



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Department of History

**John Foxe's Latin writings: their
intellectual and social context, with
special reference to the period of his
exile, 1554 - 1559**

**Thesis
submitted in application for
the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**by
John Stephen Wade, B.A., M.A. (Dunelm.)**

Volume 1 - Thesis

2008

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Abstract

This thesis sets out to examine the importance of Latin in the literary output of John Foxe by means of an analysis of a representative sample of the many different genres in which he wrote. The thesis rests on the examination of four propositions about Foxe's career as a Latin writer: first that his natural language of thought was Latin and that he was an accomplished Latinist; secondly, that he developed a significant intellectual network with the great scholars of the day; thirdly that his Latin, both spoken and written, is the key to unlocking the distinctiveness of his experience during his exile; and finally that on his return to England Foxe continued to use his Latin as a protagonist in the Elizabethan regime. It demonstrates not only that he was an extremely skilled Latinist, but also that he was very much in demand at different stages of his life as an exponent of those skills. In particular, this thesis shows beyond all doubt that the widespread view over the centuries, prevalent even among many of his contemporaries, that John Foxe was simply the church historian who wrote the *Acts and Monuments* ('Book of Martyrs'), is completely wrong. Foxe was a true humanist and a son of the Renaissance, in the tradition of Erasmus and his disciples, a neglected Latin writer, whose final untranslated work on the Apocalypse, at the least, merits a detailed study.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Professors David Loades and Mark Greengrass, successively directors of the British Academy John Foxe Project at the University of Sheffield, and Doctor Tom Freeman, the Project Consultant, for their constant encouragement in my work on Foxe's Latin, but especially to Mark Greengrass, who has been an inspiring supervisor: his scholarship and tireless enthusiasm have guided me throughout my research. I would also like to express my sincere thanks to Barrie Hall, Emeritus Professor of Latin from the University of London, for checking several of my translations. There are also the many scholars whom I have met at conferences or with whom I have corresponded, too numerous to name, but for whose advice and assistance on many occasions I am also most grateful. In addition, I would like to thank my sister-in-law, Aileen Wade, for her assistance in a final check for consistency and uniformity in the referencing and bibliography. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the sacrifices and understanding of my wife and family, especially with regard to the extended 'retreats' I have made, largely to warmer climes, to enable me to write without distractions (many of which would have been entirely my own fault) during the last few years.

November 2008

John S. Wade

Abbreviations

An abbreviated reference is used for the following books, which are frequently cited:

<i>A&M</i> 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583, 1641	<i>Acts and Monuments</i> 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583 & 1641 editions, (see bibliography for full details of these editions)
<i>A&M</i> 1870	<i>The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: with a Life and Defence of the Martyrologist by the late Rev. George Townsend</i> 8 Vols. 3 rd . ed. Revised and corrected with appendices, glossary, and indices, by the Rev. Josiah Pratt (London: Seeley 1870)
<i>A&M</i> 1877	<i>The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe; [also an introd., biographical and descriptive / by John Stoughton]</i> 8 Vols. 4 th . ed. Revised and corrected with appendices, glossary, and indices by Josiah Pratt (London: Religious Tract Society, 1877)
BL <i>Additional MS</i>	British Library Additional Manuscripts Collection
BL <i>Royal MS</i>	British Library Royal Manuscripts Collection
BL <i>Harleian MS</i>	British Library Harleian Manuscripts Collection
BL <i>Lansdowne MS</i>	British Library Lansdowne Manuscripts Collection
<i>CWE</i>	<i>The Collected Works of Erasmus</i> [online] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1969- ongoing) from University of Toronto Press Inc last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: http://www.utppublishing.com/pubstore/merchant.ihtml?id=52&step=2
<i>EEBO</i>	Early English Books Online
Erasmus, <i>Adagia</i>	D. Erasmus, <i>Adages</i> Vols. 31-36 In: <i>The Collected Works of Erasmus</i> [online] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1969- ongoing) from University of Toronto Press Inc last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: http://www.utppublishing.com/pubstore/merchant.ihtml?id=52&step=2
<i>ESTC</i>	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i>
<i>L&S (Lat.)</i>	Lewis, C.T. & Short, C.S., <i>A Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1879)
<i>L&S (Grk.)</i>	Liddell, H.G. & Scott, R., <i>A Greek – English Lexicon</i> 9 th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940)
<i>Mozley</i>	James H. Mozley, <i>John Foxe and his Book</i> (London: SPCK, 1940)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
<i>Original Letters</i>	Robinson, H. (ed.), <i>Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich.</i> 2 Vols. Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846-7)
<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office
<i>RMLWL</i>	Latham, R. E. (ed.), <i>Revised Mediaeval Latin Word List from British and Irish sources</i> (1965)
Vulgate	Latin text of the Bible based on that of St. Jerome
<i>Zurich Letters</i>	Robinson, H. (ed.), <i>The Zurich Letters : Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others, with Some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth</i> Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1842)

