



TECHNICKÁ UNIVERZITA V LIBERCI
Fakulta přírodovědně-humanitní
a pedagogická



ANALÝZA VZTAHŮ JINDŘICHA VIII. K JEHO ŠESTI ŽENÁM: TELEVIZNÍ ZPRACOVÁNÍ A HISTORICKÁ FAKTA

Diplomová práce

Studijní program: N7504 – Učitelství pro střední školy

Studijní obory: 7503T009 – Učitelství anglického jazyka pro 2. stupeň základní
školy 7504T243 – Učitelství českého jazyka a literatury

Autor práce: **Klára Markovičová**

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Zénó Vernyik, Ph.D.

Liberec
2015





ANALYSIS OF HENRY VIII'S RELATIONSHIPS TO HIS SIX WIVES: TV-SERIES AND HISTORICAL FACTS

Diploma thesis

Study programme: N7504 – Teacher training for upper-secondary school

Study branches: 7503T009 – Teacher Training for Lower Secondary Schools -
English 7504T243 – Teachers of Czech language (general
education) for elementary and secondary schools

Author: **Klára Markovičová**

Supervisor: Mgr. Zénó Vernyik, Ph.D.



ZADÁNÍ DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE

(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: Klára Markovičová
Osobní číslo: P13000767
Studijní program: N7504 Učitelství pro střední školy
Studijní obory: Učitelství anglického jazyka pro 2. stupeň základní školy
Učitelství českého jazyka a literatury
Název tématu: Analýza vztahů Jindřicha VIII. k jeho šesti ženám: televizní zpracování a historická fakta
Zadávací katedra: Katedra anglického jazyka

Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

Diplomová práce zmapuje vybrané charakteristiky vztahů Jindřicha VIII. k jeho šesti ženám. Tyto charakteristiky budou porovnány se seriálovým zpracováním Tudorovci a na základě získaných poznatků bude identifikováno odlišné ztvárnění jednotlivých vztahů. K ověření cílů bude prostudována historická literatura tištěná i mediální, a dále bude využita obsahová analýza seriálové adaptace.

Rozsah grafických prací:

Rozsah pracovní zprávy:

Forma zpracování diplomové práce: **tištěná/elektronická**

Jazyk zpracování diplomové práce: **Angličtina**

Seznam odborné literatury:

Bingham, Jane. 2012. Tudors, the Kings and Queens of England's Golden Age (1485 1603). New York: Metro Books.

Cristian, Réka M. and Zoltán Dragon. 2008. Encounters of the Filmic Kind: Guidebook to Film Theories. Szeged: JatePress.

Deary, Terry, Tonge, Neil. 1993. Horrible Histories The Terrible Tudors. London: Scholastic Ltd.

Edgerton, Gary R. and Brian G. Rose eds. 2005. Thinking Outside the Box: A Contemporary Television Genre Reader. Lexington, KY: UP of Kentucky.

Fraser, Antonia. 2005. Šest žen Jindřicha VIII. Ostrava: Domino.

Giles, David. Media Psychology. 2003. Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Hardy-Gould, Janet. 2000. Henry VIII and His Six Wives. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Landy, Marcia. 1991. Imitations of Life: A Reader on Film and Television Melodrama. Detroit, MI: Wayne State UP.

Meyer, J. G. 2010. Tudorovci. Praha: Československý spisovatel.

Weir, Alison. 2007. The Six Wives of Henry VIII. London: Vintage.

Vedoucí diplomové práce:

Mgr. Zénó Vernyik, Ph.D.

Katedra anglického jazyka

Datum zadání diplomové práce:

30. dubna 2014

Termín odevzdání diplomové práce:

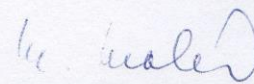
4. května 2015



doc. RNDr. Miroslav Brzezina, CSc.

děkan

L.S.



PhDr. Marcela Malá, M.A., Ph.D.

vedoucí katedry

V Liberci dne 30. dubna 2014

Prohlášení

Byla jsem seznámena s tím, že na mou diplomovou práci se plně vztahuje zákon č. 121/2000 Sb., o právu autorském, zejména § 60 – školní dílo.

Beru na vědomí, že Technická univerzita v Liberci (TUL) nezasahuje do mých autorských práv užitím mé diplomové práce pro vnitřní potřebu TUL.

Užiji-li diplomovou práci nebo poskytnu-li licenci k jejímu využití, jsem si vědoma povinnosti informovat o této skutečnosti TUL; v tomto případě má TUL právo ode mne požadovat úhradu nákladů, které vynaložila na vytvoření díla, až do jejich skutečné výše.

Diplomovou práci jsem vypracovala samostatně s použitím uvedené literatury a na základě konzultací s vedoucím mé diplomové práce a konzultantem.

Současně čestně prohlašuji, že tištěná verze práce se shoduje s elektronickou verzí, vloženou do IS STAG.

Datum:

Podpis:

Poděkování

Na tomto místě bych velice ráda poděkovala Mgr. Zénu Vernyikovi, Ph.D. za výbornou spolupráci, velikou ochotu, cenné připomínky, komentáře, poznámky a odborné rady, kterými přispěl k vypracování této diplomové práce. Mé poděkování patří také PaedDr. Zuzaně Šaffkové, CSc., M.A. za pomoc při sestavování osnovy a objasnění předmětu a tématu mé práce.

Anotace

Diplomová práce se zaměřuje na vztahy Jindřicha VIII., konkrétně na vztah s Anne Boleynovou a Katherine Howardovou, které král nechal popravít. První část porovnává zastoupení situací, chvil, dialogů a dopisů výše uvedených vztahů v seriálové adaptaci v porovnání s historickými zdroji. Uvádí také Jindřichovo chování vůči Anne Boleynové a Katherine Howardové. Druhá část diplomové práce uvádí střípky z filmové teorie, které doplňují porovnání v oblasti filmu, a to zejména v tom, jak se seriálová adaptace *Tudorovci* liší od historických fakt. Poslední část tvoří celkové shrnutí shodností a rozdílů mezi seriálem *Tudorovci*, historickými zdroji ve formě knih a televizního dokumentu. Tato část zahrnuje také poznámky, jež v rozhovorech o *Tudorovcích* uvedl scénárista a autor této seriálové adaptace a které pomohly k celkovému doplnění analýzy diplomové práce.

Klíčová slova: *Tudorovci*, seriálová adaptace, historické zdroje, Jindřich VIII., Anne Boleynová, Katherine Howardová

Abstract

This diploma thesis focuses on Henry VIII's relationships, in particular on those with his two beheaded wives, Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard. The first part of the thesis compares the representation of situations, moments, dialogues and letters of these specific relationships to their mention in historical sources, as well as Henry's behaviour towards Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard. The second part of the thesis comments on the film theory which complements the comparison of how the TV series, *The Tudors*, differs from historical sources. The final part is a complete summarization of the congruities and also differences between *The Tudors* and historical sources in the form of books, a TV documentary, as well as comments provided by the scriptwriter of the aforementioned TV series.

Key words: *The Tudors*, the TV series, historical sources, Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, Katherine Howard

CONTENT

1	Introduction	8
2	Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn: Comparison of the Relationship.....	10
2.1	How Henry VIII Met Anne Boleyn.....	10
2.1.1	Anne Boleyn Comes to the English Court	12
2.1.2	Anne Boleyn's Character and Appearance.....	16
2.1.3	Ideals of Beauty in 16 th Century in Contradiction with the TV Series	19
2.1.4	Anne Boleyn as Henry VIII's Centred Target.....	21
2.1.5	Gifts and presents between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn	25
2.1.6	Henry VIII Asks Anne Boleyn about Being His Official Mistress	30
2.2	Reasons to Marry Anne Boleyn	34
2.2.1	The King Wants a Divorce	36
2.2.1.1	Reasons for a Divorce.....	37
2.2.1.2	Managing Divorce	38
2.3	The King and the New Queen	43
2.3.1	A Deep Change.....	43
2.4	Anne Boleyn's Fall.....	46
2.4.1	Removing the Queen	48
2.4.2	Shall I Die without Justice?	49
3	Henry VIII and Katherine Howard: Comparison of the Relationship	53
3.1	How Henry VIII Met Katherine Howard	53
3.1.1	Katherine Howard Comes to the English Court	55
3.2	The King and the New, the Fifth, Queen	58
3.2.1	King's Behaviour on a Rollercoaster	59
3.2.2	The Affair with Thomas Culpeper	60
3.3	Katherine Howard's Fall	64
4	<i>The Tudors</i> as Historical Melodrama: Changes in Context	72
5	Conclusion.....	82
6	Works Cited	86
7	Appendices.....	88

1 Introduction

The Tudor Era is one of the most famous periods in the history of Great Britain. Most people have heard about the personality of its king, Henry VIII. He is remembered as a cruel lecher of a popular legend, a killer as well as an impetuous and passionate lover who not only had many mistresses, but became famous mainly for changing his wives whenever it pleased him. But the real question is what this melodrama was really like.

This thesis focuses on facts regarding some of his relationships as they appeared in historical sources in comparison with the TV series, *The Tudors*, from the years 2007, 2009 and 2010, to see to what extent the TV series is based on historical facts and in which situations. For a better and more detailed overview, I decided to limit the range of my analysis to the relationships between Henry VIII and two of his wives – Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard. The reason is that these marriages feature the most impressive and detailed plot and moreover Anne and Katherine were the only two of the king's wives who were beheaded. Thus, I consider these marriages the most fruitful for discussion.

The first part of the thesis is focused on a detailed description of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII's relationship. Points of comparison are: how they met, how Anne came to Henry's court and how she became Henry's main target. This part also includes several of their famous love letters. It also devotes some attention to the ideals of beauty in the 16th century, however, as it is shown below, Anne was not a typical woman from the perspective of the standards of beauty current at the time. This same part also presents the issue of Henry VIII's first divorce with his first wife

Katherine of Aragon as well as Anne Boleyn's fall after not giving him a male heir and suffering several miscarriages.

The second part concentrates on Henry's fifth marriage, with a teenage girl, Katherine Howard. It includes information about Katherine's past, how she came to court and how Henry fell in love with her. In addition, this part presents, in detail, Katherine's affair with the king's closest servant and a gentleman of his privy chamber, Thomas Culpeper, as well as Katherine's later fall.

The last part of the diploma thesis summarizes the findings of the analyses, which were otherwise investigated throughout the whole thesis, while at the same time it adds further details, using the film theory. This is supplemented by information about the TV series itself, according to interviews with Michael Hirst, the script writer of the series.

The diploma thesis proves that the TV series is full of dramatic situations, sexing-up and romantic scenes, but on the other hand, as far as historical facts are concerned, *The Tudors* is fairly accurate, and closely follows the historical sources, especially in politics, relationships and the general outlook on the society. The thesis also offers information about possible reasons for such dramatization of the TV version, including the TV series creator's, Michael Hirst's, points of view. Hirst with the movie producers included many historically proven facts and did not omit details of the concrete relationships; they however changed conditions in several scene situations. It is obvious that some dramatic scenes are sometimes quite enlarged while the others are only mentioned in the context. Also, *The Tudors* more or less follows the category of the typical British historical movies where the main focus is on the costumes, the intrigues, rather than on the manner in which the ordinary people and the people at the court really lived in the 16th century.

2 Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn: Comparison of the Relationship

2.1 How Henry VIII Met Anne Boleyn

The relationship between Anne and Henry is discussed in many books, many sources, and movies. Because there are plenty of speculations and proven facts about their historical relationship, this chapter will follow a deeper view into how their passionate love actually began.

One of the crucial characters during the period of Henry and Anne's meeting was Thomas Boleyn who figured prominently in the King's inner circle of intimates (Meyer 2010, 137, Weir 2007, 148). The father of Anne, Mary and George was an excellent ambassador, and the king, thus, entrusted him with various diplomatic negotiations including, but not limited to a prepared summit in France (Weir 2007). It was primarily because of Boleyn's connections that his children were able to travel and educate themselves abroad. Both of the girls were given a chance to improve and present their knowledge mainly at the French court.

Long before Anne got to the French court, however, she was said to have entered the service of Margaret of Austria in Brussels where she had gained some of her education, mainly her fluency in the French language (Meyer 2010, 136, Weir 2007, 146, 149). Therefore, she could then be sent to the French court as a maid of honour to Mary Tudor, by her father. Anne's sister, Mary, had already been at the French court for years (Weir 2007). Both sisters were among the six young girls permitted to remain at the court by King Louis XII (150). The court had a reputation for loose morals and licentiousness which the king, by his own behaviour, did not

mean to dispel (Weir 2007). Ladies there were said to be very experienced mainly in a sexual way. Due to this fact, Mary Boleyn had a bad reputation not only among nobles. Most of the sources even refer to a short relationship of Henry with Mary Boleyn, yet they do not discuss the way they met. This then leaves a lot of ground for interpretation, and allows *The Tudors* to create its own version of history.

What can be the key for Henry and Mary's meeting is the summit between England and France. The historical sources agree that at that time, Thomas Boleyn was about to arrange the mentioned summit to sign a treaty of universal and perpetual peace (Weir 2007, Meyer 2010). In the televised version, it was there that he met Mary Boleyn, and she was subsequently invited to Henry's bed a few times. But, he later abruptly discarded her without any reason, once and for all (Weir 2007). In the interpretation of the series, the main reason for arranging the summit was to betroth Henry's daughter Mary to the French dauphin (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e01). The king, Henry, thus, arrived to Val D'Or to recognize King Francis and sign the treaty.

At the summit, King Francis offered Henry a chance to meet Mary Boleyn, and more than that. In the televised version of the story, the French king openly comments on Mary's morals and stresses her sexual expertise above all else: "her name is Mary Boleyn, the daughter of the ambassador, with her sister Anne [standing beside]. I call Mary my English mare because I ride her so often" (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e02, 08:57). After such an introduction, it is no big surprise that Henry, full of youthfulness and steaminess, did not notice Anne, but was eager to meet Mary, with all her experiences and skills learnt at the court. Their actual relationship, however, is not much ruminated in the series; one cannot really judge how it was supposed to be, even though there is some information about this aspect in historical sources.

Bingham (2012) and Fraser (2005), for example, suggests that Henry had a romantic relationship with Mary in the years 1521 – 1525 so this information points to a possibly longer and deeper relationship than that suggested by the portrayal of the series.

2.1.1 Anne Boleyn Comes to the English Court

Reasons for Anne to come to the English court are only speculated on. According to Meyer (2010), she had to leave the French court because King Henry decided to go to war with France (138), while other sources (Weir 2007, Bingham 2012, Lewis 2011, Thoma 2002) indicate only Anne's coming to the English court without giving any particular reason.

Likewise, there are various theories about Anne's reasons to approach Henry and her way to the court. Many sources offer the explanation that Anne, after coming back to the English court, became a part of the queen's ladies-in-waiting/maids of honour in 1522. Meyer (2010), for example, refers to a historic statement which is not mentioned in further sources: According to him,

Anne soon left for Ireland. Her father led a long dispute with a noble Anglo-Irish family, the Butlers, concerning the title of the Earl of Ormond (belonging to Thomas's grandfather from the mother's side). King Henry and Thomas Wolsey tried to resolve the issue by offering Anne to Sir James. This would lead to a connection of the families who could then share the heritage. The Butlers refused the proposal, probably because they wanted a bigger heritage than the one enabled by the

marriage with Anne. Thus, she stayed at court as a part of the queen Katherine's ladies-in-waiting¹ (Meyer 2010, 138, my translation).

Henry's interest towards Anne was first recorded in 1526, yet, the fact he had known her earlier than that is clearly visible in the statement above. Henry must have already known Anne, if he was to resolve a diplomatic matter by marrying her. The situation is discussed in much less detail by Lewis (2011) and Thoma (2002) who only mention that Anne became a lady-in-waiting in 1522. In Lewis (2011), one cannot learn about Henry and Anne's first encounter at all, yet Thoma (2002) claims that Henry was surprised by how many things Anne knew about the secrets of love.

This statement, i.e. that she was knowledgeable in the art of love, is a puzzling one, since, as it is to be mentioned below, Anne persistently refused Henry's efforts to court her even years later. Besides that, as Anne was a relatively new to the ladies in waiting, Henry could not have had any chance to know her any closer. The statement, nevertheless, points to an early attraction on Henry's side, a claim corroborated by other sources as well. Weir (2007), for example, claims that Henry's eyes followed Anne since as early as 1523. In addition, Weir also agrees that Henry met Anne during the period of her being a lady-in-waiting.

