34, no. 1 (1994): 19–40; Kevin Sharpe, “Private Conscience and Public Duty in the Writings of James VI and I,” in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England: Essays Presented to G. E. Aylmer*, ed. John Morrill, et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 77–100; Jenny Wormald, “James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: The Scottish Context and the English Translation,” in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 36–54; J. Derrick McClure, “‘O Phoenix Escossois’: James VI as Poet,” in *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry, and History of Scotland and England and Poems Previously Unpublished*, ed. Alisoun Gardner Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), 96–111; and Jonathan Goldberg’s “The Poet’s Authority: Spenser, Jonson, and James VI and I,” *Genre* 15, nos. 2–3 (1982): 81–99.

21. These were first treated as a group by their early editor, Thomas Hearne. On their literary merit, see Theo Stemmler, “The Songs and Love-Letters of Henry VIII: On the Flexibility of Literary Genres,” in *Henry VIII in History, Historiography and Literature*, ed. Uwe Baumann (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992), 97–111. See also Muriel St. Clare Byrne, *The Letters of King Henry VIII* (London: Cassell, 1968).

22. Henry’s habits of annotating while reading are discussed in James P. Carley, ed., *The Books of King Henry VIII and His Wives* (London: British Library, 2004); T. A. Birrell, *English Monarchs and Their Books: From Henry VII to Charles II*, The Panizzi Lectures 1986 (London: The British Library, 1987), 7–12; and Michael

Hathaway, "Marginalia of Henry VIII in His Copy of the *Bokes of Salomon*," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1965): 166–70.

23. See Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* (London: J. Johnson, et al., 1809), 515. While his compositions have been evaluated, at times, as amateur, they were in his own time treated as something quite other, and were held in some esteem—something attested to by Erasmus's awareness even of Henry's religious compositions. See Warton, *History of English Poetry*, 3:342–43, in which he cites Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London: 1776, repr. New York: Dover, 1963), 2:533. Regarding the masque, see William Chappell, *Old English Popular Music* (London: Chappell and Co., 1893), 1:53 (revision by H. Ellis Wooldridge of *Popular Music of the Olden Time* of 1853) "Quam pulchra es" is a later sacred composition, found in Baldwin's MS (BL Royal MS 24.d.2 166v). "O Lord, The Maker of All Things," from Henry's *Primer* (*The Primer . . . set Foorth by the Kynges Maiestie and his Clergie to be Taught Learned, and Read* [London: Richard Grafton, 1545]), is traditionally ascribed to him but today is generally attributed to William Mundy; an earlier version, found in the Wanley MS (Oxford, Bodleian Mus. Sch. e 420–22), is conceivably by Henry; see Christopher Morris, ed., *The Oxford Book of Tudor Anthems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 240; Chappell, *Popular Music*, 1:53; Walker, *A History*, 45, 67).

24. See Greg Walker, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 21, Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 280n44, and J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 350, who briefly discuss this tragedy. Henry had shown the tragedy to the Bishop of Carlisle. See *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between English and Spain*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth et al. (London: Longmans, 1862–), 5[2]:127)

25. Henry was occupied with the authorship of at least one book in 1528. He wrote, in that year, to Anne Boleyn of "my book" which "makes substantially for my matter, in writing whereof I have spent above four hours this day" (*Letters & Papers*, 82). In June of that year, Brian Tuke notes a visit from Henry "for the most part going and coming turns in for devising with me upon his book and other things current." See *Letters & Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), 4: no. 4409. *A Glasse of the Truthe* (Oxford Bodleian Tanner 182[2]) was printed by the king's printer, Thomas Berthelet. *Henricus Octavus* (Cambridge Trinity MS B.15.19) was one of several books used by Wolsey and Campeggio at the second trial regarding the king's divorce (May–June 1529). Its authorship involved John Stokesly, Edward Foxe, Nicholas de Burgo and, likely, the king himself. See Virginia Murphy, "The Literature and Propaganda of Henry VIII's First Divorce," in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy, and Piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (London: Macmillan, 1995), 148. For a detailed discussion of this work, see Edward Surtz and Virginia Murphy, ed., *The Divorce Tracts of Henry VIII* (Angers, France: Moreana, 1988), viii–xix.