Latin Transcription Conventions

For the sake of unity and conformity, the following conventions have been observed for the printing of Foxe's Latin in this thesis.

1. All abbreviations have been expanded, viz.
 - -ā has been printed as either -an, or -am, as appropriate; -ū has been printed as either -un, or -um, as appropriate, etc.
 - -q̄ has been printed as -que, or -quam, as appropriate.
2. All lower case 'u' and 'v' letters have been printed as 'u'.
3. All upper case 'U' and 'V' letters have been printed as 'V'.
4. The punctuation used by Foxe in the Latin text of both manuscript and printed text has generally been left 'as is', but the English translation frequently deviates from this, in order to keep a sensible structure for the sentences.
5. Where simple errors have been perpetrated by the printer, such as the inversion of characters in the typesetting, these have been corrected in what is printed in the main text of the thesis and Appendix I.
6. I have retained all of Foxe's parentheses, even when he uses them to address a correspondent or dedicatee.
7. Square brackets indicate where I have made an editorial insertion or comment.

INTRODUCTION

Mihi, ut ingenue fatear, indignius quiddam, ac ieiunius esse uidetur, quam ut in chartophylacium uestrum recipi debeat, praesertim quum eo sermonis genere conscripta historia nullum magnopere usum studiis uestris praestare queat . . . Hoc unum dolet, Latine non esse scriptum opus, quo uel ad plures emanare fructus historiae, uel uobis iucundior eius esse posset lectio. Atque equidem multo id maluissem. Sed huc me adegit communis patriae ac multitudinis aedificandae respectus, cui et uos ipsos idem hoc condonare aequum est.

*It seems to me, to be quite frank, something too unworthy and too trifling to be received into your library, especially since a history written in that type of language can provide no great use for your studies . . . This one thing pains me, that the work was not written in Latin, by which either the consequence of its history could become known to more people, or the reading of it could be more pleasing to you. And indeed I would much have preferred that. But a common respect for our country and for edifying the masses has driven me to this, and out of this respect it is fair that you yourselves pardon this same action.*¹

The context of this thesis is the standing of John Foxe (1517 – 1587) as a Latin writer, both in his own day and during the succeeding centuries. Foxe's Latinity attracted little direct comment from his contemporaries. That should not surprise us. John Bale, Edmund Grindal, Laurence Humphrey, William Cecil and, indeed, Queen Elizabeth herself, were all very competent Latinists. Nevertheless, his skills and proficiencies were recognised, as is evident from the way in which his services as a Latin writer were called upon by the Elizabethan regime on a significant number of occasions. His contemporary Catholic critics, of course, would have liked to belittle his Latinity. However, Nicholas Harpsfield, Thomas Stapleton, Nicholas Sanders, and the Jesuit Robert Persons (or Parsons) concentrated their attack upon the gigantic

¹ Extract from a letter from John Foxe to the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, enclosed with a presentation copy of the 1563 edition of the *Acts and Monuments*, Magdalen College Library call reference ARCH.B.I.4.13. The transcription is taken from *A&M 1870*, Appendix to the 'Life of John Foxe', pp. 20-21. See p. 12.

vernacular *Acts and Monuments*,² and this did not afford them scope to do so.³ Those passages in Latin in the *Acts and Monuments* (hereafter *A&M*) were primary documents, of which the only possible criticism might have been in Foxe's translations of them (where he did this) into English. His only original Latin composition in the *A&M* is to be found in the prefatory prose and verse passages.

