



The Psalter of Anne Boleyn: A New Case for Its Commissioner

Sophie Bacchus-Waterman



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Sophie Bacchus-Waterman

INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

Abstract: Sometime in the early 1530s, an illuminated French Psalter was commissioned for Anne Boleyn, the second wife of Henry VIII. A vernacular translation, its true importance has hitherto been overlooked within Anne Boleyn's library; its commissioner is unknown, though several have been suggested. This article explores the possibility that the Psalter is one of several manuscripts commissioned for Anne by her brother George, Viscount Rochford. By suggesting a new stemma for the manuscript, studying its content as it pertained to the siblings' interest in French evangelical thought, and examining its use of decorations, this article aims to recontextualise it within Anne Boleyn's extant library.

Keywords: Anne Boleyn; George Boleyn; The Psalter of Anne Boleyn; Manuscript studies; Book history.

The French Psalter of Anne Boleyn (hereafter the Psalter) is held at Wormsley Library in Buckinghamshire. It was made for Anne Boleyn (c. 1501–1536), the second wife of King Henry VIII, by an unknown patron. It has been mentioned in several studies of Anne Boleyn's library, though no in-depth discussion of its commissioner has been undertaken.¹ This article will discuss the possibility that it was commissioned by Anne Boleyn's brother, George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford (c. 1502–1536), as part of their joint effort to form a collection of illuminated manuscripts of an evangelical theme, befitting their religious outlook.

Anne Boleyn and Rochford were close in adulthood, sharing an interest in French evangelical thought.² The siblings were intellectual equals with similar tastes in books, discussed in more detail below. As this article will explore, the Psalter is likely the result

¹ Notable discussions of the Psalter can be found in Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and His Wives*, 124–133; Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 242–243. Recently, the Psalter has been mistaken for a book of hours. See: Reid, "A Prayer," 147–148.

² For a discussion on Anne and Rochford's shared interest in French evangelical thought, and how it was reflected in their book collecting habits, see Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 268–274.

of their desire to create several expensive illuminated manuscripts of an evangelical tone. The theory that Rochford was involved in the commission of illuminated evangelical manuscripts for his sister was first put forward by Professor James Carley.³ In summary, Carley has shown that two bilingual manuscripts owned by Anne Boleyn—BL Harley MS 6561 (hereafter Harley) (Figure 3) held at the British Library, and Percy MS 465 (hereafter Percy) (Figure 4), held at Alnwick Castle—were very likely given to her by Rochford. Both manuscripts are very similar in their execution. Both were sourced from French evangelical printed books published by the reformist printer Simon Du Bois, active in the 1520s and 1530s, likely to have been illuminated by Flemish craftsmen in England, and written by the same scribe.⁴ Harley's text was copied from *Epistres et evangiles des cinquante et deux sepmaines de l'an* (Epistles and Gospels for the Fifty-two Weeks of the Year) by the evangelical scholar Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, with each Epistle and Gospel followed by a homily, translated into English by Rochford.⁵ Percy's text was copied from *The Ecclesiaste*, with its English commentaries emphasising the importance of Scripture again translated by Rochford.⁶

The Psalter was not included in Carley's initial discussion of Rochford's involvement in Anne Boleyn's library. Building on his research and outlining hitherto overlooked links between this manuscript and the circle of Marguerite de Navarre, this article will evidence the possibility that the Psalter survives as another example of Rochford's commissioning and book gifting efforts.

Physical Description of the Psalter

One of four extant manuscripts which include Anne Boleyn's arms or devices within its decoration, the Psalter consists of 275 octavo vellum leaves bound in twenty-four quires.⁷ It opens with a full-page miniature of the four-quartered arms of Anne Boleyn supported by two winged *putti*, standing on a small knoll, bordered by an Italianate tabernacle frame (Figure 1).⁸ This armorial miniature is illuminated with shell gold, blue, green, red, and

³ Carley, *Books*, 129.

⁴ Carley, "Her moost lovyng and fryndly brother sendeth gretynge," 261–272.

⁵ Carley, *Books*, 126–127.

⁶ Carley, *Books*, 127.

⁷ The three other manuscripts which include Anne Boleyn's arms or devices are now Harley MS 6561 and BL Royal MS 16 E XIII, held at the British Library, and Percy MS 465, held at Alnwick Castle.