26. See Sarah W. Brooks, "Some Predecessors of Spenser," *Poet-Lore* 1 (1889): 222.

27. Warton, *The History of English Poetry*, 3:342. Earlier this year, images of the complete Henry VIII songbook (BL Add. 31922) were mounted on the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (www.diamm.ac.uk), where they are freely available to researchers.

28. See, for example, Cooper's "Alone I leffe alone" (H 22r).
29. The lyrical English works attributed to him in this manner include "Pastyme with good companye" (H 14v–15r), "Alas what shall I do for love" (H 20v–21r), "O my hart and o my hart" (H 22v–23r), "The tyme of youthe is to be spent" (H 28v–29r), "Alac alac what shall I do" (H 35v), "Grene growith *the* holy" (H 37v–38r), "Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne" (H 39r), "If love now reynyd as it hath bene" (H 48v–49r), "Wherto shuld I expresse" (H 51v–52r), "Thow that men do call it dotage" (H 55v–56r), "Departure is my chef payne" (60v), "Withowt dyscord" (H 68v–69r), "Whoso that wyll for *grace* sew" (H 84v–85r), and "Lusti yough shuld vs ensue" (H 94v–97r). The contents of this list differs with the transcription of the manuscript given by Stevens, who mistakenly attributes "The thoughtes within my brest" (H 29v–30r) to Henry, though the scribal attribution is to "T. Ffardyng" (30r). See John E. Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London: Methuen and Co., 1961), 392.
30. David Fallows, "Henry VIII as Composer," in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays in the British Library Collections Presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday*, ed. C. Banks et al. (London: British Library, 1992), 27.
31. See "Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne" (H 39r), where disdain is characterized as thwarting "all gentyl mynd" (l.4), including the speaker; in "If love now reynyd as it hath bene" (H 48v–49r), the speaker identifies himself with "Nobyll men" (l.3); in "Thow that men do call it dotage" (H 55v–56r), the speaker separates himself from rustics who cannot identify with the virtues of courtly love in stating that "who loue dysdaynyth ys all of the village" (l.14); in "Whoso that wyll for *grace* sew" (H 84v–85r), the speaker places himself among those who have proficiency in the art of love: "many oone sayth that loue ys yll / but those be thay which can no skyll" (ll.5–6).
32. For this assessment of Henry's lyrics, see Stevens, *Music and Poetry*, 415; Stevens notes that "Let not vs that yongmen be" (H 87v–88r), unattributed in the Henry VIII MS, is of the same unique manner as those of this nature attributed to Henry.
33. The manner of proclamation, tone, and subject matter is similar to the lyrical works ascribed to Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands (see the second chapter of Ives, *Anne Boleyn*). Links, cultural and otherwise, with the Burgundian court were strong. See Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance*, *Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute*, General Series 6 (The Hague: Leiden University Press, 1977). This court was seen by Henry to represent the epitome of chivalric behavior; Henry's father had courted Margaret after the death of his wife, Elizabeth, and Henry himself had been considered for marriage to Margaret herself, as well as her younger sister Eleanor. See Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 39ff.
34. Wyatt employed this line in "If yt ware not" (approximately 1530) to make reference to the situation existing between the king and Anne Boleyn. See also below.
35. Discussed in more detail below; see notes 59 and 73.
36. See Ian Lancashire, ed., *Two Tudor Interludes: The Interludes of Youth and Hick Scorer*, *The Revels Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 54.
37. Consider, also, the situation of "Though sum saith that yough rulyth me" (H 71v–73r) which is attributed to Henry on the basis of its employment of his motto "god and my ryght" (l.3) and line 19, which reads "Thus sayth the king the .viii.th hary." That these words were those of the king would be made unmistakable.

38. See Fallows, “Henry VIII as Composer,” and Dietrich Helms, *Heinrich VIII und die Musik: Überlieferung, musikalische Bildung des Adels und Kompositionstechniken eines Königs* (Eisenach: Wagner, 1998), 349–90.