Bingham (2012) and Weir (2007), on the other hand, introduce a radically different point of view on Anne and Henry's meeting. In their books, there is one more person figuring in that love relation. It is poet Sir Thomas Wyatt. According to Bingham (2012) and Weir (2007), Henry got infatuated with Anne in 1526. Bingham

¹ Anna pak brzy zmizela do Irska. Její otec vedl dlouhou rozepři se vznešenou anglo-irskou rodinou Butlerů o titul hraběte z Ormondu (který patřil Thomasovu dědovi z matčiny strany). Král Henry a Wolsey se snažili únavné handrkování vyřešit tím, že nabídli Anne siru Jamesi, čímž by došlo ke spojení rodin, které by se o dědictví mohly podělit. Butlerové odmítli, zjevně očekávali větší dědictví, než jaké by vyplynulo ze sňatku. Anne tedy zůstala u dvora – výjimečně okouzující dvorní dáma královny Kateřiny.

writes (64) that Anne tried to attract Thomas's attention and actively flirted with him at the time. Bingham further adds that Henry even knew about their love plot. What is an even more interesting fact, and one which other sources do not mention is that, in this version, Henry's passion was supposed to have increased with his rivalry with Thomas Wyatt, and the king simply decided to win (66).

However, it is necessary to reconsider this claim. If Henry had known about Thomas's love towards Anne, he would have probably had him killed to make his way to Anne clear. This would not even be a surprise, because Henry's nature was really explosive, choleric and decisive one, he was also determined to get what he wanted at all costs. In fact, Bingham (2012) and Weir (2007) are the only sources consulted that claim this love triangle existed; there is no more information about Thomas Wyatt in other sources, apart from the televised version, *The Tudors*, as it is to be shown.

In the series, the character of Thomas Wyatt, apparently, had already had a relationship with Anne when she decided to become the king's "great matter" (Weir 2007, 143). Nevertheless, later in the episodes, Henry explicitly asks Thomas: "Were you in love with Anne Boleyn? Cardinal Wolsey tells me you were once engaged. Did you love her?" (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e04, 15:09) Thomas answers cunningly, knowing that a wrong response could possibly mean the end of his life: "Lady Anne is so beautiful; it is duty of every man to love her. Of course I loved her, but from a distance. Personally, I have a wife" (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e04 15:12). Yet, the issue of Anne's supposed love triangle with Thomas Wyatt is by far not the only difference between the historical sources and the televised version.

To return to Anne's arrival at the English court, Thomas Boleyn plays a much more central and active role in encouraging the love affair than any other, in the

version provided by *The Tudors*. In fact, it is even supposed to be him who decides to encourage Anne to get close to Henry: “His Majesty is tired of his French alliance. It seems he is also tired of your sister. He no longer invites her to his bed. When she was his mistress, all our fortunes were made. Now most likely they will fall. Unless...” (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e02, 48:40). While Anne clearly understands what her father is aiming at, her opinion is nevertheless slightly different. She points out that in her opinion Henry would have the same approach towards her as towards her sister Mary. As Anne says, “he blows hot, he blows cold. They say that all his liaisons are soon over” (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e02, 49:12). However, this is not enough to change her father’s mind. Rather than that, he encourages her to use what she has learnt in France, her appearance and her inner strength to make sure that Henry would keep his interest more prolonged.

What is more, in *The Tudors*, Thomas Boleyn goes even further than merely encouraging her to use her skills in a cunning way. In the series, he goes so far as setting a “trap” for Henry. He uses the fact that there are some Spanish envoys visiting the royal court, and it is thus customary to organize a pageant for them as well as for the king. In order to attract Henry’s interest to Anne, Thomas Boleyn bribes one of the directors of the pageant so that Anne could be on the top of a tower with Henry’s sister Margaret. The king, as a part of a pageant, is supposed to climb on the top of the tower, and so he would end up meeting Anne.

The pageant is about “the ladies – graces – with names Kindness, Honour, Constancy, Mercy and Pity and they are prisoners in the castle. Those who keep them prisoner are Danger, Jealousy, Unkindness, Scorn, Disdain, and Strangeness etc. The men who conquer the castle represent Youth, Devotion, Loyalty, Pleasure,

Gentleness, Liberty and the King is hid amongst them” (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e03, 8:20).

When the king, as he is wont to, conquers the top of the tower, Anne catches his hand and prolongs their eye-contact. Although they are masked in this part, Henry is stunned by the lady. After the attack, all the participants dance and Henry turns around all the time to see Anne being unmasked. Both even have a chance to talk together for a second during the dance, thus Henry catches the opportunity to ask about Anne’s name. As it is obvious then, it is during this special occasion that his attention towards that mysterious woman begins to develop. Likewise, her later position as a lady-in-waiting begins after these scenes, in the series. Henry was haunted by Anne's charm and her sex-appeal, at last.

Many sources agree that Henry chased Anne to be his mistress (Meyer 2010, Weir 2007). Anne was a very clever and intelligent woman who knew the king’s marital situation. At the time, it had already been for years that Henry had lost his passion for the queen, Katherine of Aragon, not only due to the fact that she had not given him a son – an heir of the English throne – whom he wished for with all his heart.

2.1.2 Anne Boleyn’s Character and Appearance

The historical sources speculate about Anne Boleyn’s behaviour and personality. Her name was a thorn in one’s side for some people, while the others admired her astonishingly. Anne's enemies called her a shrew, a whore, a witch (Starkey 2003, 01:12). Weir (2007) adds that she was “also indiscreet, arrogant and vindictive in her treatment of her enemies” (144). Yet Weir (2007) also supplies that

Anne was considered “immoral simply because she was ‘the other woman’ in the King’s life.” (144). On the other hand, Anne is often pictured as a strong, cunning, intelligent, witty, feisty, confident and chic woman (Meyer 2010, Starkey 2003, Fraser 2005). Not only Thomas Wyatt, who admired Anne and wrote about her in his love poems, but also several other people living at the court wrote about Anne as a “pure English woman whose behaviour is comparable to a native French woman”² (Meyer 2010, my translation).

Political and cultural education belonged among her learnt skills, as well as her ability to communicate and dance. In addition, she had a sense of humour, which was very attractive for men at the time (Bingham 2012, Thoma 2002). Furthermore, most of the sources exalt her as a very ambitious woman who inherited the ability to use every single given opportunity for her success (Meyer 2010, 137). Lewis (2011) says that immediately after her coming to the court, she aims her efforts to the “main quarry” – the king, Henry (88). This is, as it is to be shown, a different point of view from how Anne Boleyn is represented in the televised version, *The Tudors*.

In the series, Anne seems to be her father’s pawn to get closer to the English throne. At first, he tried to reach his ambitions through his younger daughter, Mary. Unfortunately, the king became wane of her very quickly and got rid of her. Hence, Thomas Boleyn let send for Anne to come back from the French court. She was not even explained why (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e02, 48:20), but on arrival, she was immediately informed about her father’s plans.

Yet, even if the statement from *The Tudors* about Anne being a pawn would have been true, Anne herself was determined to fill the vacancy of the queen

² „Nikdo by ji, soudě podle jejího chování, nepovažoval za Angličanku,“ napsal jeden pozorovatel, „ale za rodilou Francouzku.“

anyway, hence she encouraged Henry's attentions herself; nevertheless, being a cunning woman, she refused to sleep with him and be only his mistress at the beginning (Weir 2007, Meyer 2010, Hirst et. al. 2007, Starkey 2003, 06:39).

In the meantime, talking about her characteristic features, there is one more point that shall not be omitted – Anne's appearance. Despite her long thick brown hair, long slim neck, and her black eyes, "she was not pretty, nor did her look conformed to the fashionable ideals of her time" (Weir 2007, 151). Rather than targeting her natural looks, she had to revert to various tactics to catch the king's eye. In fact, Anne used her eyes in a way "which she well knew how to use. In truth, such was their power that many a man paid his allegiance" (151). Therewithal, her charm was one way or another unavoidably touching, and many men from the court could not resist (Bingham 2012). What is, however, a very interesting thing, Weir (2007) says that Anne Boleyn had "a small deformity which her enemies delighted in describing as a devil's teat. Thomas Wyatt told us that she had a second nail 'upon the side of her nail upon one of her fingers'" (152). Although this statement is also pointed out in Hardy-Gould (2000, 13), it seems to be more of a rumour than a fact. Apparently it may have been caused by Nicolas Sanders, a Catholic priest and also one of Anne's enemies, who spread gossips about her, not only calling the alleged extra nail a "sixth finger," but also creating the rumour about Anne having "a large wen under her chin" (152). Nevertheless, Wyatt's statement about a small bodily imperfection can be probably seen in her portrait. One can discuss that the longer fingernail is supposed to be a matter of speculation, yet there is no further evidence about this possible defect, and it is obvious that the king, Henry, would never have married Anne if she had had any of the mentioned visible imperfections supposing he wanted to have an heir with her. Thus, the fact that the televised version, *The Tudors*,

does not portray Anne as a woman with birth defects seems to be a result of a careful and critical reading of the available sources, rather than a strategy to make her look more conventionally attractive. There would be a possible evidence of Anne's special fingernail in the portrait that seems to show it on the left hand's thumb.

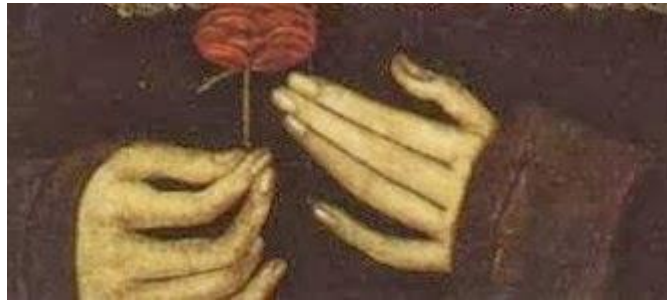


Figure 1: Excerpt of Mrs K. Radclyffe – On loan from Hever Castle (see Figure 2)

2.1.3 Ideals of Beauty in 16th Century in Contradiction with the TV Series

Even so, there were other considerable facts about Anne's beauty, and it should be contemplated that ideals of beauty have changed throughout the ages. In Tudor times, women who had a porcelain-white skin, blond, or fair hair and blue, green, or grey eyes were the most admired ones. This ideal make-up was a kind of a status which only rich women could afford.

When Anne Boleyn first caught the eye of the King, she was not considered to be beautiful because she did not possess any of these features. Instead she had dark, brown hair, and almost black eyes which was enough to keep her from gaining the praise of being a beauty (Schmidt 2013).

Thus, one could say that those people who admired Anne could praise her for an unusual beauty, while those who criticized, and in fact hated her had the chance to call Anne a witch, simply because of Anne Boleyn's appearance (Weir 2007).

Anne was pictured almost believably in the televised version, *The Tudors*, where she is presented with dark long brown hair, but actually not with such a pale skin, and moreover with blue eyes, which are different features from the other sources.



Figure 2: Mrs K. Radclyffe – On loan from Hever Castle

Figure 3: Shot from the series *The Tudors*

The reason for choosing an actress with blue eyes, not masked so palely may be because the ideal of beauty is very different in the 21st century. Whilst Anne in the original picture may seem not as beautiful as the contemporary age considers women these days, Anne more or less fits the modern requirements of beauty in the televised version. One can even ponder Anne quite sexy for her long thick hair, gentle face, and slim figure with bigger breasts. The contemporary style of making movies chooses women as an object of desire which arouses different feelings on the side of audience. Cristian and Dragon (2008) add that “movies are complex structures of linguistic and visual codes organized to produce specific meanings for the spectators and as such, are ideological constructs” (86).

Mulvey (1975) claims that the spectator identifies with the masculine point of view while watching movies. Moreover, she focuses on three different ways in which the images of women are associated with cinema:

The first look is produced by the camera and reflects conventional recording practices that place the woman as the key figure in the production of visual pleasure (Cristian and Dragon 2008, 90).

The second type of image construction is associated with the way spectators are conditioned to “watch the final product” and is, thus, the look of the audience. The third look involves the way characters look at each other within the screen story. (91)

Mulvey (1975) further adds that

the conventions of a narrative film [...] subordinate the first two looks to the third so that the spectator forgets about the presence of the camera, by imperceptibly identifying with a specific character in the film, the spectator then becomes more effectively influenced by what the story presents and the way it is pictured (Cristian and Dragon 2008, 91).

If a movie is aiming to be successful, it is necessary to follow those viewers’ requirements. Therefore, each queen, and to a lesser extent also the king, fits the contemporary trends in the televised version, *The Tudors*, even if they try to attribute several realistic features, such as the colour of hair, eyes, or age.

2.1.4 Anne Boleyn as Henry VIII’s Centred Target

Anne, however, was considered not only a beautiful and mysterious lady, but also a remarkable woman, because she decided to “risk everything and her life itself

to get the man and the crown that she wanted” (Starkey 2003, 01:29). Henry was first of all astonished by her refusal to be his mistress (Weir 2007), or even his wife and the mother of his children (Meyer 2010). Anne, however, toughly decided to make him tender (Starkey 2003, 07:04).

Henry, known as a decisive, persistent man and ardent to win Anne’s love, was intrigued by her charm and her sharp wit (Weir 2007, 159), and so tried to gain her grace, and refused to give up. In fact, the more he kept chasing her, the more she kept rejecting him, which increased Henry’s passion and desires towards Anne (Lewis 2011, Bingham 2012, Meyer 2010). He did not doubt that he would succeed in seducing her (Weir 2007, 159), but the reality, at least at first, was different, from Anne it was cunning and wise, which the King could not expect.

“I beseech your Highness most earnestly to desist, and to take this my answer in good part. I would rather lose my life than my honesty, which will be the greatest and best part of the dowry I shall have to bring my husband,” said Anne. “Well, Madam, I shall live in hope.” Henry responded but then it was Anne’s turn to express astonishment: “I understand not, most mighty King, how you should retain such hope! Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of mine own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already. Your mistress I will not be” (Weir 2007, 160).

The fact that Anne refused to be Henry’s, meanwhile unofficial, mistress is brought more thunderously to light in *The Tudors*, where the king feels and nurses a new situation to beg for sexual favours. Anne and Henry exchanged looks for a long time in the televised version, and they also met each other at court while Anne, from

time to time, crossed Henry's ways "by chance", and thus the king increased his desirous fantasies towards Anne in his mind.

In *The Tudors*, Henry has a dream about running after Anne, while she runs away, hides and Henry has to catch her. Henry turns behind a wall and sees Anne sitting on the floor. He is lovesick to catch her and touch her body, but she shoves him back. "Anne: No. Not like this! Henry: How? Anne: Seduce me. Write letters to me. And poems. I love poems. Ravish me with your words. Seduce me," (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e03, 43:48). With those words, Anne closes the door. Suddenly, Henry opens it and sees Anne without clothes. Henry wakes up (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e03, 42:37 – 44:18). In the televised version, from that moment on, Henry decides to get Anne at any rate to become his mistress.

There is, of course, nothing mentioned about the above cited situation in the historical sources. It seems more like the movie producer's fantasy to bring that romantic relationship to light in *The Tudors*, because none of the researched books include any particular moment of Henry and Anne's convergence.

I considered Laura Mulvey's theory as a possible explanation of the reason why the authors of the televised version presented Henry's approach towards his new relationship in this way. Mulvey (1975) speaks about possible pleasures and the central place of the image of a woman which the cinema offers (748). She claims that "mainstream film coded the erotic into the language of the dominant patriarchal order" (748). Mulvey (1975) adds that

the determining male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed with their appearance coded for strong visual, and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote *to-*

be-looked-at-ness. A woman then holds the look, plays to and signifies male desire (750).

Moreover, here comes the moment which gives the spectator an illusion of looking in on a private world (Mulvey, 1975, 749). For that reason, Mulvey (1975) claims that

the woman displayed has functioned on two levels: as an erotic object for the characters within the screen story, and as an erotic object for the spectator within the auditorium. While the man controls the film fantasy and also emerges as the representative of power in a further sense: as the bearer of the look of the spectator, transferring it behind the screen to neutralise the extra-diegetic tendencies represented by a woman as a spectacle (751).

In other words, Anne Boleyn in the televised version was supposed to lead Henry's and also the hidden spectator's desire to be his gratification of lascivious thoughts, his *maitresse en titre* (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 10:32). So more action, adventurous and breath-taking moments take place mainly for picturing a banned situation at the time.

2.1.5 Gifts and presents between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn

Henry accepted to play the role of a lover. He started to send Anne expensive gifts that she decided to accept, “which led him to hope that she might come to relent, given time” (Weir 2007, 161). In the year 1525, Henry became wild by Anne’s on-off behaviour. He asked her many times for a straight answer, yes or no – “Would she become his sole mistress or not?” (Starkey 2003, 08:38). However, it was not the right time to answer this question yet; in fact, Henry had to wait for the answer even for two more years (Starkey 2003; Meyer 2010; Weir 2007; Bingham 2012).