⁸ For a discussion of Italianate tabernacle frames in French manuscripts, see Orth, "What Goes Around," 194–195.

black pigment, and the *putti* are painted in soft yellow with red wings.

The manuscript's second full-page miniature, also bordered by an Italianate tabernacle frame, is on the verso beside Psalm 110, which itself is bordered by a Renaissance candelabra frame. This depicts a grey lozenge supported by unwinged *putti*, bearing the monogram A, R, H, E, N, X, S, L (hereafter the AR HEN REX SL monogram) (Figure 2). This monogram has been invariably read as an intertwining of the king's and Anne Boleyn's initials and can also be seen in Harley and on the choir screen in the King's College Chapel, Cambridge.⁹ The manuscript's Matins, Lauds, and Minor Hours divisions are indicated by nine four-line initials filled with lozenges bearing Anne Boleyn's arms, and the Vespers divisions are indicated by seven two-line initials filled with monogrammed lozenges.



**Figure 1. *The Psalter of Anne Boleyn*, c. 1531, vellum, 127 x 87 x 33 mm.
Buckinghamshire, Wormsley Library, BM3721 109A, frontispiece.**

⁹ For different interpretations of this monogram, see James, "The Horenbout family"; Wieck, "Anne Boleyn's Psalter," 67; Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 243. For a discussion on the King's College Chapel choir screen, see Churchill, "A re-appraisal."



Figure 2. *The Psalter of Anne Boleyn*, fols. 209v–210r.