39. Most notable among these are “Aboffe all thynges” (H 24v), “Adew adew le company” (H 74v–75r), “ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart” (H 100v–102r), and “Pray we to god that all may gyde” (H 103r).

40. Held in a collection at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire. The collection was first noted by E. Charlton in “Devotional Tracts Belonging to Queen Katherine Parr,” *Notes and Queries* [series 1] 2 (1850): 212. Charlton briefly describes its contents: there are six tracts, ranging in date of printing from 1534 (items 1, 3, and 4) to 1541 (item 6). This volume, in Charlton’s possession at the time of his writing (1850), ultimately passed to H. Dent Brocklehurst, an early owner and restorer of Sudeley Castle. Charlton’s note was in response to that by J. L. W., entitled “MS. Book of Prayers Belonging to Queen Katherine Parr,” *Notes and Queries* [ser. 1] 2 (1850): 167. J. L. W. refers to the incomplete manuscript copy, now in Kendall Town Hall, of Parr’s *Prayers and Meditations* (printed in London by T. Berthelet in 1545), noted and discussed in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* 60, no. 2 (1790): 617, 703, 799, 1100, and reprinted in sections 618, 700–702, 785–87, and 986–88. For recent work on Parr—an author and patron in her own right—see Janel Mueller, “Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr’s *Prayers and Meditations* (1545),” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (1990): 171–97; “A Tudor Queen Finds Voice: Katherine Parr’s Lamentation of a Sinner,” in *The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture*, ed. Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 15–47; and John King, “Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr,” in *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, 43–60. A work which went to press too late for consideration here is the third volume of the *Early Modern Englishwoman* series, which contains the writings of Katherine Parr edited by Janel Mueller. At the bottom of the first item’s title page (“A sermon of saint chrysostome”) is written “Kateryn the Quene KP” in what has been identified as Parr’s hand; on the facing sheet are verses from the psalms, in her hand as well. See Nicholas Hurt and Julian Comrie, *Sudeley Castle and Gardens* (Wimborne, Dorset: Dovecote Press, 1994), 9, for a photograph of these pages. For record of the book in Sudeley Castle, see Adam Pollock, *Sudeley Castle* (London: Balding and Mansell, 1970), 27, wherein is described, in the fifth room of the Sudeley Castle exhibit, a “religious book written by Katherine Parr, one with an inscription by Henry VIII.”

41. An image of this poem is available in Raymond G. Siemens, “‘Respect’: Verses Attributed to Henry VIII in a Prayer Book Owned by Katherine Parr,” *Notes and Queries* [new series] 46 (1999): 186–89. I wish to thank Peter Meredith (Leeds) and Patricia Basing (BL) for their assistance with several readings of the poem.

42. Mary Trefusis, *Songs, Ballads, and Instrumental Pieces Composed by King Henry VIII* (Oxford: Privately printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1912), xviii.

43. For details of the movement against Katherine, see J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 215, and Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 386–90.

