Henry VIII remains one of the most fascinating, notorious, and recognizable monarchs in English history. In the five centuries since his accession to the throne, his iconic status has been shaped by different media. From Shakespeare to *The Tudors*, this book reassesses treatments of Henry VIII in literature, politics, and culture during the period spanned by the king’s own reign (1509–47) and the twenty-first century. Historians and literary scholars investigate how representations of the king provoked varied responses from influential writers, artists, and political figures in the decades and centuries following his death. Individual chapters consider interrelated responses to Henry’s character and policies during his lifetime; his literary and political afterlife; the king’s impact on art and popular culture; and his debated place in historiography, from the Tudor period to the present.

**Mark Rankin** is Assistant Professor of English at James Madison University.

**Christopher Highley** is Professor of English at The Ohio State University.

**John N. King** is Distinguished University Professor and Humanities Distinguished Professor of English and of Religious Studies at The Ohio State University.
HENRY VIII AND HIS AFTERLIVES

Literature, Politics, and Art

EDITED BY

MARK RANKIN
CHRISTOPHER HIGHLEY
JOHN N. KING
Contents

List of illustrations  page vii
List of contributors  ix
Acknowledgements  x
List of abbreviations  xi

Introduction
Mark Rankin, Christopher Highley, and John N. King  1

PART I CONTEMPORARY RESPONSES  13
1. Henry VIII in the interludes
   Peter Happé  15
2. Henry VIII as David: the king’s image and Reformation politics
   John N. King  34
3. The legacy of Henry VIII
   Dale Hoak  53

PART II HENRY VIII’S LITERARY AND POLITICAL AFTERLIVES  73
4. The slow death of a tyrant: learning to live without Henry VIII, 1547–1563
   Alec Ryrie  75
5. The literary afterlife of Henry VIII, 1558–1625
   Mark Rankin  94
6. The Henry VIII story in the eighteenth century: words and images
   Ronald Paulson  115
vi   Contents

PART III HENRY VIII IN ART AND POPULAR CULTURE 141

7. Projecting masculinity: Henry VIII’s codpiece
   Tatiana C. String 143

8. The remains of Henry VIII
   Christopher Highley 160

9. Henry VIII: his musical contribution and posthumous reputation
   Matthew Spring 190

10. Henry VIII and popular culture
    Tom Betteridge 208

PART IV HENRY VIII THROUGH HISTORY 223

11. “Conveyance of history”: narrative, chronicle, history, and the
    Elizabethan memory of the Henrician golden age
    Andrew Fleck 225

12. Henry VIII and the modern historians: the making of a
    twentieth-century reputation
    Peter Marshall 246

Select bibliography 266
Index 278


1. Hans Holbein the Younger, title-page border, Coverdale Bible (1535). © British Library Board. All rights reserved (shelfmark C.32.h.46).
2. School of Holbein, title-page border, Great Bible (1539). By permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library.
3. Henry VIII as David with Lyre, “Henry VIII’s Psalter” (c. 1530–40). © British Library Board. All rights reserved (shelfmark MS Royal 2 A XVI, fo. 63v).
4. Henry VIII Jousting, segment, membranes 25 and 26, MS Great Tournament Roll of Westminster. By permission of the Chapter of the College of Arms.
5. Remigius van Leemput, copy of Whitehall Mural, oil on canvas, 1667. The Royal Collection © 2008 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.
6. Henry Peacham, *Initium sapientiae*. From *ΒΑΞΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ in Basilica Emblemata totum versum*. © British Library Board. All rights reserved (shelfmark MS Royal 12 A lxvi, fo. 4r) (detail).
viii  Illustrations

15. Henry VIII’s Foot Combat armor. II.6. Royal Armouries Collection. 170
16. Henry VIII’s “Big” armor for field and tournament. II.8. Royal Armouries Collection. 171
17. The horned helmet. IV.22. Royal Armouries Collection. 178
Contributors

TOM BETTERIDGE is Professor of Early Modern English Literature and Drama at Oxford Brookes University.

ANDREW FLECK is Associate Professor in the Department of English at San José State University.

PETER HAPPE is Visiting Fellow in the Department of English at the University of Southampton.

CHRISTOPHER HIGHLEY is Professor in the Department of English at The Ohio State University.

DALE HOAK is Chancellor Professor of History at the College of William & Mary.

JOHN N. KING is Distinguished University Professor and Humanities Distinguished Professor of English and of Religious Studies at The Ohio State University.

PETER MARSHALL is Professor of History at the University of Warwick.

RONALD PAULSON is Professor Emeritus of English at The Johns Hopkins University.

MARK RANKIN is Assistant Professor in the Department of English at James Madison University.

ALEC RYRIE is Professor of the History of Christianity at the University of Durham.

MATTHEW SPRING is Senior Lecturer in Music at Bath Spa University.

TATIANA C. STRING is Senior Lecturer in the History of Art at the University of Bristol.
Acknowledgements

We are grateful to each of our contributors, whose collaboration has made the editing of this collection much easier than it might have been. For their hospitality and support, we would also like to thank librarians and archivists at the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the British and Foreign Bible Society Library (on deposit at Cambridge University Library), the Libraries of St. John’s and Trinity College, Cambridge, the Folger Shakespeare Library, Lambeth Palace Library, the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at The Ohio State University, and the Royal Armouries Library. Linda Bree at Cambridge University Press has enthusiastically supported this project from an early stage. We also thank two anonymous readers for the Press for their helpful commentary. The Departments of English at James Madison University and The Ohio State University have provided essential subvention. Colleagues at these institutions, especially Dabney Bankert, Marina Favila, Robert Hoskins, Bruce Johnson, and Mark Parker, have given generous support to this endeavor. Elizabeth Hillgrove and Stephanie Walker assisted in the assembly of the final edited typescript. Kathleen Rankin provided needed assistance at a crucial stage. However, the work would not have progressed in the first place without the generous support of our wives, Pauline G. King, Susie Kneedler, and Katie Rankin. We dedicate this volume to them.
Abbreviations

BL The British Library
Bodl. The Bodleian Library
CUL Cambridge University Library
HL The Henry E. Huntington Library


OED The Oxford English Dictionary

TNA The National Archives