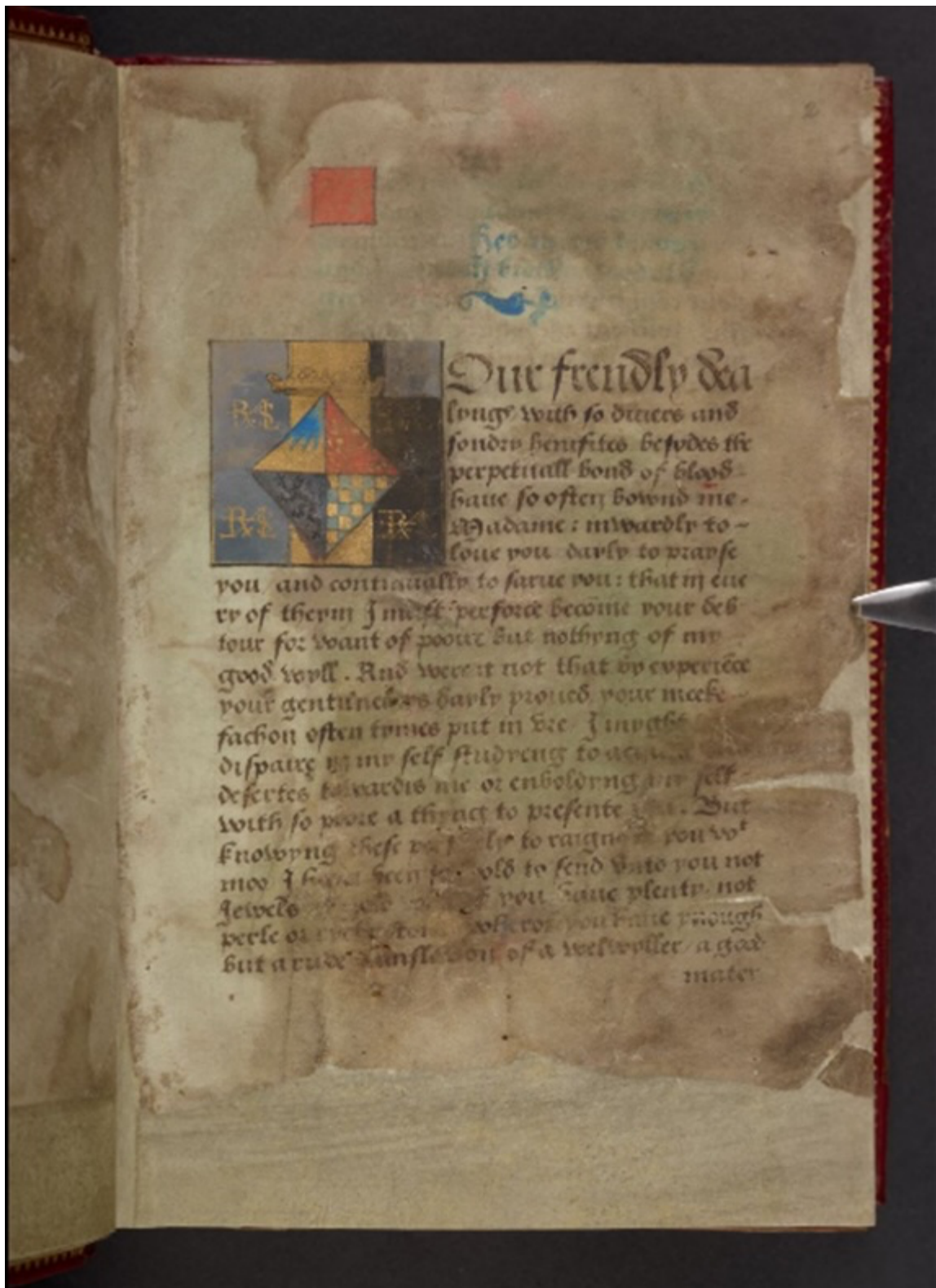


Figure 3. *Epîtres et Évangiles*, c. 1532–1533, vellum, London, The British Library,
© British Library Board, Harley MS 6561, fol. 2r.