44. I am grateful to Joanne Woolway, William Hodges, Patricia Basing, and W. H. Kelliher for their comments on the hand in this poem.
45. Harrington, "Letter from Sir John Haryngton to Prince Henry," 2:248.
46. Discussed by Thomas Warton in *The History of English Poetry*, 3:342–43.
47. See E. H. Fellowes, ed., *English Madrigal Verse, 1588–1632*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 685, and Lily B. Campbell, ed., *A Mirror for Magistrates [1563]* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 376.
48. Chappell, *Account*, 376.
49. Philip Lindsay, *Here Comes the King* (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1933).
50. James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Richard Ellmann and Stuart Gilbert (New York: Viking Press, 1957), 23–24. I wish to thank Andrew Busza for bringing this letter to my attention.
51. The presentation, with vague attribution, of verses in some nineteenth-century reprintings of works from the Henry VIII MS may have been responsible for this confusion. It is also possible that Joyce confused this lyric with another in the volume, "The thoughtes within my brest" (*H* 29v–30), which shares a second line, "They greue me passyng sore," and rhyme in the fourth, "euer more." This lyric, while attributed by Stevens to Henry (*Music & Poetry*, 392), and echoed in the entry on Henry in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (177), is attributed in the manuscript to "T. Ffardyng" (30r).
52. Brooks, "Some Predecessors of Spenser," 214–23, 222.
53. Quoted in Herman, *Reading Monarchs*, 222.
54. See A. C. Spearing, "Wyatt's Poetic Role [and] Wyatt as Courtly Lyricist," in his *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 278–300. With some difference, though of the same kind, are views expressed in a public television documentary on the reign of Henry VIII in which Rosalind Miles, speaking of Katherine of Aragon, mentions that Henry would "write little poems to her." Margaret George, talking of Henry's legendary love for the ladies, says that "he was always writing sonnets to his lady loves, and music for them." See *Henry VIII, Biography* (video; New York: Arts and Entertainment Network, 1996). Miles, author of *Elizabeth I: The Word of a Queen* (London: Sidgwick and Johnson, 1993), makes her statement twenty minutes into the tape and Margaret George, author of *The Autobiography of Henry VIII* (London: Macmillan, 1986), at twenty-one minutes.
55. For a survey of activity at this time, see Helms, *Heinrich VIII und die Musik*, 232–65.
56. Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 515.
57. See Lancashire, *Two Tudor Interludes*, 106, l.70; 18ff., for these echoes. Lyrics by others point equally to a date prior to 1514, especially those which focus on the celebrations surrounding the birth of a son, who would not survive his first few months, in 1511 ("Aboffe all thyngge" [*H* 24v] and "Adew adew le company" [*H* 74v–75r]) and refer to the 1513 war with the French in the future tense ("ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart" [*H* 100v–102r] and "Pray we to god that all may gyde" [*H* 103r]).
58. See Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 15–16, and *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other*

Libraries of Northern Italy, ed. Rawdon Brown (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867), 2:242. *Calendar* henceforth referred to as *CSP Venice*. Henry's public performance of this kind is documented in *CSP Venice*, 1:69 and 2:328, among others.

59. The title of this work is *Deuteromelia*; none of the songs gathered by Ravenscroft are of Henry's composition. See Thomas Ravenscroft, *Deuteromelia: Or The Second part of Musicks melodie, or melodius Musicke, Of Pleasant Roundelaies: K. H. mirth, or Freemens Songs* (London: Thomas Adams, 1609; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1971). In addition to the courtly songs of his chapel, Henry enjoyed singing the "fremen songs" with Peter Carew. See Thomas Phillips, "The Life of Sir Peter Carew," *Archaeologia* 28 (1840): 113.

60. See Stevens, *Music and Poetry*.

61. For discussion of Wyatt and the courtly love tradition, see "Courtly Love" in Patricia Thomson, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and His Background* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 10–45. For discussion of the coterie element of the Devonshire MS, see Paul G. Remley, "Mary Shelton and Her Tudor Literary Milieu," in *Rethinking the Henrician Era: Essays on Early Tudor Texts and Contexts*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Southall, "The Devonshire Manuscript"; Elizabeth Heale, "Women and the Courtly Love Lyric: *The Devonshire MS* (BL Additional MS 17492)," *Modern Language Review* 90 (1995): 296–313; Helen Baron, "Mary (Howard) Fitzroy's Hand in the Devonshire Manuscript," *Review of English Studies* [new series] 179 (1994): 318–35; and Julia Boffey, "Women Authors and Women's Literacy in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England," in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150–1500*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 159–82. Discounting Wyatt and Anne Boleyn's presence in the manuscript is Ives in "Passion and Courtly Love," in *Anne Boleyn*, 77–110.

62. Devonshire MS (78v); see also Richard L. Greene, *The Early English Carols* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1935), nos. 467, 314–15, 452.

63. See Stevens, *Music and Poetry*, 345.

64. See Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 22ff.; Robert E. Jungman, "'Pastime with Good Company' by Henry VIII," *Notes and Queries* 26, no. 5 (1979): 398n1; and Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn*, 1:128n3. The king's ties to the Burgundian court are well known, as are the strong Burgundian influences on the early Tudor lyric and other courtly arts.