At the same time, it is important to note that Anne did not show herself in the particular way as she is pictured in the televised version. All the mentioned sources, apart from Weir (2007), do not focus on whether Anne accepted Henry’s gifts or not, at all. The televised version is, however, more clear about this issue. In the series, the king sent his servants for precious and expensive jewels, “fit for a queen” (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e03, 48:27), and after obtaining them, he sent them to Anne. However, Anne, instead of receiving this costly gift, she returned it to the king with a letter.

Your Gracious Majesty,

It causes me such pain and grief to return the gifts you gave me. Alas, they are too beautiful and I unworthy to receive them. I think I never gave Your Majesty cause to give them to me since I am nothing and you are everything. Give them, I pray you, to a lady more deserving of Your Majesty’s affections. I am leaving now for my family’s house at Hever (Fraser 2005, 171). I shall think of you on the journey there.

Your loving servant Anne Boleyn (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e04, 06:41).

Henry did not hesitate to answer for his beloved's letter as soon as possible and send Anne another gift.

I was distressed you would not accept the brooches. They were made for you, not for anyone else. And why are you not worthy when I deem you so? For certain, it must be plain to you now that I desire to find a place in your heart and your grounded affection. Tell me at least that we can meet in private. I mean nothing more than a chance to talk to you. I beg you, come to court soon. Meanwhile, accept this new gift and wear it for my sake (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e04, 21:55).

Anne finally accepted that gift – a pearl necklace with a cross. There is otherwise no evidence of these two letters based on the real sources apart from the book by Anne Gracie and Michael Hirst (2007), *The Tudors: The King, the Queen, and the Mistress* (104), which is, though, a work of fiction, written on the basis of the very series discussed, *The Tudors*.

Henry wrote many letters to Anne (Ives 2000, Weir 2007), not only in reality but also in the series. There is one of his letters which Anne firstly decided not to answer to, in the televised version. This fact repulsed Henry to keep continuing to write more letters.

Perhaps you do not understand. But I cannot sleep, I can hardly breathe for thinking of you. Your images before my eyes every waking second. I almost believe that I would sacrifice my kingdom for an hour in your arms. I beg you name some place that we can meet and when. Where I can show you truly an affection which is beyond common affection. Written with a hand of your servant, Henry (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e04, 40:52).

Luce (1906) includes eighteen real letters that were written by Henry's hand to Anne. The letter could possibly be an analogy to Henry's second, original letter, nevertheless this stays only as a matter of speculation.

Though it is not fitting for a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant, yet, complying with your desire, I willingly grant it you, if thereby you can find yourself less uncomfortable in the place chosen by yourself, than you have been in that which I gave you, thanking you cordially that you are pleased still to have some remembrance of me.

Henry R (Luce 1906, 14).

Weir (2007) further includes another one of Henry's original letters, the fourth one. In addition, this one is possible to find in Luce (1906) as well, but with only a few changes. The text published in Weir (2007, 163 – 164) will be boldfaced, while the alternative version published in Luce (1906, 17 – 19) will be marked in italics. The rest of the unmarked text is written in both sources (see Appendix 1).

It is quite interesting to compare both letters, for both of them are from different sources. Weir draws the text from the collections edited by Byrne and Ridley, now placed in the Vatican Library (Weir 2007, 593). It is very likely that Luce (1906) had a similar approach. According to Luce,

the letters of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn were published at Oxford in 1720 by Hearne, in a volume entitled *Roberti de Avesbury Historia de mirabilibus gestis Edwardi III*, and inserted in the third volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, 1745. These two editions differ considerably from each other, and still more so from the transcripts here given, which are taken from the edition printed at Paris by M. Meon, who held a situation in the Manuscript Department of the *Bibliothèque de Roi*. The fifth and

thirteenth, however, which are not comprehended in the Vatican collection, are supplied from Hearne's work (61 – 62).

Consequently, this may be the reason why it is elaborated with two versions of one of the Henry's letters; however, this letter is neither the fifth, nor the thirteenth one, as Luce (1906) mentions above, but the fourth one. Nevertheless, I was not able to discover any further differences, such as emotional charge or factual discrepancies.

To return to the televised version, Henry finally receives Anne's letter after a long pause. Yet, this is again a fictional letter, found only in the series itself. Other sources do not mention it at all. Anne was supposed to attach a locket with her portrait to the letter. This fictional letter, though, as it has already been mentioned, has no historical counterpart, or at least no evidence of its existence can be found nowadays (Thoma 2002, 16). According to Weir (2007), however, the letters written to the king by Anne, were stolen by a papal servant in 1529, and today the rest is in the Vatican archives (164).

My Lord,

How your tokens and signs of affection frighten me. How can I be to you what you think me to be? You know I am a commoner and think myself unworthy of your love. Though the offer of it and the passion of Your Majesty's words and looks touch both my heart and soul. You have flattered me with so many and such wondrous gifts. Allow me to send you this token in return. Small though it is. And allow me to remain, in all things, your ever-loving servant. Anne (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 05:01).

In the letter there is one striking and rather extraordinary claim which Anne was supposed to have written into her letter in the televised version. She talks about herself as “a commoner”, which raises the question of her nobility. At first sight it may open the way to speculations that Anne wrote this information only to keep Henry’s attention. One can consider Anne admiring Henry and her way to put herself cunningly to the lowest line, opposed to the extreme height of the king. This could then have the effect of evoking romantic stories of the prince marrying a common peasant (or servant) girl.

Nevertheless, deeper research reveals that Anne’s claim is not as false as it may seem. The Boleyns were an old family of farmers coming from Norfolk. Geoffrey Boleyn earned much money in marketing with drapery and married the daughter of a baron. Then, he became London’s mayor and gained provincial farms. These were necessary to gain a position amongst higher commoners. His son, William, married the daughter of an Anglo-Irish earl. Since he had many connections and considerable property, William could bring his son Thomas to Henry VII’s court. Thomas had good luck in marriage, since he could take the daughter of Thomas Howard for a wife, as Howard was the earl of Surrey and the future duke of Norfolk. Thomas Boleyn soon came to be one of the nearest people in Henry VII and Henry VIII’s circle, as well. (Meyer 2010, 136 – 137)

Although Anne’s father was a rich man and familiar with Henry VIII, he and also Anne were not in fact completely noble, at least in England. The reason is that even though the mother of Thomas Boleyn was a noblewoman, his father was not, properly speaking, a nobleman himself. And, in England, the title of nobility is being inherited not from the mother, but from the father. What complicates the issue, however, is the fact that in Ireland this title can be inherited also from the mother.

Hence, for the Boleyns, being Irish earls, it is indeed a debatable issue whether Anne Boleyn was or was not a commoner at the time of writing the letter.

2.1.6 Henry VIII Asks Anne Boleyn about Being His Official Mistress

After receiving the letter, Henry decided not to prolong their written communication any longer and changed his mind to lead his steps forward. Of the steps that followed, there is one more fact that is worth the reader's attention, because one meets a significant difference between the fact the historical sources claim and what appears in the televised version. Here, Henry arrives to Hever Castle, where Anne stays, after receiving her letter with the gift, to tell her to be his official mistress. He is not even afraid to kiss her at the first moment, and likewise, Anne returns his kisses.

Henry: If it pleases you to be my true, loyal mistress and friend to give yourself up to me, body and soul. I promise I'll take you as my only mistress. I won't have a thought or affection for anyone else. I agree to be my *maitresse en titre* (Ives 2000, 49). I promise I shall serve only you.

Anne: Maitresse en titre – your official mistress?

Henry: Yes, and will have everything you need. Everything within my power to give you to you, it's yours, just ask (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 09:50 – 12:00).

In that actual moment, Anne seems to think about Henry's offer for her sake. Her facial expressions are not readable enough; however, she gives herself time to answer.

Anne: What have I done to make you treat me like this?

Henry: Done? What fault have I committed? Tell me! Tell me! (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 09:50 – 12:00)

It is quite obvious that the king's behaviour is very typical and ordinary for him from his point of view. He is accustomed to treat women in this way, nevertheless, here comes someone whose response is not expected at all.

Anne: Your Majesty, I have already given my maidenhead into my husband's hands. And whoever he is, only he will have it. Because I know how it goes otherwise. My sister is called The Great Prostitute by everyone.

Henry: I'm sorry if I offended you. I did not mean to. I spoke plainly my true feelings (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 09:50 – 12:00).

The reference about Henry's behaviour mentioned above is now more clear. It is possible to see that he is really not conscious of his impolite offer to that lady. After their dialogue, he leaves indignantly.

Most of the sources, namely Starkey (2003), Meyer (2010), Birgham (2012) and Thoma (2012), do not mention this situation when Henry comes to Anne to beg her to become his mistress, at all. The only two sources where one is able to find that information is Lewis (2011) and Weir (2007). Both of them claim that in 1526 Henry came to Anne to ask her to be his mistress. He was very surprised when she refused his "polite royal" offer (Lewis 20011, 88; Weir 2007, 165). Meanwhile, in Lewis, (2011)there is no evidence that the king arrived for Anne specially to Hever Castle, nor that he would even have to leave his court to visit her; Weir (2007) admits that Henry made a brief visit at Hever (165). However, even Weir (2007) does not discuss the king's offer, but only Anne who told him to return to his court. Anne,

though, changed her mind after the king's departure, and decided to stay at Hever (165). That is probably why he urged her more with his letters.

Therefore, this situation about Henry's warm-hearted offer at Hever becomes more or less the matter of movie makers and producer's fantasy to put Henry's decision in a roundabout way.

To briefly summarize the situation how Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII met, I found many interesting differences and details that were pictured in the historical sources in contrary to the televised version, *The Tudors*.

First of all, there were several debatable issues how actually Anne came to the English court. The historical sources pointed out her courage, bravery and decisive character to get the king of England. On the other hand, the series picture Anne Boleyn more like her father's pawn when Thomas Boleyn is willing to achieve his ambitious aims to be among the royalists, via his daughters. Any of the historical sources do not particularly mention how Anne and Henry met each other. Therefore, it was probably easier for *The Tudors* to arrange this situation through the theatrical device of the pageant. Beyond that claim, it was essential to mention Anne Boleyn's character, since most historical sources highlight Anne as a determined and decisive woman who decided to gain what she wanted. On the contrary, the series considers her as an unambitious woman who actually did not contemplate the fact of being the future queen of England. Nevertheless, later in the series, she succumbs to her father's idea and decides to play her life role.

In addition, the chapter involves a reference to the ideals of beauty in the 16th century, and there the originally pictured Anne Boleyn is compared to an actress who introduces that character in *The Tudors*.

Secondly, it was realised that the matter of the time when Henry VIII “chased” Anne Boleyn did not differ as much in the historical sources and in the series. In both sources, Anne resolved Henry's letters and even the gifts he had sent her. Furthermore, they changed many letters; however, most of them were mainly from Henry's side because Anne's ones do not exist anymore.

Here, it was very interesting to examine the versions of particular letters because they surprisingly differed from each other. It was quite expectable that the letters in *The Tudors* would be different but there were dissimilarities even in the original letters in the historical sources. I compared those in Luce (1906) and Weir (2007) and put them in contrast with the televised version.

Finally, there was one more item worth comparing. It was Henry's offer to Anne to be his official mistress. I discovered that also here the televised version differs from the historical sources. I added a dialogue between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn that was depicted in *The Tudors*. After a deeper research, it was realised that this situation is more or less fictional since the historical sources do not mention it at all.

Nonetheless, there is one more interesting point found in Lewis (2011) and Weir (2007). Those sources do not specify the moment of Henry's offer; however, Lewis (2011) mentions that Henry came to Anne to ask her to be his official mistress, whereupon she refused. Additionally, Weir (2007) is more detailed in the fact that Henry came to Anne at Hever; nevertheless, Weir claims nothing about his offer to Anne to become Henry's mistress, but only that Anne promised Henry to return to his court (165).

2.2 Reasons to Marry Anne Boleyn

Anne Boleyn resisted Henry's desirous letters for more than one year (Lewis 2011, 89, 90). Either she was not as much involved emotionally (Weir 2007, 164, Hirst et. al. 2007) or this was her manner to increase Henry's passion to gain Anne at all costs (Lewis 2011, 90). Finally, Anne made her decision in 1527. She sent Henry "a gift of a jewel fashioned as a solitary damsel in a boat tossed by a tempest. The allusion was clear." (Weir 2007, 164, Hirst et. al. 2007).

Henry (monologue): A ship with a woman on board. A ship is protection like the ark that protected Noah. And the diamond? What does it say in the *Roman de la Rose*? "A heart as hard as a diamond, steadfast, neverchanging." She is the diamond and I am the ship. She says yes" (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 34:30).

Starkey (2003) adds that Anne sent also "a letter surrendering herself into the King's protection; however, the surrender was strictly conditional. It means that she would give herself to Henry fully and physically only as his wife, not as his mistress." (08:55, Keynes 2005, 176).

In the televised version, Anne mentions her requirements personally, because here, Henry does not answer her letter at all but he goes straight to visit her. The movie producers probably chose this variant because it is a more interesting and dramatic way to give his answer, thus it suits the format of a TV-series more than reading another letter.

Anne: I make you this promise. When we are married, I will deliver you a son.

Henry: I shall honour your maidenhead until we are married. No less could I do for love (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 37.10).

To return to the written sources, Henry happily replies to her letter, moreover, he puts a small heart between his name and the name of Anne. This letter, however, also differs in each version mentioned by Weir (2007), Luce (1906) and Hirst et. al. (2007). The letter will be compared in appendix. Weir's version will be marked boldface and Luce's fifth letter in italic. The unmarked part of the letter is in both versions (see Appendix 2).

Although these versions differ from each other, there is one identical issue – “the king expresses his extreme satisfaction which he has received from the lady's answer to his request” (Luce 1906, 64). Luce adds that this letter was written in July, 1527 and explains the Latin sentence *aut illie, aut nullibi*, which means *Either there, or nowhere* (68). Through this phrase, the king probably wants to emphasize his approach towards Anne. Luce also mentions the signature with the heart, which according to him means that Henry seeks no other (68).

Hirst et. al. do not reveal the full letter but only the end.

I have given you my heart, now I desire to dedicate my body to you.

Written by the hand of him who in heart, body and will is your loyal and most ensured servant (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e02, 18:38).

The part read in Hirst et. al., however, does not follow any of the original versions, apart from the last sentence where there is concord with Weir's version. The reason for this change is probably especially for the audience to connect with the main characters in *The Tudors*.

In each version, including the televised one, Henry's drawn heart is mentioned between his and Anne's name. It is really obvious that Henry was deeply in love with Anne at the time.

2.2.1 The King Wants a Divorce

Henry was 36 years old at the time he made his promise to Anne (Bingham 2012, 66). When she returned to court, Henry "was ready to do what she asked and made no secret of his love for her" (Weir 2007, 167). This fact is mentioned not only in the written sources, but also the televised version is full of romantic scenes with Henry and Anne kissing, surrounded by people, eating together, dancing or walking together, while Katherine stays aside. Firstly, they met secretly, but later they did not hesitate to show themselves publicly.

In *The Tudors*, the Queen suspects that the king has a mistress, however she has no option but to stay a passive spectator of Anne's romance with the king, while at the same time Anne serves as the Queen's lady-in-waiting (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e04, 38:45 – 39:17, s01e06, 37:40). However, Henry was not free to marry yet.

As far as I am concerned, our marriage is at an end. Actually, there is no need to end something which has never been. You and I were never truly married. It was a misunderstanding of scripture and a papal misapplication of canon law. It has forced me to give up your bed and board once and for all. All that remains is for you to choose where to live and to retire as quickly as possible (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 24:50).

But before discussing how and when he could get a divorce, it seems necessary to discuss his reasons for this step, as well. These are covered in the following chapter.

2.2.1.1 Reasons for a Divorce

Henry was determined to make Anne his wife and end his marriage with Katherine for several reasons. In the televised version, the main reason is that the queen did not deliver the king a son (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 42:53). Henry saw the opportunity for delivering an heir, a living son, and meanwhile considered his future wife, the new queen of England (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e05, 37:10). This reason is speculated also in Hardy-Gould (2000, 9).

According to Weir (2007), one of the personal reasons for divorce was the age gap (137). Katherine was five and half years older than Henry (39). Weir adds that what is more important, Katherine had failed in her crucial duty – bearing an heir (137), as it has been pictured in *The Tudors*. Katherine miscarried once, gave birth to four sons who died soon after coming to the world and the only living baby (Katherine's fifth pregnancy) was her daughter Mary in 1515 (106, 110, 117, 119, 120) who later became the Queen, known as Bloody Mary (Hirst et. al. 2010, Bingham 2012).