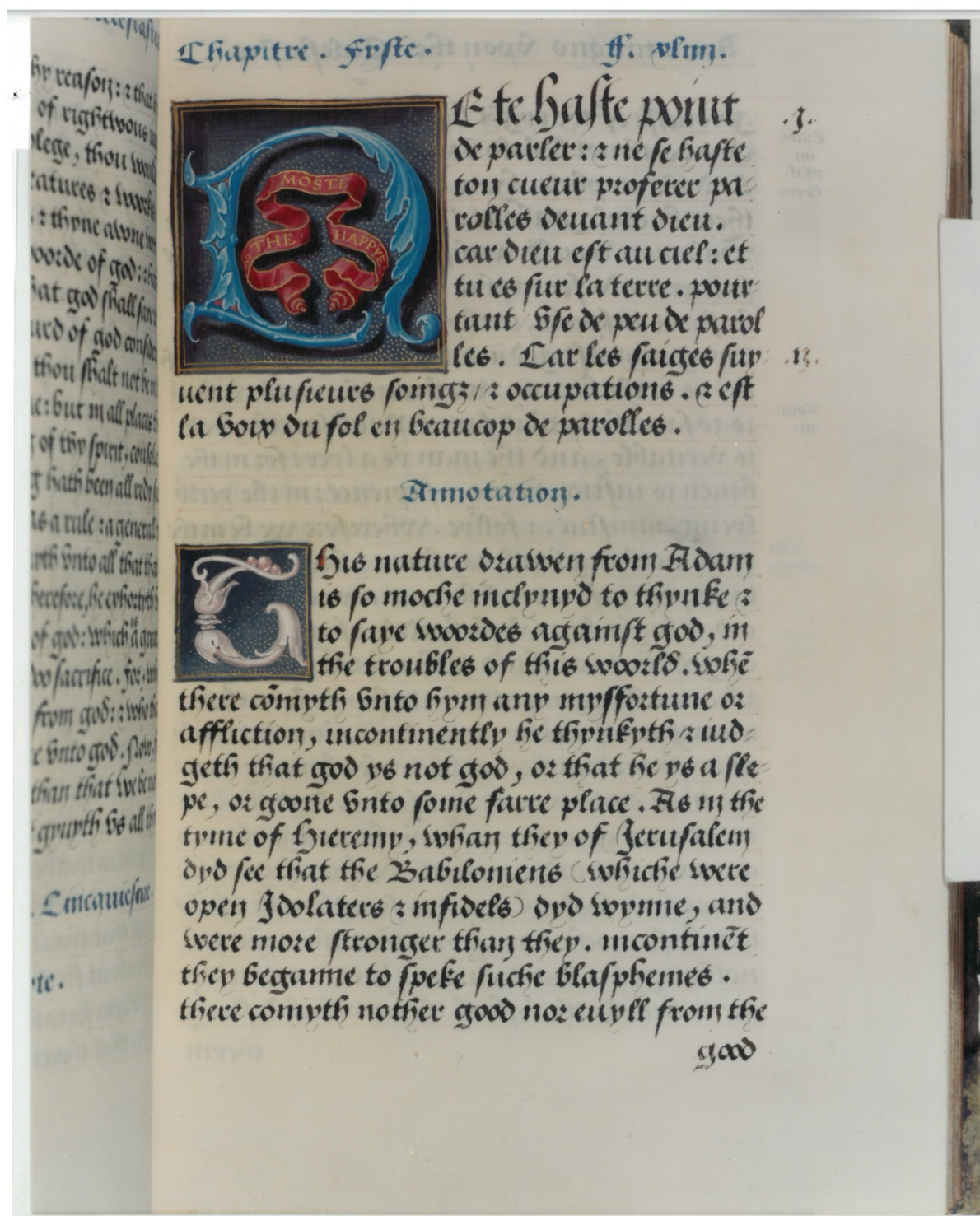


Figure 4. *The Ecclesiaste*, c. 1533, vellum, Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, Percy MS 465, fol. 44r.

From Print to Manuscript

Anne Boleyn's interest in the French evangelical movement is clearly reflected in her surviving books.¹⁰ Her earliest biographer, William Latimer, wrote of her:

And yet her highnes was very experte in the Frenche tounge, exercising her selfe contynually in reading the Frenche bible and other Frenche bookes of like effecte and conceivid greate pleasure in the same. Wherefore her highnes charged her chapellayns to be furnished of all kynde of Frenche bookes that reverently treated of the whole scriptures.¹¹

Her collection, sequestered upon her execution, consisted of as many as forty French evangelical printed books published during her ascendancy between 1527 and 1534.¹² Many of these may have been brought to England by Rochford during his ambassadorial visits—as the English ambassador to the court of France between 1529 and 1535, he would have had many opportunities to transport books that could not legally be obtained in England across the Channel.¹³

Having arrived at court, some of these printed books were subjected to what Carley refers to as the two Boleyn siblings' "conscious programme of transformation and elevation," whereby they were copied into illuminated manuscripts. Manuscripts formed an important part of the gift-giving cycle at court, particularly expensively bound manuscripts, which showed their value through their materiality.¹⁴ Besides being costly and visually appealing items, personalised manuscripts also gave "expression to the intimate relations among members of a family, while still calling attention to wider cultural values."¹⁵ The many personal aspects of the Psalter would have acted as signifiers for the siblings' close relationship. Furthermore, books given as public gifts—which the Psalter likely was—could also "establish a context for the subject of the book, the kind of circle where and the spirit with which the book should be read."¹⁶

¹⁰ For discussions on the links between Anne's library and the French evangelical movement, see Carley, "French Evangelical Books," 138–139; Ives, "Anne Boleyn and the *Entente Évangélique*"; Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 268–274; Reid, "A Prayer," 132–149.

¹¹ Dowling, *William Latimer's Chronickille of Anne Bulleyne*, 63.

¹² Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 382.

¹³ Mackay, *Among the Wolves of Court*, 193–194.

¹⁴ Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, 98.

¹⁵ Zemon Davis, "Beyond the Market," 78.

¹⁶ Zemon Davis, "Beyond the Market," 78.

Through the commission and display of these manuscripts, Rochford and Anne Boleyn were presenting her as a learned religious reformer.¹⁷ This engagement with a French evangelical text also aligned with Rochford's own religious leanings—he was known for his interest in new religious thought. In his scaffold speech, he referred to his translation efforts, stating:

I desire you to helpe to the settinge forth of the true word of God; and whereas I am sclaundered by it, I have bene diligent to read it and set it furth trulye; but if I had bene as diligent to observe it, and done and lyved thereafter, as I was to read it and sett it forth, I had not come hereto.¹⁸

The Psalter's Printed Source Text

The Sotheby's catalogue entry for the Psalter notes that its text is that of a 1541 copy of *Le livre des Pseaulmes de David* published by Antoin des Gois.¹⁹ However, the 1541 edition was obviously too late to have been the source text for the Psalter, and it was a reprint of the 1531 edition published in Antwerp by Martin Lempereur.²⁰ A comparison of Lempereur's edition, des Gois' edition, and the Psalter reveals that their texts are identical. The manuscript was likely copied from Lempereur's 1531 edition, a single imprint of which now survives at the University of Amsterdam. Its text is a translation of the psalms after the Hebrew into the vernacular for the use of lay people.²¹ According to Myra Orth, the Psalter is the only known illuminated manuscript containing the psalms after the Hebrew in the vernacular.²²

Lempereur primarily published evangelical religious books, such as the works of Desiderius Erasmus, William Tyndale, and Martin Luther, from the mid-1520s until his

¹⁷ Carley, *Books*, 129.