65. See R. L. Greene, "A Carol of Anne Boleyn by Wyatt," *Review of English Studies* 25 (1974): 438; Jungman, "Pastime with Good Company," 398n1; and Mary L. Bruce, *Anne Boleyn* (London: Collins, 1972), 168–72. The translation is given by Bruce, *Anne Boleyn*, 168.

66. See Greene, "A Carol of Anne Boleyn by Wyatt," 438–39.

67. Jungman, "Pastime with Good Company," 398, 399.

68. While Boleyn's motto, Wyatt's burden, and the line in Henry's lyric do share a similar resonance, this relationship is one which, because of the textual circumstances of Henry's lyric, cannot exist. "Pastyme with good companye" first appears in the Ritson MS (LRit 136v–137r, 141v–142r), itself dated approximately 1510; Boleyn's adoption of the motto is in 1530; and Wyatt's presumably is approximately this date, as argued by Greene ("A Carol of Anne Boleyn by Wyatt").

69. Though it was composed approximately in 1509, the king's ballad had a popularity which extended up to and beyond 1530.
70. Anne Boleyn's adoption of a motto close to that of Burgundy is a defiant gesture, making explicit her unwavering certainty that she would be Henry's queen. It is also in support of the sentiments expressed by Henry's lyric, as well as those upheld by the Burgundian court that Henry so admired and sought to emulate, and in which the two shared a common ground. Boleyn spent the summer of 1513 as a maid of honor at Margaret's court. That summer saw visits from and revels involving Henry's continental entourage for the war against the French, which included the Chapel Royal. Boleyn may have come across the motto first while gaining a courtly education under Margaret's guidance. By the summer of 1513, Henry would have been familiar with the motto for quite some time, and was, it would seem, introduced to it before his composition of "Pastyme with good companye" in approximately 1510.
71. See reports of Henry's abilities by ambassadorial crews, among them a report of 3 May 1515 to the Signory of Venice in which it is noted that Henry "played about every instrument, sang and composed fairly." See *CSP Venice*, 2:242, no. 614. One may also look to the continental distribution of the poem; refer to the textual notes accompanying "Pastyme with good companye."
72. For Henry's enjoyment of singing with Carew, see T. Phillips, "Peter Carew," 113; for a brief mention of the situation of their performance of the lyric "As I walked through the glades and wode so wylde" before Katherine and Elizabeth, see W. H. Tapp, *Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth at the Royal Manor of Hanworth* (London: Bailey Bros. & Swinfen, 1954), v.
73. It appears twice in the Ritson MS and once in Henry VIII MS.
74. It is noted as "pastance [with] gude companye," in James A. H. Murray, *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (London: Early English Text Society, 1872), 64, lxxxiii: no. 49. See Cambridge, Pepysian Library, Magdalene College MS 1,408, the Maitland Quarto MS (31r; 63).
75. Such as that noted, earlier, in the example of the *Interlude of Youth* (see Lancashire).
76. Passages of Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named the Governour* (London: Everyman's Library, 1907) echo the ideas expressed in two lines of the poem—"For my pastaunce / Hunte, syng and daunce" (5–6)—referring to the value of hunting (1: ch. 18), singing (1: ch. 7), and dancing (1: chs. 19–25).
77. While preaching in the King's hall, as reported from Pace to Wolsey, the royal almoner incorporated "Pastyme with good companye" as well as "I loue vnloved suche is myn aduenture" (*H* 122v–124r) into his sermon (*Letters & Papers*, III (i): 447); later, in his "Second Sermon before Edward VI," Hugh Latimer referred to the same lines upon which Elyot elaborates. See Latimer, *Selected Sermons of Hugh Latimer*, ed. Allan G. Chester (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 79.
78. Specifically, see Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, 515ff., wherein Henry's early interest in music and lyrics is recounted.
79. Especially important here is the absence of an inventory number in the manuscript, which would be expected if it were part of the royal collection; nor are its

binding decorations reflective of patterns seen in the royal library. For the most recent work in this area, see Helms, *Heinrich VIII und die Musik*, 53–56.