Henry could not help feeling that he was cursed by God. This worry of Henry's is not only mentioned in the written sources, such as Weir (2007) or Bingham (2012), but also in Hirst's televised version where the king realises this fact mainly during Anne's second miscarriage of a boy (Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e08, 49:28).

Weir (2007) explains that Katherine's previous husband and Henry VIII's brother, Arthur, died and thus Ferdinand, Katherine's father, and Henry VII arranged a marriage between Katherine and "the new heir to the English throne, Prince Henry." (39) However, the Bible forbade a man to marry his brother's widow. It is said in the Bible that: "If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless" (Leviticus 20:21)

According to Henry's mind, "he and Katherine had offended against the law of God by their incestuous marriage and, because of this, God, in His wrath, had denied them sons" (Weir 2007, 137). This is another reason why he wanted to cease his current marriage and find a new wife who may give him a son.

Besides, Henry was tired of his contemporary wife getting older, who had already gone through menopause at the time (Weir 2007, 137) and her shine and beauty had left her because of many great disappointments in her life (121). Henry wished to remarry to Anne with whom he was passionately in love (139). This statement is obvious also in the televised version where, as mentioned above, are two main reasons for the divorce – passionate love for Anne and having a son who Katherine had never delivered and nor would be able to in the future.

2.2.1.2 Managing Divorce

The King, therefore, decided to act. Hirst et. al. (2007), Weir (2007), Bingham (2012), and Meyer (2010) claim that Henry forced Wolsey to arrange the divorce. However, Wolsey was not able to fulfil the King's demands on his own and thus tried to persuade the Pope who was the only one who could cancel and annul the marriage. Henry believed he could convince the church that his marriage to Katherine was invalid (Starkey 2003, 10:20) but the reality was different. The Pope refused in accordance with the policies and principles of the church (Hirst et. al. 2007; Bingham 2012; Weir 2007).

The wheels of divorce took several years; the period was tense between the years 1527 – 1533 (Weir 2007). During this period, Henry behaved badly towards Katherine, wanted to send her to a nunnery out of court, and appeared accompanied by Anne in public. Moreover, Henry and Anne suffered several quarrels about Katherine and the divorce situation.

One of their big quarrels which is mentioned in Weir (2007), Starkey (2003) and also in the televised version, is one about the queen's mending of Henry's shirts. (Weir 2007, 212, Hirst et. al. 2007, e01s09, 16:07). Weir (2007) points out Anne's attitude towards Henry saying: "Even if I were to suffer a thousand deaths, my love for you will not abate one jot!" (212). Hirst et. al. (2007) showed Anne's part of a dialogue as: "I've been waiting for so long. For what? I could have contracted some advantageous marriage and borne sons, which is a woman's greatest consolation in this life. Instead, I've been wasting my time and my youth. For no purpose at all" (16:07). Starkey (2003) claims that "when Anne heard that the king wanted Katherine to continue making his shirts, she was furious. This bestowed wifely status on Katherine and Anne was jealous. She now used her clever tongue to cut, not charm." (13:10).

Starkey (2003) adds that the Spanish ambassador described Anne as follows: "the lady has the courage of a lion. She said to one of the queen's ladies that she cared nothing for the queen and would rather see her hang than acknowledge her as her mistress." (13:30) Based on these situations, it is obvious that Anne really loved the king, but he could not stand the prolonging of this issue anymore and lost patience.

Therefore, Anne realised that she must do something in order to speed up the events. She lent Henry William Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man, and how Christian Kings ought to Govern* (Weir 2007, 196). This book challenged the authority of the Pope and his cardinals. The king declared it to be "a book for me and all kings to read" (196). The authentic situation is pictured in *The Tudors* where the king reads the crucial passage:

This belief that pope and clergy possess separate power and authority is contrary to scripture. The king is the representative of God on Earth and his law is God's law. The ruler is accountable to God alone and the obedience of his subjects is an obedience required by God. For the church and the pope to rule the princes of Europe is not only a shame above all shames but an inversion of the divine order. One king and one law in God's name in every realm. *This book is a book for me, and for all kings* (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e10, 07:25).

Thus, in 1531, the king, determined to make Anne his true wife, "As God is my witness, no fault in Katherine moved me" (Weir 2007, 202), he granted himself, seeing the power claimed in the book, the Supreme Head of the Church of England (Weir 2007, Hirst et. al. 2007, Starkey 2003). Moreover, he also did that since Katherine refused to resign as a queen and this was the only manner Henry could marry Anne.

As Anne became an official mistress and the proclaimed future wife of the king, wearing purple – the colour of royalty (Hirst et. al. 2007, s01e10, 13:33), she pressed not only Henry to solve the divorce situation, but also the queen whom she hated (Weir 2007, Hirst et. al. 2007). After Henry's proclaiming himself the Supreme Head of the Church, she, according to Chapuys' letter, "made such demonstrations of joy as if she had actually gained Paradise" (Weir 2007, 222).

Katherine was expelled from the castle after 22 years of marriage, even without Henry's saying goodbye (Starkey 2003, 16:34, Hirst et. al. 2009). Now, Henry gained more opportunities to share his royalty with Anne. Henry was seriously planning to marry her, thus he decided to give her the necessary status of the Marquess of Pembroke in 1532 (Weir 2007, 146; Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e02, 33:48;

Meyer 2010, 197). The title gave her a generous income and it accorded her the right to inherit the title and wealth after the patriline (Meyer 2010, 197). Meyer (2010) adds that it was the first time when an English woman obtained a noble title in this way. Meyer says that the title was always gained by inheriting or through marriage (197). Nevertheless, it is only Meyer's polemic about Henry's decision. He, however, also mentions that in the case that there would be no wedding but they would have a son, Anne might be financially secured and might inherit the title, and wealth (197). Moreover, the title was more important for Anne, because she could appear as the king's official consort during their French diplomatic support (197).

Henry continued to pamper her by "money, splendid clothes and sumptuous accommodation at court and Anne was now a king's acknowledged consort" (Starkey 2003, 12:05) and she was presented as such at the French court (17:25), as it was mentioned above.

Henry and Anne delayed a few days in Calais, where the couple slept together for the first time (Starkey 2003, 18:28, Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e02, 55:20, Weir 2007, 240).

However, here comes a question, why Anne decided to surrender to their common temptation. According to Starkey (2003), Henry, who was now "confident of French diplomatic support, had told her that, at last, it was safe for them to get married" (18:50). Starkey (2003) adds that it was "after 6 years of Anne's first insisting on Henry's attention when she finally married him in her 32-years-old" (18:57). Starkey points out that Anne was pregnant at the time. Nevertheless, Henry yet was officially a bigamist and the unborn child was a bastard (Starkey 2003, 19:17). Therefore, they decided to keep their wedding and the pregnancy secret until Henry's divorce was resolved (19:27).

In comparison, Bingham (2012) does not mention details about their French voyage, however, she agrees with Starkey (2003) that Anne and Henry were secretly married (70) although she suggests not 6 years, but 8 years of waiting (70). Bingham (2012, 70), Hirst et. al. (2009, s02e03), Meyer (2010, 199) and also Weir (2007, 240) point out that the wedding followed at the end of January, after Anne realized that she had been pregnant.

As it was shown above, although the historical sources offer several reasons for Henry and Katherine's divorce, they all, including the televised version, concur that Henry ended his marriage mainly because he was too infatuated with Anne and so he saw a great opportunity of bearing an heir for the English throne by her, in which Katherine failed.

In addition, the process of the divorce was pictured very authentically in *The Tudors*, as for example Weir (2007) describes.

It cannot be omitted that Henry curried Anne's favour after she acceded to be the new queen. And hence it is shown not only in the historical sources but also in the televised version.

The last interesting cause in this process was that all the sources mention and agree upon the quarrel about Katherine's mending Henry's shirt, although she had already been resolved in the divorce process. That situation must have been very important and so quite discussed at the time because Weir (2007) and Starkey (2003) picture it in detail. Probably it is, at least partially, for this reason that it also appeared in the televised version, for which it was not too difficult to involve this in making the plot more dramatic and appealing.

2.3 The King and the New Queen

Thomas Cranmer declared Henry's marriage to Catherine invalid on 23rd of May 1533 (Starkey 2003, 23:20, Weir 2007, 248, Meyer 2010, 203), (the only differing source, Bingham (2012), presents 28th of May (70)) and five days later he declared Henry's marriage to Anne valid. Thus, Anne could finally experience her ultimate triumph. Henry ignored the Pope's decisions about excommunicating him, and on the 1st of June 1533 he organized Anne's coronation ceremony in Westminster Abbey (Starkey 2003, 23:20, Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e03, 32:10; Weir 2007, 250; Bingham 2012, 70; Meyer 2010, 203).

Soon after their marriage, Anne gave birth to her first child. It was a girl. The king was discontented for he was expecting the promised son (Hirst et. al. 2009; Bingham 2012; Weir 2007). He came to Anne, emotionally uninvolved, saying: "You and I are both young, and by God's grace, boys will follow" (Weir 2007, 258; Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e03, 50:04).

2.3.1 A Deep Change

Henry became depressed and their relationship turned into something that nobody expected – the beginning of Anne's end (Bingham 2012, 71). Henry started to take mistresses from the row of Anne's ladies-in-waiting (Hirst et. al. 2009, Weir 2007). Furthermore, rumours were circulating at court that Henry was beginning to tire of Anne (Weir 2007, 261; Bingham 2012, 71, Hirst et. al. 2009, Season 2).

The televised version pictures Anne so frightened and desperate because of her loss of her beloved husband that during her second pregnancy, she rather encouraged one of her ladies-in-waiting (the uglier and fatter one) to become the

king's presence than endure him falling for a beautiful one (Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e04, 30:24). Moreover, this was advised by her father who did not want his beloved daughter to feel sad. However; this situation was found only in *The Tudors*, probably in order for the relationship to seem more dramatic and romantic, since this would suit the format more, as it would involve the audience emotionally and thus they could more easily sympathize with "poor" Anne.

After that, Anne gave birth prematurely, and the child died (Weir 2007, 271; Bingham 2012, 71). This was kept in secret, for the king refused to "lose face a second time" (Weir 2007, 271). While also the written sources suggest a matter-of-fact, almost business-like handling of the situation, the televised version shows the situation in a more sad and emotional way, since it even shows the king as someone who has no understanding for a mother who has lost her beloved child.

The Tudors and also Starkey (2003) points out that Anne miscarried in an advanced stage of pregnancy (36:43). In the televised version, the information is said to Henry who coldly comes to his wife's bedroom:

Anne: I lost the baby.

Henry: Yes. They told me. We shall make no public announcement of the fact.

Anne: No. [Henry is leaving] Thank you, Your Majesty. [Henry is leaving without any answer or emotion] (Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e05, 09:27).

The fact that Henry wanted to keep the situation in secret, however, concurs in all sources.

At the time, Henry has already had his interests towards Jane Seymour (Bingham 2012, Weir 2007, Hirst et. al. 2009). Jane Seymour was a daughter of Sir John Seymour whose family were hereditary rangers of Savernake Forest (Weir

2007, 285) and John himself was an old friend of the king, Henry (Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e07; Weir 2007, 285). According to Weir (2007), he was a “capable administrator, he had at one time carried out diplomatic missions abroad on the King’s behalf” (286). He was not only Sheriff of Wiltshire since 1508 and Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset since 1518, but also a Justice of the Peace for Wiltshire and an “extensive landowner in that country” (286). For those facts, there was nothing surprising that Henry started to court Jane since he invited the family to his court where she became one of Anne’s maids of honour.

Jane was twenty-seven years old (288) and presented a big contrast to the queen. “Her manner was pleasing, her temperament calm” and her impression was pure (290). However, she did not provide a contrast to Anne Boleyn only in her behaviour, but likewise in her appearance. Jane had fair hair and a mild facial expression (Bingham 2012, 74, Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e07), she was very kind (Bingham 2012, 76) and the king respected her honour (Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e08, 45:40).

Anne was practically doomed, since she gave birth to a baby girl. All the sources agree upon the king’s cold behaviour towards her, and it only turned worse when Anne miscarried. While the historical sources describe the situations only in a list of mere facts, the televised version deals with the great emotional charge culminating in dramatic situations as fit for the genre.

In addition, all the sources concur that Henry was already courting Jane Seymour at the time of Anne’s miscarriage.

The Tudors picture the situation of their meeting during hunting when Henry decided to visit his old friend, Sir John Seymour, while the rest of the historical sources mention that Henry invited them to his court and offered Jane to be the

Queen's lady-in-waiting. The allusion in the televised version is clear for Henry invited the family to his court in order to have Jane closer to him. It can be only a matter of speculation if it was so in reality because the historical sources do not mention this fact at all.

2.4 Anne Boleyn's Fall

To return to Anne Boleyn, she was aware that something was happening. Her enemies planned her fall behind her back. This fact is depicted not only in historical sources, such as Weir (2007), Bingham (2012) or Starkey (2003), but it comprises a very dramatic part of the plot in *The Tudors*. By her enemies, she had always been reviled as a gold-digger, a witch, a heretic (Starkey 2003, 14:03) and it was now not so difficult to denigrate her, mainly because she failed in bearing a living son (Weir 2007, 284, Hirst et. al. 2009). Besides, there was something else that kindled the fire in the issue. Anne miscarried again. This miscarriage was “a new note of mistrust [that] crept into the royal marriage” (Starkey 2003, 31:05).

Here the sources diverge on the facts of how it happened. Bingham (2012) suggests that the queen lost her baby due to the shock suffered after Henry's fall from a horse and him being unconscious. This fact is also corroborated by Weir (2007) and Hirst et. al. (2009). Nevertheless, Meyer (2010) speculates not only about the same thing but also suggests a motion that Anne miscarried because she saw Jane sitting on the king's knee. What is even more interesting; this piece of information is pictured not only in Weir (2007), but also authentically in the televised version. Weir (2007) describes the situation as follows:

During the afternoon, the Queen caught her husband with Jane on his knee, and flew into a frenzy, according to the account given years later by

the English Duchess of Feria. Henry, seeing his wife hysterical and fearing for their child, sent Jane out of the room and hastened to placate Anne. “Peace be, sweetheart, and all shall go well with thee,” he soothed (303).

The same situation appears in *The Tudors*. Here, Anne comes to the room seeing Jane kissing Henry and sitting on his knee. She bursts out into tears and behaves hysterically. Henry sends Jane away and hugs Anne whispering: “Sweetheart, peace, stop it!” (Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e08, 47:30).

Additionally, Weir (2007) describes the sad situation of miscarriage in the same way as it is shown in the televised version.

The King in disappointment and sorrow commented, “I see that God will not give me male children.” In a cold and unforgiving mood he stalked into the Queen’s bedchamber, where Anne was sobbing fearfully, and complained about “the loss of his boy” with many harsh words. Anne burst out that the fault lay with him, because he had been unkind to her, at which Henry flung back that she “should have no more boys by him”. Seeing him so implacable, Anne forgot all caution, and cried desperately that he had no one to blame but himself for this disappointment, which had been caused by her distress of mind about “that wench, Jane Seymour”. Breaking down again, she told him, “Because the love I bear you is so much greater, than Katherine’s, my heart broke when I saw you loved others.” But she had gone too far. “I will speak with you when you are well,” said Henry icily, and walked out of the room (303 – 304).

Hirst et. al. (2009) pictures the situation in the same way with almost authentic dialogues:

Henry: You lost my boy. The loss is too great. But I see now that God will not grant me any male children. When you were up, I will speak with you.

Anne: It is not all my fault. You have no one to blame but yourself for this. I was distressed to see you with the wench Jane Seymour. Because the love I bear you is so great, it broke my heart to see you love others.

Henry: I said I would speak with you when you are well (s02e08, 49:00 – 50:25).

In addition, all the sources correspond that Anne lost a baby boy. “Henry had closed the door of her room behind him, he had also closed the door on his second marriage” (Weir 2007, 304) and thus he decided “to remarry and to try again for sons” (Starkey 2003, 37:27).

2.4.1 Removing the Queen

Now the way for Anne’s enemies to remove her from the queen’s position was clear in 1536 (Weir 2007, 30). Cromwell and Chapuys were the first who began the plot. According to Weir (2007), Henry was accusing Anne of witchcraft when he was probably affected by his secretary Thomas Cromwell who confided in Chapuys that the King said “that he had made this marriage seduced by her witchcraft, and for that reason he considered it null and void, and that this was evident, because God did not permit them to have male issue, and that he believed he might take another wife” (304 – 305). Moreover, according to Starkey (2003), Cromwell turned Anne’s famous sex appeal against her (37:39). He not only returned to her extra fingernail and the moles on her body (Weir 2007, 305), which was described in the chapter 2.1.2, but he blamed her for adultery, which was treason (Starkey 2003, 37:40). It was, however, not high treason (Weir 2007, 309), but when Cromwell saw that

“Henry had been pondering the problem of what to do with Anne for some weeks now” (309), Cromwell decided to push the issue further. Anne was charged with plotting the death of the King, which was already high treason and its penalty was death (Weir 2007, 309). Yet, this fact is mentioned only by Weir.