¹⁸ *A Chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors*, 40.

¹⁹ SOTHEBY'S, 73.

²⁰ See Pettegree, *French Vernacular Books*, 133. *Le livre des Pseaulmes* was a French translation of Felix de Prato's 1515 *Psalterium ex Hebraco*. The translation of de Prato's *Psalterium* into French has been attributed to Louis de Berquin, who was burned at the stake for heresy in 1529. See Ives, "Anne Boleyn and the *Entente Évangélique*," paragraph 28; *Beaux Livres*, 5; SOTHEBY'S, 73.

²¹ This translation was undertaken out of a desire to return to what was understood to be the original biblical texts, as opposed to Latin Vulgate translations. See Orth, "The Primacy," 399–400.

²² Orth, "The Primacy," 400.

death in 1536.²³ Upon his death, his widow continued to run his press, and a book published by her in 1537, *Nouum Testamentum Erasmi*, made its way into Westminster Library.²⁴ Given the evangelical nature of both publisher's works, Lempereur and Du Bois publications were often held in the same contemporary private libraries.²⁵

There were as many as thirteen Lempereur publications held in Westminster Library by 1550, which Anne Boleyn likely owned or had imported.²⁶ She owned a copy of *Obedience of a Christian Man*, published by Lempereur in 1528, which discusses the pre-eminence of the king over the Pope, and which she gave to Henry VIII. She also owned a copy of William Tyndale's Bible in English, published by Lempereur in 1534, which may be the Bible that she had placed on a "deske in her chamber" so that "every persone might have recourse to rede upon when they wolde, and give streight commaundement." ²⁷

Finally, and most importantly for this article's discussion, Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII owned a copy of Lefèvre d'Étaples's French translation of the Bible, published by Lempereur, which is still extant in its Henrician binding. Bound by the King's Binder between 1533 and 1536, it is decorated with a 'HA' cipher which the couple adopted upon their marriage, and the biblical verse *la grace et la vérité est sainte par Jesu Christ*.²⁸ Like Harley, Percy, and the Psalter, this evangelical book was seen as worthy of display, and was rebound for that very purpose, likely at Anne Boleyn's request.²⁹

Given Lempereur's output of evangelical printed books, Rochford and Anne Boleyn's interest in evangelical thought, and the prevalence of Lempereur's publications in the royal library, it is likely that Rochford commissioned the Psalter from a source text he and Anne Boleyn may have been familiar with, as was the case with Harley and Percy.

The Psalter's Use of Decoration

Harley, Percy, and the Psalter also demonstrate similarities in their decorative programmes. Throughout the Psalter, Anne Boleyn's heraldry is used to signify the divisions of Matins, Lauds, and the Minor Hours, and AR HEN REX SL monogrammed

²³ For more on Lempereur's career, see Jean-François Gilmont, "Martin Lempereur" in *Le Livre Évangélique En Français Avant Calvin*.

²⁴ Now BL C.25.b.27. See Carley, *Libraries*, 316.

²⁵ Reid, *King's Sister—Queen of Dissent*, vol. 1, 285.

²⁶ Carley, "French Evangelical Books," 138–139.

²⁷ Dowling, *William Latymer's Chronickille of Anne Bulleyne*, 62.

²⁸ Carley, *Books*, 127.

²⁹ Carley, "French Evangelical Books," 144.

lozenges are used to signify the divisions of Vespers. The use of this heraldry and the aforementioned monogram clearly highlight her status. The four-quartered arms serve to emphasise her descent from aristocracy and royalty: first, a chief indented azure (Butler); second, gules, three lions passant guardant (Lancaster); third, crowned lion rampant sable (Rochford); fourth, chequy or and azure (Warren).