80. “Pastyme with good companye,” for example, appears in all its textual witnesses (H, LRit[1], and LRit[2]) in three voices. Possible exceptions include “O my hart and o my hart” (H 22v–23r), which is presented in three voices in Henry VIII MS but only preserved as a single voice in its transcription on the final page of a 1493 edition of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (PBL e gg4v), and “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” (H 48v–49r) for which, though the text appears only once in Henry VIII MS, music is provided for three voices.

81. The comparatively large number of his compositions in the manuscript reflects his early exuberance for song. Henry himself was skillful with many instruments (see Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 15–16, and CSP *Venice*, 2:242), and often played and sang in public (see CSP *Venice*, 1:669 and 2:328).

82. For Henry’s characterization in the interlude *Youth*, see Lancashire, *Two Tudor Interludes*, 54. The hero of Hawes’s *Example of Vertue* (approximately 1503–04), whose name is “Youth,” may have been intended to represent the young Prince Henry. As Edward Hall, the chronicler, reports, he appeared in a disguising dealing with the subject “that the flower of youth could not be oppressed” and a masque in which personifications of Youth and Love were active participants (see *Hall’s Chronicle*, 597 and 615). Later entertainments that deal with the loss of youth also show the king’s identification with that age. He appeared as one of ten lords dressed in gowns of “the auncient fashion enbrodered with reasons of golde that sayd, adieu Iunesse, farewell youth” (*Hall’s Chronicle*, 615) and, with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in disguise at a tournament as “twoo ancient knightes” whom “youth had left” (*Hall’s Chronicle*, 689).

83. Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 511, 512.

84. Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 517, and *Letters & Papers*, 1:220.

85. Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 519.

86. Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 630, 631.

87. In this vein, we might also consider the one lyric in the Henry VIII MS along these lines, intended to be presented by Katherine of Aragon, “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (H 54v–55).

88. This is discussed above in relation to its echo in Wyatt’s “If yt ware not” (19).

89. Here, the two courts met in Margaret’s “famous centre of courtly love” for several days of celebration, including games, singing, and all-night dancing. See S. J. Gunn, “Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, ca. 1484–1545” (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1986), 29. Also of interest is the nature of the games. Henry, for example, promised a dowry of 10,000 crowns to a Flemish lady-in-waiting who caught his eye. Charles Brandon and Margaret of Austria participated in a stylized marriage proposal, which Henry interpreted to her as an *actual* proposal of marriage. For a description of the festivities and events, see the *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan* (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1912), 654, 656, 657. See also J. Strelka, *Der Burgundische Renaissancehof Margareth von Österreichs und seine literarhistorische Bedeutung* (Vienna: A. Sexl, 1957), 48, 56–57; Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 25–26; *Letters & Papers*, I[*ii*], nos. 2255, 2262, 2281, 2355, 2375, 2380, 2391; Gunn,

Charles Brandon, 29ff.; and *Chronicle of Calais* [supposed author, Richard Turpyn.], ed. J. G. Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1846), 71–74.

90. “Disdainers” are also a common feature of the literature associated with tournaments of the day; see, for example, the anonymous *Jousts of May* and the *Jousts of June*.

91. Consider the concern expressed for the king at what was his first joust (12 January 1510) at which he participated in equal disguise with William Compton. One of the two was quite seriously injured and “likely to dye”; given the concern that this might be the king, Henry revealed himself publically, uninjured (see Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 513). Sydney Anglo, in *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 5, provides a summary of reservations against the king’s participation in such events. See also the event recounted by Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 511, and *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (London: G. W. Jones, 1938), 342ff., in which Henry was approached by the queen and her ladies, in the midst of a pageant with a forester theme, to intercede. According to Hall, Henry felt some “grudge and displeasure” between the party of the queen and those performing in the pageant (recounted also in Anglo, *Tournament Roll*, 48–49).

92. Herman, “Henry VIII,” 222.

93. Herman, “Henry VIII,” 185.