Nevertheless, all sources, including the televised version by Hirst et. al. (2009), as well as Weir (2007, 312), Meyer (2010, 282), Bingham (2012, 74) and Starkey (2003, 37:40), agree that Anne was blamed of adultery with officially five men, such as Mark Smeaton, the violinist at the court, and also Anne’s brother, George Boleyn. They all were violently forced to confess it, and thus they all were beheaded. On the other hand, unofficially she was blamed for adultery with a hundred men (Hirst et. al. 2009).

Since they said nothing of the issue, and it was handled behind closed doors, Anne knew nothing for a fact, and had only her suspicions as she walked through the castle alongside the king who had already decided to get rid of her, although still behaved like a loving husband (Weir 2007, 311, Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e09).

2.4.2 Shall I Die without Justice?³

When everything was prepared, the royal guard came for Anne to arrest her and conduct her to the Tower (Weir 2007, 316, Meyer 2010, 282, Bingham 2012, 74, Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e09). Anne did not panic because according to Weir (2007) “queens in the past had been found guilty of adultery, and none had suffered worse than honourable confinement. Besides, she was innocent of the charges” (316) and answered steadily: “if it be his Majesty’s pleasure, I am ready to obey” (316). However, she did not know that this was her end.

³ Weir 2007, 303

Surprisingly, the televised version follows the above mentioned situation and the dialogues in an authentic way (Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e09, 39:51 – 41:09) as Weir (2007, 316) offers. The only difference is that in *The Tudors*, they did not come at dinner, but they came to Anne's room where she was sewing with her maids of honour.

The desperate Anne then spent seventeen days in the Tower, because the king was waiting for a decision about their marriage to be made null and void (Weir 2007, 330).

I am the King's true wedded wife. Oh, my sweet brother, Norris, hast thou accused me? And Mar, thou art here, too? Oh, my mother, thou wilt die of sorrow. Mr Kingston, shall I die without justice? (Starkey 2003, 41:58 - 42:20).

She was also being confessed in prison when "Anne swore on the damnation of her soul that she had never been unfaithful to her lord and husband" (Weir 2007, 333) and was tried at justice where she was sentenced to be beheaded (Starkey 2003, 43:40). Besides, she had to suffer a postponement of her death to the following day because "the headsman had been delayed on the Dover road and would not be at the Tower until noon" (Weir 2007, 333). Kingston then admitted that Anne was

very sorry to hear this, "as I thought to be dead before this time, and past my pain". Kingston told her "it should be no pain, it was so subtle", to which she replied, "I have heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck." And she put her hands around it, laughing heartily. Kingston told Cromwell he had seen many men and women executed who had been in great sorrow, "but, to my knowledge, this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death". (Weir 2007, 333)

Although due to this postponement (the televised version refers to the two of them), she must have suffered even more, probably thinking that those postponements meant something positive, such as her moving to a nunnery (Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e10, 23:34), but this was not true. As it was mentioned above, the king was waiting for the annulment and voiding of their marriage (Weir 2007).

When the decision was made, Anne had no other choice but to accept that her death had just come. It was 19th of May 1536. Weir (2007) describes the moment as “a crowd of two or three thousand people had gathered around the scaffold” (335). Anne asked Kingston “not to give the signal for her death until she had spoken” (Weir 2007, 336, Hirst et. al. 2009, s02e10, 41:26). Then she spoke with a firm voice.

There is no need to discuss versions of her speech here, since my readings showed that the speech in the televised version is a combination of the existing versions of the speeches included in Weir (2007) and Starkey (2003). All of these versions are only a confirmation that Anne Boleyn defended the king and still loved him regardless of his inexcusable behaviour towards her (see Appendix 3).

During the analysis of Anne Boleyn’s third miscarriage, it was found that the televised version concurs with the historical sources, or at the very least with Weir (2007). In both cases Anne’s loss of her baby is attributed to her being so shocked by her husband’s “infidelity” that it could not have had a different ending. There is also a more interesting thing, if one realizes what the time during the Tudor era was like, Anne should not have been so surprised. The king, like many other monarchs, was used to taking mistresses, and Anne knew about that, as it was mentioned in 2.3.1. Secondly, the claim seems a little bit overstated, as during the Tudor period and earlier, poets and writers were accustomed to exaggerate in love plots (Györi 2014, 185). This fact is visible for example in knight’s epics and courtly lyric poetry.

All things considered about Anne's last miscarriage, one can nevertheless only work with the claims that historical sources offered, and their representation in the televised version.

After all, the king had made a decision and no one could persuade him. Each source offers the claim that the king's men, primarily Thomas Cromwell, were allowed only to help him in what Henry himself wanted. Under those circumstances, the innocent (according to her documented confessions) Anne Boleyn was mainly charged with adultery, arrested, led to the Tower and beheaded by the sword (Hirst et. al. 2009, Starkey 2003, Weir 2007).

Finally, the king got rid of another burden and the new opportunities to have a son opened to him with his new wife, the new queen, Jane Seymour who gave him a son, Edward, but she died soon after the delivery. Hence, the king was in a great grief and he was condemned to look for the next wife.

Henry chose Anne of Cleves as his new wife. He married her mainly for political reasons (Weir 2007, Hirst et. al. 2009). However, their marriage did not take long time for Henry did not like his new wife (Weir 2007, 397, Bingham 2012, 81, Hirst et. al. 2009, s03e07, 26:06).

But then he met the teenage girl who became his fifth wife, the queen of England, and his present marriage was over. His "Rose without a thorn" (Weir 2007, 431, Bingham 2012, 83) was full of energy and youth. Her name was Katherine Howard.

3 Henry VIII and Katherine Howard: Comparison of the Relationship

3.1 How Henry VIII Met Katherine Howard

When Katherine Howard came to court, Henry was very impressed by her. The main reason was probably the beauty of this young girl. That is to say that at the time of Henry and Katherine's meeting, the niece of the Duke of Norfolk and the first cousin to Anne Boleyn (Weir 2007, 413) was only fifteen (Weir 2007, 413). Nevertheless, according to Weir (2007), her age may only be determined with difficulty. Weir (2007) speculates about this claim and offers several sources to support the already mentioned argument (413 – 414). As can be expected, Weir (2007) agrees upon after

taking all the other evidence into account, there is a strong case to be made for Katherine having been born in 1525, or thereabouts, which made her, indeed, a 'very little girl' at the time she attracted the attention of Henry VIII. And Henry was just at that susceptible age when a man likes to prove to himself and others that he is still an attractive proposition to young girls (414 – 415).

That is probably why other sources disagree in this issue. Meanwhile Meyer (2010, 327) and Bingham (2012, 83) claim Katherine's age as 19, while saying it cannot be precisely given, Starkey (2003) does not mention her age but only claims that "Henry's fifth queen was only a teenager when she married the king" (01:05). The televised version operates with a version that Katherine is 17 years old although the spectator does not know why, for they do not even specify her date of birth. The

movie producers probably chose the average of the claimed minimum of 15 and the alleged maximum of 19 years old.

As well as her age, another fact of her life is also speculated on – why she actually came to the court. Nevertheless, before this, something about her past should be mentioned because “for young though she was, Katherine was a woman with a past” (Starkey 2003, 01:33). Fraser (2005) adds that she was not only “too young but also very tiny: *parvissima puella* (a really tiny girl)” (357).

Weir (2007, 415), Starkey (2003, 02:00), Meyer (2010, 328), Fraser (2005, 360) and Hirst et. al. (2009, s03e08, 10:58) concur that Katherine’s mother died and her father quickly remarried. Since she was 10, she “was brought up in the household of her step-grandmother, the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk” (Starkey 2003, 01:54, Weir 2007, 415). As the other children in the house, they were a little wild (Hirst et. al. 2009, s03s08, 11:23). Especially Katherine “was petite, pert and pretty. She liked men and men liked her” (Starkey 2003, 01:08). Katherine “enjoyed the flattering attentions of various young men in the Dowager’s household” (02:20). What is interesting is that the above mentioned historical sources agree upon this claim, while Meyer (2010) claims that Katherine gained her sexual experiences as one of Anne of Cleves’s ladies-in-waiting (328).

For all that, the first who, according to Weir (2007, 445) and Fraser (2005, 362), might appear in Katherine’s life was her music master Henry Manox. Nevertheless, Manox “had no business to be affiancing himself to a daughter of the Howards” (Weir 2007, 445), but he admitted that Katherine allowed him the liberties of his designs and that she had said to him that he shall have her maidenhead (446).

But “shortly afterwards she transferred her affection to Francis Dereham, without having granted Manox the ultimate favour” (Weir 2007, 446, Fraser 2005,

363). She “exchanged love tokens with Francis Dereham and even once they were discovered kissing by the Duchess” (Starkey 2003, 02:33). Furthermore, Weir (2007) adds that

for a hundred nights and more, Dereham had crept into the ladies’ dormitory and climbed, dressed in doublet and hose, into Katherine’s bed. The other women and girls in the room were left in little ignorance of what was going on by the noises that issued from beyond the drawn bed-hangings, and one maid refused to sleep nearby because Katherine knew not what matrimony was (446).

Moreover, they publicly called themselves “wife” and “husband” (Weir 2007, 453, Bingham 2012, 85, Starkey 2003, 15:25, Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 11:40), which later became one of the most crucial points in the queen, Katherine’s, accusation.

Authentically, the same situation is being dealt with in the televised version, *The Tudors*, in a later episode (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 03:04 – 03:45, 07:10 – 07:32, 11:10 – 12:25, 16:45 – 17:50). As it is shown below, the issue of Katherine’s past would be reopened later, when she already is a queen. According to those accusations, not only Katherine but also Dereham and the others would be confessed on the couple’s previous “wife-and-husband” situation.

3.1.1 Katherine Howard Comes to the English Court

Henry VIII was exhausted with his marriage with Anne of Cleves and decided to entrust his secretary and other inferiors to find a way to end up the “masquerade” (Weir 2007, 412, Hirst et. al. 2009, s03e08). Therefore, in 1539, Katherine’s uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, secured place at court for his niece (Starkey 2003, 04:00) and

Katherine left the Duchess's household to become a lady-in-waiting to the king's, Henry's, fourth wife, Anne of Cleves (04:24). Starkey (2003) explains the situation more or less as Norfolk's plot; nonetheless, the situation can be considered to have had much deeper dimensions. According to Weir (2007), "the Catholic party had timed Katherine's entrance well when she was deliberately placed in the queen's household as a maid of honour with detailed instructions how to attract the king's attention" (413). Meyer (2010) adds that if Henry chose Katherine as his wife, the clan of Howards, as a Catholic party, would be profiting from that matter while the Protestant league, who was accustomed to use different kinds of advantages since Edward's birth, would suffer a loss (328). To return to Starkey's (2003) claim, he agrees that

Katherine's uncle with his conservative allies spotted the opportunity to use Katherine as an unthinking pawn in a big political game that would deliver Henry from his unwanted queen, Anne of Cleves (05:11), thus, Katherine's uncle could use his niece to restore his fortunes and those of his political allies (05:39).

In fact, Katherine was apparently even "given advice on how to see the king, what to wear and what to do" (05:52).

The matter of the fact is obvious in *The Tudors* as well. Here, an English courtier, a diplomat, a Chief Gentleman of the Privy chamber and a Lord Chief Justice of Ireland (Jokinen 2012), Sir Francis Bryan, is sent to the Dowager Duchess's household to choose the best woman, one that would be the most fit for the king (Hirst et. al. 2009, s03e08). What should be also mentioned is that Katherine was "a member of the second most powerful family in Tudor England and thus she

was a young woman with certain prospects” (Starkey 2003, 03:20); therefore, this was another suitable reason why she could be chosen.

In the meantime, Katherine “loved court life – music, dancing, beautiful clothes, huge banquets, eligible young men” (Starkey 2003, 04:38, Hirst et. al. 2010, Season 4). All the mentioned sources agree upon Henry’s first meeting with Katherine before his official divorce with Anne of Cleves (Weir 2007, 419, Meyer 2010, 328, Starkey 2003, 05:00 – 06:18, Bingham 2012, 83, Hirst et. al. 2009, s03e08, 34:19). He immediately started to fancy her from the moment he first saw her amongst the other ladies at his court, dancing (Hirst et. al. 2009, s03e08), since Henry grabbed the opportunity of experiencing a passionate love again, as he already was nearing fifty (Weir 2007, 416) and Katherine was also interested in him regardless of his age.

Without delay, the king visited her privately, to satisfy his sexual appetite at the residence at Lambeth (Starkey 2003, 05:58); however, he did not know that she was already sexually experienced (Weir 2007, 419). After the incident, he sent and began to lavish her with precious gifts and his attention (Starkey 2003, 04:53, Meyer 2010, 328, Bingham 2012, 83) and it was obvious that “he was, for the last time in his life, passionately in love” (Weir 2007, 419).

3.2 The King and the New, the Fifth, Queen

I, Katherine, take thee, Henry, to my wedded husband. To have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health to be bon aire and buxom in bed and at bawd till death us do part and thereto I plight thee my troth (Starkey 2003, 0:00 – 0:58).

On 28 July 1540, the marriage of Henry and Anne of Cleves was found to be null and void (Weir 2007, 431, Starkey 2003, 06:18) and two weeks later the king married Katherine in a secret ceremony at Oatlands Palace in Surrey (Starkey 2003, 06:30, Weir 2007, 431, Bingham 2012, 83). This fact is omitted in the televised version probably mainly for the reason not to present another wedding ceremony to a viewer because after already four ceremonies, the viewer might be a little bored.

To return for a moment to the king's previous wife, Anne of Cleves, Henry stayed in touch with her and allowed her to "call herself his sister" (Weir 2007, 422). She also could visit the court anytime and could be a friend with Katherine (Weir 2007), which is also pictured in the televised version by Hirst et. al. (2010, Season 4).

The days were passing and the couple was enjoying their marriage. Henry was wholly "infatuated with his young wife" (Starkey 2003, 06:49), "his pure Tudor flower" (07:03), and he was "more than satisfied" (07:15). But for Katherine, she "had a king as her husband, what seemed like unlimited riches at her disposal" (Weir 2007, 434), although, "this was not the young, impetuous love she'd known before" (Starkey 2003, 07:20) for "Henry was very old to her" (07:29). In addition, he was "time to time unable to walk or dance" (08:30). However, Katherine had a pleasing

manner and “a sunny personality; there is no hint that she ever displayed the arrogance shown by her cousin Anne Boleyn. But she was also incapable of resisting the facile charm of sycophants” (Weir 2007, 434), even though Henry indulged her with a “wardrobe of magnificent dresses” (Starkey 2003, 09:03, Ives 2000, 50). Henry also revealed his generosity when he gave her “a treasure house of jewels where everything was studded with diamonds and rubies of the largest size” (09:30). But there is no more evidence about this information in other sources and the televised version. Weir (2007) only mentions one more symbolic present, “a medal made of gold, embossed with Tudor roses and true lover’s knots entwined, and it carried the inscription: HENRICUS VIII: RUTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA, a pretty reference to the king’s rose without a thorn, his perfect bride” (436).

3.2.1 King’s Behaviour on a Rollercoaster

In spite of the fact that Katherine adored all of Henry’s presents, something was missing in her life. At the time of 1541, Henry was frequently ill (Starkey 2003, 10:09). Moreover, his old wound, his leg, began to hurt once more (Weir 2007, 438, Bingham 2012, 83, Keynes 2005, 178). This clearly influenced his moods for the pain he must have been suffering (Weir 2007, 438). Those days, “Katherine could not arouse him from his depression, and he shut his door even against her” (439, Starkey 2003, 10:31). Naturally, Katherine was alarmed by the king’s behaviour (Weir 2007, 439). In April, after six months of marriage (Starkey 2003, 10:09), “Katherine thought she might be pregnant” (Weir 2007, 440). However, according to Weir (2007), “it may have been a false alarm, or she may even have suffered an early miscarriage” (440). This fact was obviously a huge disappointment for Henry.