Harley also utilises Anne Boleyn's heraldry, the AR HEN REX SL monogram, and the initials AP (for Anne Pembroke) to indicate liturgical dates and the beginning of English commentaries. The crown at the pinnacle of the arms in Harley represents Anne's new status as Marquess of Pembroke, with the heraldry throughout Harley also serving to emphasise Anne Boleyn's descent from royalty and nobility. In Percy, initials are decorated with devices that she adopted as queen—the letters H and A, a crowned white falcon, her motto of "The Moste Happye" on a red ribbon, and an anchor hanging from a celestial sphere, which possibly symbolised her commitment to the king.³⁰

In all three cases, the heraldry and devices are utilised to mark the beginning of the translated texts, thereby associating her with the vernacular translations and the radical new thought they represented. This "orchestrated programme of decoration" marks all three manuscripts as her personal possessions, each of them unique despite their similarities.³¹

As for Anne Boleyn's other illuminated manuscripts, the Psalter's materiality speaks to the wealth of its commissioner. It is written on vellum, and its two-line initials, its line fillers, and one of its full-page miniatures employ shell gold and possibly lapis lazuli. Each versal initial is written in silver on shell gold. Its two full-page miniatures and borders utilise a range of vibrant colours. While it is not as grand as Harley and Percy, it would have nonetheless been expensive to produce.

It has long been thought that Harley and Percy were the work of "Flemish-trained craftsmen working in England."³² Recently, Susan James has suggested that Harley, Percy, and the Psalter may have been produced by the Horenbout family workshop, with whom Anne Boleyn and Rochford would have been familiar.³³ As part of a larger case on the output of the family workshop, James draws visual comparisons between the illuminations

³⁰ Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 243–244.

³¹ Carley, "Her moost," 263.

³² Carley, *Books*, 125.

³³ James, "Horenbout family," 26–35.

within Harley, Percy, the Psalter, and other illuminations attributable to the Horenbouts.³⁴ In all three manuscripts, the decorations would have only been used by someone close to Anne Boleyn.³⁵ The AR HEN REX SL monograms employed throughout the Psalter and Harley both suggest a commissioner close enough to the royal couple to use such a personal symbol. This was a clear visual sign of support for her position as the king's equal—indeed, if the monogram may be interpreted as "Anna Regina, Sovereign Lady," as James has suggested, then it may in fact be symbolic of support for Anne Boleyn's queenship prior to her coronation.³⁶

Of the trio of the Psalter, Harley, and Percy, the first is the earliest example of a manuscript containing decorations representing Anne Boleyn clearly alongside Henry VIII. Predating Harley by around two years, the Psalter survives as the first material example of her assertion as a prospective queen prior to her marriage to the king. If the Psalter was the work of the Horenbout family workshop, then it is also an example of how the Boleyn siblings used the skills of craftspeople at court to help fashion Anne's image as queen prior to her coronation. Along with Harley, it is one of only two surviving manuscripts which utilise the four-quartered arms she employed between 1529 and 1532. Only Rochford is known to have commissioned manuscripts which utilised her heraldry and decorations in this particular way.

The Circle of Marguerite de Navarre and the Psalter

Harley, Percy, and the Psalter are also linked by their connections to Marguerite de Navarre, whom both the Boleyn siblings knew. The sister of the French king François I, queen of Navarre by her second marriage to Henri d'Albret, and a writer and campaigner on behalf of the French evangelical movement, Marguerite was incredibly influential within evangelical circles, using her position at the centre of the French court to intercede on behalf of, employ, and patronise those acting to spread new evangelical ideas.³⁷

Anne Boleyn would have made Marguerite's acquaintance during the former's time at the French court, and they corresponded during Anne Boleyn's queenship. Rochford also knew Marguerite, having met her during his embassies to France and possibly been gifted

³⁴ James, "Horenbout family," 26–30.

³⁵ Carley, *Books*, 128.

³⁶ James, "Horenbout family," 30.

³⁷ For more on Marguerite's connection to evangelicals, see Orth, "Radical Beauty"; Ferguson and McKinley, eds., *A Companion to Marguerite de Navarre*, 4.

a copy of her work *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, which Elizabeth I would go on to translate.³⁸

Carley has suggested that the illuminated manuscripts the siblings commissioned were created in an effort to emulate those found in Marguerite's own collection.³⁹ Her library consisted of nearly 300 books by the end of her reign, many of which were beautifully bound.⁴⁰ In this regard, the Psalter sits perfectly alongside Harley and Percy—these books would not have been out of place within Marguerite's library, with their extensive illuminations and evangelical overtones.

Furthermore, an aspect of the production of each one of these manuscripts can be directly linked to a member of Marguerite's known circle. Harley and Percy were both sourced from Du Bois imprints. While publishing in Paris and the duchy of Alençon, ruled by Marguerite, Du Bois likely benefited from royal privilege.⁴¹ Regarding the Psalter's use of the vernacular, its French translation has been attributed to the translator and scholar Louis de Berquin, who was protected by Marguerite following three arrests for heresy.⁴² When he was sentenced to death in 1529, she attempted to intercede with François I on his behalf.⁴³ However, this attempt ultimately failed, and he was burned at the stake.⁴⁴

The French cultural milieu from which the Psalter was derived was an environment in which Rochford moved, and with which he would have been familiar. His frequent French ambassadorial visits would have allowed him to share books with Marguerite and engage in discussions with others interested in reformist ideas, just as his sister did during her youth there. Perhaps Rochford acquired a copy of *Le livre des Pseaulmes* on one of his ambassadorial visits and later used it as the copy text for the Psalter.

Other Potential Commissioners

Though no in-depth study into the potential commissioner of the Psalter has been undertaken before, there have been four possible candidates suggested by historians since it was first sold at the Librairie Lardanchet in 1976.

³⁸ Mackay, *Among the Wolves*, 186–187. It has also been speculated that Marguerite sent Anne the *Miroir*. See Shell, *Elizabeth's Glass*, xi.

³⁹ Carley, *Books*, 129.

⁴⁰ For detailed descriptions of Marguerite's library, see Plantey, *Les bibliothèques des princesses de Navarre*.

⁴¹ Orth, "Radical Beauty," 391, 393, 396.

⁴² Reid, "A Prayer," 147.

⁴³ Orth, "Radical Beauty," 386.

⁴⁴ Ives, "Anne Boleyn and the *Entente Évangélique*," paragraph 28.

When the Psalter was first described in the sale catalogue of the Librairie Lardanchet in 1976, it was suggested to have been commissioned by Anne Boleyn herself, prior to her leaving France in around 1522.⁴⁵ In the Sotheby's sale catalogue entry for the Psalter in 1982, Christopher de Hamel put forward the theory that the Psalter was commissioned by Jean Du Bellay, the French ambassador at the Henrician court from 1527–1534.⁴⁶ Ives suggested that "given the foreign provenance of the psalter, and yet the use of such personal symbols [the AR HEN REX SL monograms], it is plausible to surmise that the order for the book came from the king himself."⁴⁷ Roger S. Wieck, in his description of the Psalter in the Wormsley Library Catalogue, suggested that it may have been commissioned by Thomas Boleyn, 1st Earl of Wiltshire, as a gift for his daughter while he was in France in 1530 on a diplomatic mission.⁴⁸ Recently, John Guy and Julia Fox have again suggested that the Psalter was commissioned by Anne Boleyn.⁴⁹

Given the manuscript's ties to the cultural milieu of Marguerite de Navarre and the fact that its decorations clearly celebrate Anne Boleyn's relationship with the king, she is a strong candidate. However, given Rochford's history of giving expensive illuminated manuscripts to his sister, and the common practice of gifting personalised manuscripts at the Henrician court, it was probably a gift.

The conclusion that Jean Du Bellay was the commissioner is reached by linking the Psalter with the French scholar Jacques Colin and his circle, whom de Hamel suggests was involved in the Psalter's production.⁵⁰ As has already been explored, the Psalter was sourced from a publication by Lempereur, and Jacques Colin does not seem to have had a hand in its production. The possibility of Du Bellay having commissioned the Psalter has already been impugned by Ives, on account of the intimacy of its decorations, which were unlikely to have been utilised by a French ambassador.⁵¹ However, Ives uses these monograms to suggest that the Psalter was commissioned by the king.⁵²

⁴⁵ *Beaux Livres*, 5–6.

⁴⁶ For du Bellay as the commissioner see SOTHEBY'S, 72; for du Bellay's time as ambassador, see his ODNB entry.

⁴⁷ Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 243.

⁴⁸ Wieck, "Anne Boleyn's Psalter," 68.

⁴⁹ Guy and Fox, *Hunting the Falcon*, 207–208.