The televised version points out these facts quite authentically when the king suffers again from a pain of his leg (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e02, 24:56, and 41:50). Even worse, here the doctors were talking about the king's possible death. Henry, hearing this information, realizes that he still has no more heirs and thus he concludes with thoughts to do something with this situation after the cure (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e02, 42:50). Concerning Katherine's claim about her pregnancy, she admitted to be with child in the televised version as well, which was very relieving for Henry (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e03, 24:36). However, at the time, Katherine already had carnal knowledge with Thomas Culpeper with whom she had been secretly meeting for several months (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e02, s04e03).

On the whole, Katherine made another big mistake apart from not bearing a child. She employed her former lover, Francis Dereham, to her service as her secretary (Weir 2007, 442, Meyer 2010, 328, Starkey 2003, 11:55, Hirst et. al. 2010 s04e04, 17:05).

To return to the actual moments of the queen and Culpeper's affair, it must be taken into consideration that this part of the story is not discussed at great length in the historical sources, namely Weir (2007) and Meyer (2010), but it is quite clearly explained in Bingham (2012) and Starkey (2003). This plot became also a very impressive part of the story in the televised version. It is necessary to emphasize that the movie producers considered all the details and they recorded the issue broadly dramatically for the viewers.

3.2.2 The Affair with Thomas Culpeper

Katherine played a very risky game. Not only did she begin flirting with Thomas Culpeper, the king's closest servant and a gentleman of his privy chamber (Starkey 2003, 19:00), but as mentioned earlier, she employed Francis Dereham into

her service. The deeper relation between the queen and Thomas intensified in the summer and according to Bingham (2012) it happened right under the king's nose (85). The king observed nothing, but the others in his service became suspicious.

To understand this case better, it is necessary to return to the beginning. The best delineation is, indeed, in the televised version which could probably be a compilation of the compared historical sources, namely Starkey (2003) and Bingham (2012) or Weir (2007).

In *The Tudors*, Thomas Culpeper was at the beginning of the year 1541 a lover of Lady Rochford's (one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting). According to Hirst et. al. (2010), Culpeper mentioned that he had admired the queen. Lady Rochford offered him to arrange a secret meeting for them in order to be appreciated more by Thomas Culpeper (s04e02, 41:15). Culpeper, thus, agreed and when the king fell sick with his leg and was treated for several days, there were many opportunities for Katherine and Thomas to meet in secret (s04e02). However, the queen did not know anything yet about the agreement between Culpeper and Lady Rochford, in fact, at the time she was even mourning for not seeing her husband, up to the time when Joan, another queen's ladies-in-waiting and besides that her old friend from the Dowager Duchess's household, encouraged her (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e02):

Joan: Mr. Culpeper is so handsome; he is in love with you. [Katherine is shocked] Yes, he has confessed everything. He loves you madly. He told me so. He said he would happily die for you! And that he thinks and dreams of you day and night. [Katherine apparently does not know what to think about it] (47:23 – 48:03).

It cannot be precisely explained why the ladies-in-waiting actually did this, but since then, Katherine could not help thinking of him as a potential and finally

“young” lover with whom she could experience something special and in reality dangerous (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e02, 49:55).

The next day, lady Rochford mentioned that Culpeper wanted to visit Katherine privately (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e02, 50:46), but Katherine did not see a solution because it was not certainly possible in their roles. Lady Rochford: “It can be a secret. Nobody else need ever know, not the king, not anybody!” (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e02, 51:20) Thus, Joan and Jane Rochford plotted the lovers’ first meeting in a secret room behind the silent corridors at night (s04e02, 52:30).

As the time passed, Katherine decided to see Culpeper again (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e03). Lady Rochford now offered her room for their meeting with her own guidance behind the door (13:32). Because the young queen was inexperienced in the royal life, she could not bear the feelings towards Culpeper herself and wrote him a letter. For the purposes of the diploma thesis, I mention only the letter that appears in *The Tudors*. My reason for choosing exactly this letter is that it does not contain any specific differences, apart from the length. For more specific differences, see Appendix 4.

Master Culpeper,

I heartily recommend me unto you praying you send me word how that you do. I would you were with me now that you might see what pain I take in writing to you. I heard that you were sick and never longed so much for anything as to see you. It makes my heart die to think I cannot always be in your company.

Yours as long as life endures, Katherine (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e03, 30:15).

During the summer, Katherine and Henry left for their summer progress to north England (Starkey 2003, 10:52, Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e03, 39:46). It was a great delegation including many soldiers and servants. Among those was also Thomas Culpeper (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e03). Starkey (2003) claims that “Katherine spent much of her time away in her apartments and her ladies-in-waiting were refused entry” (11:50). What is more, according to Hirst et. al. (2010), the bedchamber had other secret corridors that led to another room. Because of those secrecies, Katherine spent several nights with Culpeper (s04e03, s04e04) and they risked a lot.

As they were spending their summer travelling, Francis Dereham, the already mentioned man from the queen’s past, also appeared and asked for employment in the queen’s service and she agreed (s04e04, 16:52). However, this was a great mistake for Dereham did not see any boundaries in behaviour and told everyone about his and Katherine’s past (s04e04). The situation culminated with the letter, probably written by Dereham’s hand in *The Tudors*, which was put on the king’s chair during the church ceremony (s04e04, 48:15) where Henry thanked God for his wife.

I render thanks to thee, O, Lord that after so many strange accidents that have befallen my marriages, thou hast been pleased to give me a wife so entirely conformed to my inclinations as her I now have (Starkey 2003, 13:55, Weir 2007, 447, Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e04, 48:47 – 49:04).

3.3 Katherine Howard's Fall

While the televised version includes the letter, in this version it was Jane Seymour's brother, Thomas Seymour, who read it to Henry, while according to Starkey (2003), the letter was handed to the king by Archbishop Cranmer (14:12).

Henry: I ask you to tell me what this letter says! (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 02:56)

Starkey (2003) claims that the letter "outlined serious allegations about Katherine's youth from John Lascelles, a zealous Protestant. Cranmer's sister Mary had shared the dormitory with Katherine and told him details of relationships between the young Howard girl and two men" (14:12). Henry's reaction was surprisingly calm because he believed the accusations "to be malicious and false" (14:37, Bingham 2012, 85). So much the king was blinded by love.

Almost in the same way, Weir (2007) describes the letter situation as follows:

While Henry was giving thanks, Cranmer softly entered the Chapel. He had decided to summarise the facts in a letter, which he now laid by the King's side before retiring from the service. Back in his chamber, Henry read what Cranmer had written: that his cherished Katherine was accused of dissolute living before her marriage with Francis Dereham, and that was not secret, but many knew it (447).

"Henry's reaction was one of astonished disbelief, so he summoned Cranmer at once and demanded an explanation" (447).

According to Hirst et. al. (2010), the letter

accuses Queen Katherine of dissolute living before she was married to Your Majesty, while was living with the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk. There was [sic] two men, a music teacher, named Henry Manox, and a

gentleman called Francis Dereham and that her way of life was not a secret but that many knew of it (Hirst 2010, s04e05, 02:56).

Hirst et. al. (2010, s04e05) also adds that the letter was written because the author “did not have the heart to tell the king by mouth” (03:37). Henry kept his calm and refused the letter as a forgery and announced that the accusations in the letter were maliciously intended (03:41). Nevertheless, the king charged Thomas Seymour to investigate the matter thoroughly (03:51). Henry added that “in the meantime, the queen shall be confined to her apartments, with only lady Rochford in attendance” (03:57, Weir 2007, 447) but Katherine was not told the reason why, so she feared the worst (Starkey 2003, 16:10), while the king, in fact, believed in her innocence.

Under those circumstances, the investigation began. Archbishop Cranmer and Thomas Seymour tried several of Katherine’s ladies-in-waiting who always told the truth about the queen’s past (Fraser 2005, 392), especially Joan (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05). They also tried Dereham who defended himself by admitting their past, but refused any carnal knowledge after Katherine’s marriage (12:15).

During the investigations, Katherine was aware of the inquiry about her past but she wanted to hear the facts from the king’s mouth (Starkey 2003, 15:55). Furthermore, she was hysterically crying all the time (Weir 2007, 449, Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05). Thus, the following day, she wanted to reach Henry but she was dragged back screaming (Starkey 2003, 16:19, Weir 2007, 449, Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 19:53).

She knew, as well as everyone else, that if she could see Henry she would stand a good chance of being forgiven. But Henry knew his own weakness in this respect, and kings must not be seen to be weak. He had withdrawn himself, and Katherine knew her case was hopeless (Weir 2007, 449).

Nevertheless, what she did not know, was that “she would never see the king again” (Starkey 2003, 16:21).

One day, Cranmer came to confess Katherine, however, he found the queen “in such lamentation and heaviness as he never saw a creature, so that it would have pitied any man’s heart in the world to have looked upon” (Weir 2007, 450, Fraser 2005, 390) and it was not possible to speak with her. Nevertheless, the next time he brought her hope, a letter from the king which promised her mercy if she calmed down and would confess (Weir 2007, 450, Fraser 2005, 391). As it is portrayed in the televised version, not Cranmer, but Archbishop Gardiner came to confess her while he was told that she, “the poor creature, ever since she came here, has been in such lamentation and heaviness that I never saw in any creature” (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 21:10). He brought her the already mentioned letter in order to openly confess her thoughts (22:30) (see Appendix 5).

The differences between Starkey’s and the other two sources, i.e. Weir (2007) and Hirst et. al. (2010), can be because Starkey claims that according to Cranmer, Katherine’s story changed on several occasions of confessing (16:33). Moreover, he took only the second mentioned confession into consideration while the other two sources concur mainly in the first one. On the other hand, Starkey’s (2003) one seems to be an excerpt of the whole confession, pictured in Weir (2007). The reason why the movie producers selected concrete parts of the confession may be just as simple. If they used Weir’s (2007) written confession as a model, the first confession is authentic. The second one may be the simplified version of the second confession pointed out in Weir (2007).

After the confessing, the king agreed to annul the situation, and although, “so far Katherine had admitted only to premarital sex, it was still humiliating for Henry

that his wife had not been a virgin when he had married her” (Starkey 2003, 18:03). It “destroyed his love for her, but it was not a crime” (18:06). However, this situation was so unusual that there were some who could not let it pass.

Here, in *The Tudors*, Thomas Seymour tortured Dereham by mentioning the fact that he saw the queen once with Mr. Culpeper, the king’s groom (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 28:11). Since then, the situation has become even more complex.

Man: How well did you know this man, Thomas Culpeper?

Katherine: Quite well. I flirted with him and met him sometimes by the back stairs, and gave him gifts. He called me “sweet little fool” [saying with very calm face].

Man: Did you commit adultery with him?

Katherine: [Laughing] No, my Lord, I never did, although lady Rochford encouraged me to do so. And then she spread a vile rumour that we were lovers, which we never were [saying and probably thinking that this blaming and lie can redeem her] (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 28:44).

After confessing Thomas Culpeper, they did not find out anything because he contradicted everything apart the fact, also another lie, that they never passed beyond words (29:43). Culpeper, just the same as Katherine, blamed lady Rochford that she “provoked it and acted as a procuress, like some madam in a brothel” (30:22).

According to Starkey (2003), “Culpeper admitted to having fallen in love with the queen and claimed she was languishing and dying of love for him, and during the summer progress had sought out ways for the two of them to meet. But despite this, Culpeper insisted, the relationship had not passed beyond words” (19:25). Starkey (2003) adds that “Jane Rochford claimed a relationship between Culpeper and the queen had begun in the spring during the king’s depression” (19:55, Fraser 2005,

393). She firmly believed that the queen and Culpeper “had slept together during the summer progress” (20:04, Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 30:53). Nevertheless, in the televised version, Jane Rochford’s blaming was obvious for her love towards Thomas Culpeper when she probably wanted to take revenge on the couple.

Weir (2007) claims that “Katherine had not only been playing with fire, but she had also been indiscreet about it, and incredibly stupid” (462). As soon as the council had more evidence, they “wasted no more time in searching through Culpeper’s effects, and found a letter, signed by the queen” (462, Bingham 2012, 85, Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 32:46). The letter was already mentioned in chapter 3.2.2.

Katherine’s letter, “although undated, was the most telling evidence against her, supported as it was by a weight of incriminating allegations” (Weir 2007, 463) and she now was not the “moon to Henry’s sun” (Starkey 2003, 11:03) anymore.

Without any delay, after several months Katherine’s retentions in Abbey of Syon in Middlesex (Weir 2007, 457, Bingham 2012, 86), she was finally sent to the Tower where she was waiting for her execution (Weir 2007, 479, Meyer 2010, 328, Bingham 2012, 86), and thus she followed “Anne Boleyn, her cousin, to the block” (Weir 2007, 457). Katherine “would no longer be called Queen, just plain Katherine Howard” (Weir 2007, 467, Bingham 2012, 86).

“Dereham and Culpepper were tried for presumptive treason and accused of having led an abominable and licentious life. Culpeper was also charged with having had criminal intercourse with the queen” (Starkey 2003, 21:36). Both were found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, cut down alive, disembowelled, quartered and beheaded (Starkey 2003, 23:05, Weir 2007, 470, Meyer 2010, 328, Bingham 2012, 86, Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 38:38 – 41:50), nevertheless, Culpeper got mercy, only

to be beheaded (Meyer 2010, 328, Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 39:40. Such was the punishment for high treason and adultery.

Thus, Katherine was accused of having “an abominable, base, carnal, voluptuous and licentious life” (Weir 2007, 469, Fraser 2005, 395, Keynes 2005, 180), furthermore, she was described as “a common harlot” (469). Therefore, on 13th of February 1542, Katherine was led to execution on Tower Green where she made a short speech confessing her sins against God and the king, and admitted the justice of her conviction (Starkey 2003, 24:00). Starkey (2003) adds her speech, but other sources, not even the televised version, do not present it in the same way. The televised version only offers three sentences which Katherine says before her death as an ending to the previous dramatic plot: “I have come here to die. I die a queen. But I would rather die the wife of Culpeper” (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 51:50).

I refer the judgement of all my offences with my life and death wholly unto your most benign and merciful grace, to be considered by your infinite goodness, pity, compassion and mercy, without the which I acknowledge myself worthy of extreme punishment (Starkey 2003, 24.17 – 24.50)

After all the executions, the king realized the disastrous consequences they would have on his mind and general well-being. This matter touched him too closely because, as it was said in 3.1.1, he was for the last time in his life, passionately in love (Weir 2007, 419). According to Weir (2007, 467) and Starkey (2003, 21:06), “Katherine had cuckolded him with a man that he trusted and favoured”. His grief had driven him mad so, as Starkey (2003) adds, he “even wanted to kill his wife himself” (21:22). He perceived that he believed her to be “pure, and had arrogantly

contracted and coupled herself in marriage in spite of being a harlot before and an adulteress after” (Weir 2007, 469). Now, he was “a broken man” (469).

The king was said to make “no effort to join in the half-hearted revels staged by his courtiers” (Weir 2007, 476). Some described him as “sad, and disinclined to feasting and ladies” (476). Weir (2007) claims that he was putting on even more weight, and looked very old and grey (476). Weir (2007) describes that

his ministers, however, were begging him to marry again, reminding him that he had only one son, but there was not one among the court ladies that he fancied: the wound left by Katherine Howard’s infidelities was too raw as yet (476).

What is interesting in this claim is that the televised version does not show Henry as he is described in Weir (2007) and in Starkey (2003). Instead, there he enjoys feasts and organises political matters with Spain, France and also Scotland (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e06). Besides, he meets Catherine Parr and starts to court her on his own (25:20). Nevertheless, it is not clear why the producers show Henry in this way. They probably needed to emphasize the political issues when the rest of the last season is full, because the last season mainly concentrates on that than anything else. Alternatively, they may have tried to downplay Henry’s emotional and sensitive side to make the situation look less complex and Henry to appear more selfish and simple. However, this is only a matter of speculation.

To return to conclude Henry’s fifth marriage, it should be said that

the marriage of Henry VIII and Katherine Howard was never formally annulled, even though there were good grounds for so doing, and consequently the king became a widower on her death. For a time, though, he was everything but merry, and it was eighteen months before he found the woman he wanted to make his sixth wife and before he

recovered fully from the blow dealt by Katherine's adultery (Weir 2007, 483).

Henry VIII's last wife, the sixth queen and the only one who outlasted the king, was, already mentioned, Katherine Parr (Weir 2007, 486, 497, 529).

4 *The Tudors* as Historical Melodrama: Changes in Context

As it was pointed out in the previous chapters, the facts presented in the historical sources and their closer analysis revealed a plot which is mostly very similar in most parts, and sometimes even identical. As examples of such situations, one could mention Anne Boleyn's gift – a ship as a symbol of approval for Henry (2.2), Katherine of Aragon's mending Henry's shirts (2.2.1.2), the situation of Anne Boleyn's second miscarriage (2.4) and her stay in prison (2.4.2), and also Katherine's Howard previous life before she got to court (3.1), Katherine's letter to Thomas Culpeper (3.2.2) or her confessions from prison (3.3). Nevertheless, the movie includes also very romantic, dramatic and for a spectator very impressive moments of love, death and vengeance (2.1.4 – 2.1.6, 2.2, 3.2.2).

Győri (2014) claims that royal cinematography “have always enjoyed a high priority among cinematic representations of British history” (183). For Győri (2014), however, in these films, the author's basic assumption is that such cinema does not represent history but exploits spectatorial desire for a mediated reality one inhabits through the experience of an empowered identity (183).

This implicit desire then in turn may be one of the ways the filmic universe engulfs the spectator of a movie or TV series. This does not concern only the costume melodrama (Sobchack 1990, 25), the period film and the historical epic, there is also a genuine drama and attraction, flaming passions heightened by music and additional effects (Győri 2014, 184, 185, Sobchack 1990, 25). Győri (2014) adds that what makes these films widely popular are tuned techniques of dramatization and schematization, the framework of a cinematic memory that needs to be

readjusted from time to time. In a sense such memory knows little, or next to nothing about the past, yet possesses expert knowledge of the audience addressed, that is, knows how to shape and mould – above all – the materiality of the past so that viewers will want to identify with and remember it (184 – 185).

The representation of the past as something deeply embedded in materiality is a common feature of all the above mentioned historical genres (185). Moreover, films are according to Györi (2014), ideological effects of making history consumable (186). Therefore, here the spectator can happen to be under the spell of a production. In addition, most of the historical films can wear the materiality of the past, something for the eyes and pleasing to touch and feast on (186). He further adds that this “mask” may fulfil one’s “desire to be protected from the loud roaming of contemporary history, well-tested for old customs, values, beliefs” (186). In fact, the film productions picture the history in a colour blind veil because the age, especially the Tudor era, was not such.

This has to do with the British cultural policy of the 1980s, spearheaded by “heritage industry: a potent marketing of the past as part of the new enterprise culture, a commodification of museum culture” (Higson 2003, 1). Györi (2014) presents that part of this industry was culturally English but financially international cinema with preference towards “particular types of stories that narrate the nation imaginatively, narratives that are capable of generating a sense of national belonging in their audiences” (Higson 2011, 1). The fact that heritage cinema emerged in the decade when the public discourse on a deepening identity crisis became increasingly ideological ensure further legitimacy for the argument, taking into account which cinema always pictures and narrates the past in order to offer ideologically-embedded empowerment for audiences (186).

Thus, it was obvious for people to escape from the reality, the bad economic situation and one of the pleasuring manners was a historical movie - pleasuring mainly for the reason that the characters, such as nice women and men with beautiful, authentic dresses were playing in fairylike background and unconventional music typical for the age. Especially, the Tudor era is exploited as a popular memory with “an easily convertible ‘historical’ currency to forge out a hero/ heroine who can serve a strong identification point for British national sentiments” (189). Elliot (2011) adds that “film makers [who] try to bring to life a historical past are frequently prone to reflect the cultural, political and social trends most prominent in the climate of the film’s production” (22).

Under those circumstances, it is necessary to add that “changing sociocultural attitudes towards gender leave the strongest mark on cinema’s historical imagination” (Győri 2014, 190). He, however, claims that recent Tudor films explicitly contest the mythologizing approach and phallocratic representations of their predecessors. In their resistance towards populist narratives of masculine empowerment, these films reject – first and foremost – former stereotypes, hierarchies, and discourses of male dominance and re-inscribe into the (cinematic) memory of Tudor England the contemporary crisis of masculinity. Pete Travis’s 2003 television film *Henry VIII* offers little masculine empowerment and portrays the birth of each female baby as a challenge for the supremacy of male history. The instability and partial debasement of such history is also accentuated by the fact that the failure of wives to bear boys or satisfy Henry’s other desires results not only in the elimination of those women but leads to Henry’s male companions falling from grace: Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Moore (with Katherine of Aragon),

George Boleyn (with Anne Boleyn), Thomas Cromwell (with Anne of Cleves), Thomas Culpeper and the Duke of Norfolk (with Katherine Howard) (190).

With all these rather positive changes acknowledged, one should nevertheless not forget that royal films had their own development. The first royal films began to be produced in the 1930s, the so-called “private-life films” (187). These films engendered prototypical empowerment narratives which made the past consumable in the form of ideological materiality (187). According to Györi (2014), the mentioned films were probably as mirrors of an era when the public demand for self-conscious images grew, just as the popularity of royal family members – similar to politicians and celebrities – was frequently measured by opinion polls. This was also a period when increasing numbers began to regard the monarchy as a part of the heritage industry, or thought that its primary contribution to British society should be the safeguarding of traditional values, like the family: even if this concept was going through a decisive change (192).

For this reason, Higson (2011) argues that the attractions of recent medieval and early modern historical films seem to apply to Korda’s earlier film (*The Private Life of Henry VIII*) too: “the unmodern setting thus legitimates what now seems socially or culturally transgressive, what might otherwise be considered censorable representations” (Higson 2011, 216).

Philippa Lowthorpe’s TV movie *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2003, BBC) goes furthest in this regard and takes an unromantic and demythologizing look at the body politics of Tudor court in a cinematic narrative which itself resists glamourizing representation and in its stylistic solutions follows on the path of DOGME 95 aesthetics. The film – underlined by its strong home video-like cinematography (handheld camera, oblique angles, arbitrary *mise-en-scènes*, on-location sound, and

little musical score) – offers a sensitive reading of how the Boleyn girls’ bodies are owned by their family and turned into assets traded for the loyalty of the monarch. The older of the girls, the already wedded Mary, gains independence by becoming Henry’s lover and the mother of one of his illegitimate children, and it is exactly this illegitimacy that liberates her body from public constraints, those her sister will become a victim of. Anne uses her body in an openly ambitious way; she preserves her virginity in order to be eligible for the position of the Queen (Györi 2014, 190).

But while the above cited films are unlikely to considerably involve the spectator romantically, it is necessary to mention that in *The Tudors*, several romantic scenes and moments provide a large part of the plot, and are often presented in ways that are not described in historical sources e.g. Katherine Howard’s relationship with Thomas Culpepper (3.2.2).

By all means, a woman’s role in the movie is also an important factor, and one related to the previously mentioned consideration. This problem was already discussed and analysed in chapter 2.1.3, 2.1.4, however, there are some more general aspects of it that also deserve to be considered. In fact, the issue of female rulers, as well as a focus on women actively pursuing their desires (Lehmann 2002) appears prominently in *The Tudors*. It is particularly pronounced at the time when Henry marries his second wife. In the televised version, as well as in the historical sources that have been analysed, Anne Boleyn takes advantage of being the queen and the second most important person in the empire. According to Lehmann (2002), however, contemporary Elizabethanism reduces the spectre of the “woman on top” to the spectacle of sexually “liberated” women (262). “Thus, while appearing to comment positively on expanding political opportunities for women, films dramatize

female careerism as a variation on the virgin/whore theme” (262), for example in the case of Anne Boleyn:

As Anne Boleyn’s historical case suggests, royal femininity is made meaningful through the very framework of functionality which ensures the genesis and establishes the superiority of male history, in other words, the body of the queen is conceptually constructed in a manner that is always already subordinated to (the logic of) a masculine order (Györi 2014, 191).

Although Anne Boleyn knew what to do and aimed at controlling the king, she was only able to achieve this through his sexual control, as it was analysed in 2.1.4. In fact, *The Tudors* is full of sexual scenes, not only with Henry’s wives, but also with other girls at the court or in Henry’s dreams (Hirst et. al. 2007 – 2010, Season 1 – 4). Henry, with his on-off behaviour, his passion, hate, and complete decisiveness to gain what he wants is shown as a figure of the Tudor monarch, a “masculine hero of popular memory” (Györi 2014, 187).

For Hirst the key with historical characters, such as Henry VIII mentioned above, is that they are interesting because they are human beings (Horgan 2013).

Hirst adds that a spectator

should honestly look at their material and have a real interest, a real passion in what they want to write, and they should also have a lot of knowledge, as well. It is ultimately not the procedure that makes the show work, it is the people. The more real they are, the better it is (Horgan 2013).

In fact, the point of the sex in the series was not only presented in my research, but Hirst was also often criticized for this aspect of *The Tudors*. One of the critics was *The Daily Mail* which “got its knickers in a twist when it first aired on the BBC in

2007, accusing the corporation of dumbing-down and sexing-up history” (Curtis 2009). Hirst confesses that

this whole show is about love. It is this love thing that Henry is pursuing in marrying all these women which is why there is sex and marriage because you cannot learn anything about love if you do not have sex and marriage and it is different kinds of loves. Each of his wives he loves in a different way and I am exploring different kinds of love. Sometimes very sexual, sometimes maternal, sometimes political and it is endlessly fascinating (Curtis 2009).

For this claim, Hirst adds that the reason why there was “a little too much sex in the beginning” (Haltermann 2009) was just to “grab an audience and say ‘Hey, don’t be frightened of this’” (Haltermann 2009). He suggests that a spectator “might actually get to like this stuff once you have overcome your initial prejudice to historical material. Now I feel very cast-upon but I think people do connect with the show and actually the drama is not there merely to grab your attention; it is there because it is real” (Haltermann 2009). Another fact and already mentioned above is that Hirst wanted to show that there was a lot of sex at the time (Bordo 2011). It is fairly obvious that

all the courts of Europe were run by people in their teens and twenties. We have this image now that the court is always middle aged, but it was not true. Henry was 18 when he became the king, and I thought it was ridiculous that people were telling me he was really rather prudish and there was no sex because there was no heating in the palaces (Bordo 2011).

According to Bordo (2011), this whole matter was “a way of gaining an audience for something that would not otherwise have been watched and once I had my audience I could develop more complicated issues” (Bordo 2011), which was in fact a very reasonable idea.

As it is anticipated, according to Chapman (2005), historical films include also biopics about real historical persons (2). *The Tudors* are explicitly more or less a description of many important characters that are emphasized in history, such as Henry VIII., each of his wives, people from the court (Charles Brandon, Thomas Cromwell), or the others from the church (Cardinal Wolsey, the pope Paul III).

Thus, while not embodying historical figures in any way that could be called “accurate” by a historian’s standards, stars nonetheless contribute to an expansive, excessive, and multileveled temporality that can be experienced by the spectator as subjectively transcendent and objectively significant. Indeed, the very presence of stars in the historical epic mimetically represents not real historical figures but rather the real significance of historical figures (Sobchack 1990, 36).

To summarize, “the historical film deploys visual style to create a sense of historical verisimilitude” and “the professional historians are rarely satisfied with the results of film-makers’ efforts to represent the past” (4). Nevertheless, it is completely standard procedure not to show “pure” history, but mainly, say, an authentic appearance of the characters, when for example “the sartorial extravagance is fully matched by an extravagance of action and place” (Sobchack 1990, 25), and to put melodrama into the plot because every film is always and already a fictional story that needs to draw a spectator into the story so that he or she could identify with a character. As Chapman (2005) adds “the historical film is not merely offering a

representation of the past; in most instances it is offering a representation of a specifically national past” (6).

Hirst (2015), himself, says that

the story I am telling comes out of my historical research. I do not have a fictional story that I just add historical details to. Everything I do starts in research, and reading. And during the research / reading, storylines and characters start to emerge. And although I can take these characters for a walk, I never leave their historical reality behind. It is like putting down an anchor from a ship - you could sail the ship away from an anchor to an adventure, but you are still anchored to the reality, or what you know of the reality. So for me, that's the dichotomy between fiction and history (Hirst 2015).

Furthermore, Hirst is quite amused that “*The Tudors* was often accused of being historically inaccurate; whereas I tried my best to make it as accurate within obvious limitations as possible and I used as many real quotes and recorded conversations as possible” (Bordo 2011). Therefore, Hirst claims that

I love the research. I spend a long time digging around in libraries, reading books, taking notes and getting to know these people, which I wouldn't have with a contemporary thing of just inventing characters. Like, I kind of try to inhabit historical characters because one of the big things about *The Tudors* is to try to show people that they were living people; real people just like you and me (Haltermann 2009).

And what is more, he tries not to treat “history like a museum but treat it as a quite extraordinary human story” (Haltermann 2009) and thus it is “the reason *The Tudors* has been successful. For the first time, viewers can see these were real

people, not dummies in museums. They had the same range of feelings we do. Henry was married to an older woman, fell in love with a younger woman and wanted to marry her. That's fairly commonplace" (Curtis 2009).

Overall, the TV series, *The Tudors*, may be considered to be historically and psychologically accurate, however, as it was proved in chapters above, there are many scenes, a manner of behaviour of the characters and even the dialogues that are historically well-founded. Therefore, it is obvious that the producers, of all the series of *The Tudors*, mainly the creator, scriptwriter, executive producer and historical story-teller of *The Tudors* (Hirst 2015), Michael Hirst, must have realized and considered many historical sources and studied all the characters in detail.

5 Conclusion

The diploma thesis was focused on different characteristics of Henry's relationships to his second and fifth wife, Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard. The reason for limiting the research to these two queens, beyond the limitations given by the standard length of a master's thesis, was the astonishing similarity of these two relationships: both queens were at first admired and loved by the king and in later years beheaded on a block.

Although Anne Boleyn allegedly came to the English court as her father's pawn to get to power, there is just as much evidence that she may have wanted to gain the king herself, out of her own initiative. This, as it was pointed out above, is a question on which historical sources and the TV series disagree. Whereas the former allow for the decision to be possibly Anne Boleyn's, the latter clearly suggests the other option. What is common, however, in both versions of the story, is that Anne actively used her charm, beauty, and her characteristic features to get what she wanted, being thus, to some extent a powerful female figure, even if more so in the historical sources than in the televised version.

The thesis also discussed the differing ideals of beauty in the 16th century and in the present era, because the representation of Anne Boleyn, although in some senses accurate, nevertheless it still demonstrably differs from her portraits. I suggested that the main reason for this is that in order for her allure to be believable and tangible for a present day spectator, the appearance of the actress had to conform to the viewer's expectations of beauty just as much, if not more. In relation to this, Anne Boleyn's bodily imperfections, or the lack of them, are also briefly discussed.

On the other hand, while these previous points could be mentioned as significant differences, *The Tudors* can be considered, in terms of its attention to historical detail, a rather accurate piece. Such minute details like the quarrel between Anne and Henry about Katherine's mending the king's shirt, or the book which Anne gave Henry to read that he can make himself the head of the church, are included in the series. The same is true of the impressive amount of letters that Henry and Anne shared.

A point where I expected the most significant differences was the situation surrounding Anne's last miscarriage after the stress from seeing Henry and Jane kissing. Such a scene seemed almost like a fairy tale, some kind of a romantic scene in the series, used just to attract more viewers, but surprisingly enough, some, especially Weir (2007), mention this very same situation in detail. In fact, even Henry's reaction to Anne's last miscarriage, as represented in the dialogue between him and her, was almost a verbatim, albeit dramatized, transcription of the historical sources.

As regards Anne's fate after this incident, there are mostly minimal to no differences. This is true for Henry's legal proceedings against her, her last speech at the execution, as well as her daily life before all this. The last speech in the televised version, for example, is a combination of the existing versions of this speech, as included in Weir (2007) and Starkey (2003).

In the second part of the thesis, Katherine Howard's situation was analysed. What my research of her life before the court, her way there and her attempts to catch the king's attention showed that the representation of all these issues can be considered authentic.

The only place, in fact, where I could find significant differences was a story which is only briefly mentioned in the historical sources, but which was considerably embellished by the series to the point of becoming a main element of the plot in the televised version. While the facts were not changed even here (Katherine's previous lovers, a contemporary one, the queen herself and one of her ladies-in-waiting were indeed executed), the issue was heavily dramatized for the viewers.

A further striking difference is the representation of the king's emotional reaction to Katherine's execution. Whereas all of historical sources concur that after Katherine's death the king was so sad and broken that he did not want to deal with political issues, the *The Tudors* pictures Henry as a new man, with no sorrow, enjoyment for feasts and full of strength to organise political matters with other countries. While it is not exactly clear why the series portrays Henry in this way, the present paper suggests that it may have to do something with the series' general emphasis on political issues which is particularly apparent in the last season.

The final part of the thesis contextualized and reinterpreted the above findings in the conceptual framework provided by film theory. The main aspects discussed here were dramatization, fiction versus reality in movies, the special role of women in films, as well as the problem of the spectator's involvement. Although, the producers included many historically proven facts and they did not omit details of the letters, the gifts, Anne's miscarriages or neither Katherine Howard's past. The producers, though, markedly changed conditions in several situations, i.e. Anne's personality before her getting to the English court or Henry's behaviour after Katherine Howard's death.