⁵⁰ SOTHEBY'S, 72–73.

⁵¹ Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 402.

⁵² Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 402.

As already discussed, the AR HEN REX SL monograms to which Ives referred were included in Harley, a manuscript commissioned by Rochford. Clearly, the king did not have a monopoly on this monogram. Furthermore, as Carley notes in his catalogue of Henry VIII's library, imprints by Du Bois and Lempereur were present in Westminster Library due to the Boleyn siblings' efforts to gather French evangelical materials, and the king was unlikely to have been interested in gathering these kinds of books.⁵³

As to the possibility that Wiltshire commissioned the Psalter, not only are there no extant examples of any books he commissioned for Anne Boleyn, but he does not seem to have shown as much interest in the French evangelical school of thought as his children, instead aligning himself with Erasmian humanism.⁵⁴ Given the Psalter's humble beginnings as an imprint by Lempereur, a book which seems to have much more likely been found in Rochford's hands than in his father's, it therefore naturally follows that it was commissioned by Rochford as opposed to Wiltshire.

When looked at in its own right, the Psalter may be simply seen as an expensive French illuminated manuscript, a potential gift from any of the figures very briefly touched upon here. However, when looked at in more depth, each aspect of its production may be linked to Rochford, via Harley, Percy, and Marguerite de Navarre.

Conclusion

The similarities between Harley, Percy, and the Psalter of Anne Boleyn have hitherto gone unmentioned in discussions of Anne Boleyn's library. However, the Psalter may serve as one of a trio of manuscripts, previously thought of as the pair of Harley and Percy, which each exemplify Rochford's role in commissioning and disseminating evangelical illuminated manuscripts at court, and the siblings' joint effort to form a library of evangelical illuminated manuscripts similar to that of Marguerite de Navarre.

⁵³ Carley, *Libraries*, lviii.

⁵⁴ For more on Wiltshire's religion, see Mackay, *The Life and Career of Thomas Boleyn*, 167–186.

As is the case with Harley and Percy, the connection between Anne Boleyn, Rochford, and Marguerite can be seen in the production and composition of the Psalter. Copied out of a French book from Lempereur's press, a publisher within Marguerite de Navarre's circle, into an illuminated manuscript of a similar style to those made for the upper echelons of French society, there is little doubt that the Psalter has its origins in the cultural, artistic, and theological world with which both Anne Boleyn and Rochford were familiar. The Psalter's source is a printed book very likely to have been found in either of their hands.

Its materiality also links it to Rochford. Its decorations speak to a commissioner invested in highlighting and advertising Anne Boleyn's royal and aristocratic lineage, court status, and relationship with the king. Its expensive production costs, only affordable by someone of wealth and means, are evidenced in its rich illuminations, vellum, and extensive use of gold and possibly lapis lazuli.

A total of nine books can definitively be said to have been personally owned by Anne, and, of those, one-third may be attributed to Rochford. As previously mentioned, four surviving manuscripts contain Anne Boleyn's heraldry and devices in their decoration. Of those four, three were likely commissioned by Rochford.

The fact that so many of Anne Boleyn's known books were likely gifted to her by her brother acts as material evidence for their close relationship. The care, cost, and time which went into making each of these illuminated manuscripts, each befitting Anne Boleyn's station at the time it was commissioned, evidences the pride Rochford took in both his sister and their shared religious endeavour. It speaks to their shared religious interest and passion, discussed by them and their contemporaries and borne out in the richly decorated pages of these books. It speaks to their similar taste in illuminated manuscripts and reading material, displayed in the similarity in the decorations and source texts of Harley, Percy, and the Psalter.

Carley has suggested that other illuminated manuscripts derived from Anne Boleyn and Rochford's commissioning efforts may have once existed.⁵⁵ This possibility rests on the fact that there were a number of printed books sequestered from the Boleyn's collection at the time of their executions which were later placed into the royal library. These printed books, Carley suggests, may once have had manuscript versions that have since been lost, destroyed, or removed from the royal collection. Evangelical in nature, these hypothetical

⁵⁵ Carley, "French Evangelical Books," 145; Carley, *Books*, 132–133.

illuminated manuscripts' texts would have been sourced from books published by French reformist printers. This article has posited that one of these hypothetical manuscripts in fact still exists and now resides in the Wormsley Library.

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