To concern Anne Boleyn's character, she was actually a strong, ambitious and decisive woman, but in the context of the series, she appears more passive and lets

herself to be led by her father's ambitions to get nearer to the king. Here, she is just a pawn or a trap which, though, later shows her real personality after falling in love with Henry VIII.

The series is also enriched with more dramatic scenes that are even enlarged in the context, such as Henry's chasing Anne, a divorce situation with Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn's miscarriage after seeing Henry and Jane Seymour kissing; or Katherine Howard's affair with Thomas Culpeper. Furthermore, it is quite obvious that *The Tudors* follows the category of the typical British historical movies where the main focus is on the costumes, beauty of the ladies (yet as incredibly much natural as possible) and men as well as the intrigues, romantic scenes, and relationships, rather than focusing on the manner how the ordinary people and the people at the court, in fact, lived in the 16th century.

The research, although revelative as it is, may, in the future, profit from continuing the mapping of Henry's other wives. For example, a comparison of the king's first marriage with Katherine of Aragon could lead to interesting thoughts on possible further differences between the historical sources and the TV series.

6 Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Hirst, Michael et al. 2007. *The Tudors: Season 1* Ottawa: CBC.
— . 2009. *The Tudors: Season 2, 3* Ottawa: CBC.
— . 2010. *The Tudors: Season 4* Ottawa: CBC.

Secondary Sources

- Bingham, Jane. 2012. *Tudors, the Kings and Queens of England's Golden Age (1485-1603)*. New York: Metro Books
- Bordo, Susan. 2011. "More of Susan's Interview with Michael Hirst, Writer of The Tudors." Accessed April 10, 2015.
<https://thecreationofanneboleyn.wordpress.com/2011/06/27/more-of-susans-interview-with-michael-hirst-writer-of-the-tudors/>
- Chapman, James. 2005. *Past and Present – National Identity and the British Historical Film*. New York
- Christian, Réka M. and Dragon, Zoltán. 2008. *Encounters of the Filmic Kind: Guidebook to Film Theories*. Szeged: JatePress
- Curtis, Chris. 2009. "Michael Hirst, The Tudors." Accessed April 10, 2015.
<http://www.broadcastnow.co.uk/michael-hirst-the-tudors/5001701.article>
- Deary, Terry, Tonge, Neil. 1993. *Horrible Histories The Terrible Tudors*. London: Scholastic Ltd.
- Eakins, Lara. 2012. "Letter From Kathryn Howard To Thomas Culpeper." Accessed April 10, 2015. <http://tudorhistory.org/letters/culpepperletter.html>
- Edgerton, Gary R. and Brian, G. Rose eds. 2005. *Thinking Outside the Box: A Contemporary Television Genre Reader*. Lexington, KY: UP of Kentucky
- Elliot, Andrew B. R. 2011. *Remaking the Middle Ages: Methods of Cinema and History in Portraying the Medieval World*. Jefferson: McFarland.
- Fraser, Antonia. 2005. *Šest žen Jindřicha VIII*. Ostrava: Domino
- Giles, David. *Media Psychology*. 2003. Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum
- Grosvenor, Bendor. 2011. "Anne Boleyn regains her head." Accessed April 10, 2015.
http://www.arthistorynews.com/articles/894_Anne_Boleyn_regains_her_head
- Györi, Zsolt. 2014. "Sensation of the past: Identity, Empowerment, and the British Monarchy Films." *Acta Univ. Sapientiale, Film and Media Studies* (8), 183 – 201.
- Halterman, Jim. 2009. "Interview: "The Tudors" Creator Michael Hirst." Accessed April 10, 2015.
http://www.thefutoncritic.com/interviews/2009/04/03/interview-the-tudors-creator-michael-hirst-30921/20090403_tudors/
- Hardy-Gould, Janet. 2000. *Henry VIII and His Six Wives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Higson, Andrew. 2003. *English Heritage, English Cinema: Costume Drama Since 1980*. Oxford-New York: University Press.
- . 2011. *Film England: Culturally English Filmmaking Since the 1990s*. London/New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Hirst, Michael. 2015. "I am Michael Hirst, creator and sole writer of HISTORY's scripted drama, Vikings. Ask Me Anything!" Accessed April 10, 2015.

- http://www.reddit.com/r/IAmA/comments/2vfktj/i_am_michael_hirst_creator_and_sole_writer_of/?sort=new
- Hirst, Michael, Gracie, Anne. 2007. *The Tudors: The King, the Queen, and the Mistress*. New York: Simon Spotlight Entertainment
- Horgan, Richard. 2013. "So What Do You Do, Michael Hirst, Creator of The Tudors and Vikings: The academic turned screenwriter shares his inspirations and advice." Accessed April 10, 2015. <http://www.mediabistro.com/So-What-Do-You-Do-Michael-Hirst-Creator-of-The-Tudors-and-Vikings-a11768.html>
- Ives, Eric. 2000. "Marrying for love – the experience of Edward IV and Henry VIII." *History Today*. 48 – 53
- Jokinen, Anniina. 2012. "Sir Francis Bryan: The Vicar of Hell." Accessed April 10, 2015. <http://www.luminarium.org/encyclopedia/sirfrancisbryan.htm>
- Keynes, Milo. 2005. "The Personality and the Health of King Henry VIII (1491 – 1547)." *Journal of Medical Biography* (13), 3:174 – 183.
- Landy, Marcia. 1991. *Imitations of Life: A Reader on Film and Television Melodrama*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State UP
- Lawthorpe, Philippa. 2003. *The Other Boleyn Girl*. London: BBC
- Lehmann, C. 2002. "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Agenda: How Shakespeare and the Renaissance Are Taking the Rage out of Feminism." *Shakespeare Quarterly* (53) 2:260 – 279.
- Luce, John W. 1906. *Love Letters of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn, with notes*. Boston: London
- Meyer, Gerald J.. 2010. *Tudorovci*. Praha: Československý spisovatel
- Schmidt, Louise. B. 2013. "The Ideal Beauty." Accessed April 10, 2015. <http://timesoftudors.blogspot.cz/2013/02/the-ideal-beauty.html>
- Sobchack, Vivian. 1990. "Surge and Splendor: A Phenomenology of the Hollywood Historical Epic." *University of California Press* (29), 24 – 49.
- Weir, Alison. 2007. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*. London: Vintage

7 Appendices

Appendix 1: Henry's letter (2.1.5)

My mistress and **my** friend,

I and my heart *and I surrender/* **commit** ourselves into your hands, beseeching you to hold us **recommended** to your **good** favour, and that *by absence* your affection to us may not be **by absence diminished/ lessened**. For *it were a* great pity **it were** to increase our pain, *of which* **seeing that** absence *produces/* **makes** enough **of it** and **indeed** more *than* I could ever have thought *could be felt*; **remembering/ reminding** us of a point of astronomy *which is this*, **that** the longer the days are, **the farther off/ the more distant** is the sun, and **yet, notwithstanding/ nevertheless**, the hotter; so **it** is *it* with our love, for **we** by absence **are far sundered/ we are kept**, and yet it **nevertheless keeps its fervency/ retains its fervour**, at **the** least on my **part/ side**, **holding in/ I hope the/ that** like on yours. **Ensuring/ Assuring** you that **for myself/ on my part** the **annoy/ pain** of absence **doth/ is** already too **much vex/ great** for me; *I think of the increase of that which I am force to suffer, it would be/* **it is** almost intolerable **to me, were it not/ but** for the firm hope **that** I have of your **ever during/ unchangeable** affection **towards/ for** me. And *to remind you of this* sometimes, **and to put you in mind of this**, and seeing that **in person** I cannot be **in your presence/ personally present with you**, I now send you *the nearest thing I can to that, namely,* my picture set in a bracelet, *with the whole of the device, which you already know,* wishing myself in their place, **when/ if** it should please you. This *is from/* **by** the hand of your loyal servant and friend. H. R.

Appendix 2: Henry's letter (2.2)

For **so beautiful a gift/** *a present so beautiful that nothing can be more so (considering the whole of it)*, I thank you **right/** *most cordially, not only on account of the fine diamond and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about, but chiefly for the* **good intent/** *fine interpretation* and too-humble submission **vouchsafed by your kindness/** *which your goodness hath used towards me in this case. For I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I were not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have always sought to seek and will seek to preserve by all the kindness in my power, in which my hope has placed its unchangeable intention, which*

says, Aut illic, aut nullibi. **To merit it would not a little perplex me, if I were not aided therein by your great benevolence and goodwill.** The **proofs/ demonstrations** of your affection are such **that they constrain me ever truly to love/** *the beautiful mottoes of the letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love and serve you sincerely,* **praying/ beseeching that you will/** to continue in **this/the** same firm and constant purpose, **ensuring/** *assuring you that,* **for/** *on my part,* **that I will the rather go beyond/** *surpass it rather than make reciprocal, if loyalty of heart,* **the/** *and a desire to do you pleasure you,* **even with my whole heart root, may serve to advance it/** *can accomplish this.* I beg, also, if *at any time before this I have in anyway offended you, that you would give me the same absolution that you ask, assuring you, that henceforward/* **Henceforth,** my heart shall be dedicate to you alone, **greatly desirous that my body could be as well, as God can bring it to pass if it pleaseth Him/** *I wish my person was too. God can do it, if He pleases, to Whom I entreat/* **pray once each/** *every day for the* **accomplishment thereof/** *that end,* **trusting/** *hoping that at length my prayers will*

be heard, **wishing/** *I wish* the time **brief/** *may be short,* **and thinking it but long**
until we shall see each other again/ *but I shall think it long till we see one another..*

Written **with/** *by* the hand of **the/** *that* secretary who in heart, body and will is
your loyal and most **ensured/** *assured* servant.

Appendix 3: Anne Boleyn's speech (2.4.2)

Hirst et. al. (2009, s02e10, 41:52): Good Christian people, I have come here to die according to the law and thus yield myself to the will of the king, my lord. And if in my life I ever did offend my king's grace then surely with my death I do now atone. I pray and beseech you all to pray for the life of the king, my sovereign lord and yours, who is one of the best princes on the face of the earth and always treated me so well. Therefore, I submit to death with a good will humbly asking pardon of the whole world. If anyone should take on my case, I ask them to only judge it kindly. Thus I take my leave of the world and of you and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. Lord Jesus, receive my soul. Oh Lord I beg your mercy. To Jesus, I commend my soul. Lord Jesus, receive my soul. Oh Lord God commend my soul. Lord Jesus, receive my soul...

Weir (2007, 336): Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, according to law, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I come here only to die, and thus to yield myself humbly to the will of the King, my lord. And if, in my life, I did ever offend the King's Grace, surely with my death I do now atone. I come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused, as I know full well that aught I say in my defence doth not appertain to you. I pray and beseech you all, good friends, to pray for the life of the King, my sovereign lord and yours, who is one of the best princes on the face of the earth, who has always treated me so well that better could not be, wherefore I submit to death with good will, humbly asking pardon of all the world. If any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best. Thus I take my leave of the world, and of you, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me.

Starkey (2003, 48:50): Good Christian people, I am come hither to die. For according to the law and by the law I am judged and therefore, I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die. But I pray God save the King and send him long reign over you, for a gentler, nor more merciful prince was there never. And to me, he was ever a gentle, a good and a sovereign lord.

To Jesus, I commend my soul. Lord Jesus, receive my soul, To Jesus, I commend my soul. Lord Jesus, receive my soul...

Appendix 4: Katherine Howard's letter (3.2.2)

Master Culpepper, I heartily recommend me unto you, praying you to send me word how that you do. It was showed me that you were sick, the which thing troubled me very much till such time that I hear from you, praying you to send me word how that you do, for I never longed so much for thing as I do to see you and to speak with you, the which I trust shall be shortly now. The which doth comfort me very much when I think of it, and when I think again that you shall depart from me again it makes my heart to die, to think what fortune I have that I cannot be always in your company. Yet my trust is always in you that you will be as you have promised me, and in that hope I trust upon still, praying you then that you will come when my Lady Rochford is here, for then I shall be best at leisure to be at your commandment, thanking you for that you have promised me to be so good unto that poor fellow my man, which is one of the griefs that I do feel to depart from him, for then I do know no one that I dare trust to send to you, and therefore I pray you take him to be with you that I may sometime hear from you. One thing I pray you, to give me a horse for my man, for I have much ado to get one, and therefore I pray send me one by him, and in so doing I am as I said afore; and thus I take my leave of you, trusting to see you shortly again, and I would you was with me now that you might see what pain I take in writing to you,

Yours as long as life endures, Katheryn.

After Coultrepe. I greatly recomende me unto you praying you to
 finde my words here that you doo it was shewed me that you
 take the wythe thinge I oblied me wra mybe tell furthe tyme that I
 here from you praying you to send me word how that you do
 for I was longed so myche for thyng as I do to se you and
 to speke wth you the wythe I trust shal be shortly now the
 wythe dothe comforte me wra myche, I thinke of it and
 wra I thinke a gaine that you shall departe from me a gaine
 it make my hart to dye to thinke what fortune I have
 that I cannot be always in your companye if my part
 allow you in you that you wolve as you have promysed
 and in that hope I trust upon still praying you thanke
 you wll com when my lade forchforthe go here for then
 I shal be best at leysoure to be at your commendaunt
 thankyng you for that you have promysed me to be so
 good unto that youe followe my man wythe, on of ten
 grete that I do fele to departe from him for then I do
 knowe now that I dare truste to sende to you and therfor
 I pray you ask him to be wth you that I may see him
 here from you our thyng I pray you to geve me a horse
 for my man for I have myche a do to gat our and
 the first I pray sende me our by him and you to doing I
 am as I sude a for and thus I take my leave of you
 trustyng to se you forthe a gaine and I wold was
 wth me now that you wold se wra I pray I take
 you wra to you
 yours as long as
 Iffe endure Katheryn
 our thyng I had for gotten and
 that had to ~~be~~
 my first my man to take here wth me still for he
 has wra for me wra you be by wra wra do it a



Figure 4: Katherine Howard's original letter

Appendix 5: Katherine Howard's confesses (3.3)

Version 1: **Alas, my Lord, that I am alive. The fear of death does not grieve me as such as the remembrance of the king's goodness, for when I remember now how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow. But this sudden mercy, more than I could have looked for, makes my offences appear to my eyes more heinous than they did before** (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 23:40)

Version 2: He has lain with me sometimes with his doublet and hose, and sometimes naked, but I mean not so naked that he had nothing upon him, for he had always his doublet on; but I mean naked when his hose was pulled down. He sometimes called me "wife" when we were together and I called him "husband". Still I think it was no contract. (In case there would be any contract, her marriage with the king would be invalid) (Hirst et. al. 2010, s04e05, 24:50).

Version 1: **Alas, my Lord, that I am alive! The fear of death did not grieve me so much before as doth now the remembrance of the king's goodness, for when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow. But this sudden mercy, more than I could have looked for, maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before.** And the more I consider the greatness of his mercy, the more I do sorrow in my heart that I should so disorder myself against his Majesty (Weir 2007, 451).

Version 2: *I, your Grace's most sorrowful subject and vile wretch in the world, not worthy to make any recommendations unto your Majesty, do only make my most humble submission and confession of my faults.* And where no cause of mercy is given on my part, yet of your most accustomed mercy extended to all other men undeserved, most humbly on my hands and knees do desire one particle thereof to be

extended unto me, although of all other creatures most unworthy either to be called your wife or subject. My sorrow I can by no writing express, nevertheless I trust your most benign nature will have some respect unto my youth, my ignorance, my frailness, my humble confession of my faults and plain declaration of the same, referring me wholly unto your grace's pity and mercy. *First at the flattering and fair persuasions of Manox*, being but a young girl I suffered him at sundry times to handle *and touch the secret parts of my body*, which neither became me with honesty to permit, nor him to require. *Also Francis Dereham by many persuasions procured me to his vicious purpose, and obtained first to lie upon my bed* with his doublet and hose, and after within the bed, *and finally he lay with me naked, and used me in such sort as a man doth his wife, many and sundry times*, and our company ended almost a year before the king's Majesty was married to my lady Anne of Cleves, and continued not past one quarter of a year, or a little above (Weir 2007, 455).

Version 2: *I, Your Grace's most sorrowful subject and vile wretch in the world, do only make my most humble submission and confession of my faults. First, at the flattering and fair persuasions of Manox... and touch the secret parts of my body. Also Francis Dereham, by many persuasions, procured me to his vicious purpose and obtained first to lie upon my bed and finally he lay with me naked and used me in such sort as a man doth his wife many and sundry times* (Starkey 2003, 16:55 – 17:50).