Foxe's English martyrology succeeded, however, in creating an identity and history of an indigenous Protestant church. The 'cult of the martyrs . . . became one of the defining features of future English Protestantism'.⁴ The *A&M*'s subsequent editions (1596, 1610, 1632, 1641⁵ and 1684⁶) further consolidated Foxe as the author of only one vernacular work, and in that work his vehement anti-popery had its widest exposure to the (English) reading public. Thomas Fuller (1608-1661) and Jeremy Collier (1650-1726) each sought to praise Foxe's Latinity. Fuller says that 'the Papists who called him *John Lack-latine*', a term which suggests that he had an imperfect knowledge of Latin, 'may appear as so many *Lack-Truths*'.⁷ Referring to the Latin epistle John Foxe wrote to Queen Elizabeth pleading unsuccessfully for the lives of two Dutch Anabaptists, pronounced heretics in 1581,⁸ Fuller suggested that the letter indicated Foxe's 'fluent and familiar language' in Latin; while Collier said

² Four editions of the *Acts and Monuments* (see the bibliography for the full titles) were printed during Foxe's lifetime in 1563, 1570, 1576 and 1583 (all in London, printed by John Day).

³ It is, however, perhaps worth noting that Harpsfield had a copy of the *Rerum*, the 1559 Latin precursor to the *Acts and Monuments*, in his prison cell. Cf. J.F. Mozley, *John Foxe and his Book* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940) [hereafter *Mozley*], p. 128.

⁴ P. Collinson, *The Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 99.

⁵ This edition included Simeon Foxe's 'Life' of his father and was seen as a powerful influence on the Puritan and parliamentary cause. Cf. D.M. Loades, (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), pp. 6 – 8.

⁶ This edition followed the Popish Plot and Exclusion crisis with their threat of Catholicism. Cf. D.M. Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, p. 7.

⁷ T. Fuller, *The Church History of Britain: from the Birth of Jesus Christ, untill the year M.DC.XLVIII* [online] (London: John Williams, 1655) Book IX, p. 106 from Early English Books Online last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.

⁸ BL Harleian MS 416, fol. 151r-v.

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that it had been ‘written in a very handsome Christian strain’.⁹ Although future editions of the *A&M* would not appear until nearly a century later (in 1782 and 1784), a series of derivative treatises – what David Loades refers to as ‘sub-Foxean’¹⁰ writings – were published between 1660 and 1830 and they served to keep alive the stereotype of Foxe, the English martyrologist, whose ‘venomous and xenophobic hatred of “popery” could not be justified by any rational perception of political or religious danger’.¹¹ In the rationalist thinking of the eighteenth century the subject-matter of these derivative treatises, with their emphasis on apocalyptic thinking, would hardly find readers or favour.

It took the revival of the disputes between the Catholic and Evangelical wings of the Anglican Church in the nineteenth century to bring the divisions experienced by that church in its infancy during the sixteenth-century English Reformation back towards the centre of the stage, and Foxe with it. The great Victorian edition of the *A&M*, edited successively by Stephen Reed Cattley and Josiah Pratt between 1837 and 1870, provided the scholarly basis for a reassessment of Foxe’s literary stature and historical significance.¹² Unfortunately, the edition proved to be controversial. Samuel Roffey Maitland, Librarian of Lambeth Palace from 1838 to 1848, led the critique, the details of which (and the Evangelical rebuttals of them) are not of direct concern here. However, we should note that, taken alongside the rise of the Oxford Movement and the Tractarians, this debate unconsciously reinforced what I judge to be an asymmetrical treatment of his writings by scholars over the centuries.

⁹ J. Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain* (London: Samuel Keble & Benjamin Tooke 1708-14) Vol. II, p. 549.

¹⁰ By this he means writings which ‘created a new life for some of [Foxe’s] ideas at a lower social and intellectual level’. See D. Loades, *Foxe and the English Reformation*, p. 8.

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *The Acts and Monuments*, in 8 vols. ed. S.R. Cattley (London: Seeley, 1841, 1837 – 9); ed. (probably) J. Pratt (London: Seeley, 1843 – 9); ed. J. Pratt (London: Seeley, 1870, 1853 – 68); ed. J. Pratt (London: Religious Tract Society, 1877).

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

Not until the last century did Foxe's other writings begin to be accorded the significance that they deserve. James Mozley's biography of Foxe, published in 1940, began the rebuttal of much of the unfounded criticism by Maitland and others, and a more general rehabilitation of Foxe as a writer. As Conyers Read pointed out in his review of Mozley's book, Foxe had been shown to be an honest and painstaking scholar of his time.¹³ Mozley studied Foxe's scholarly methods and his diligent search for sources. He also sought to place Foxe's martyrological writings in the context of his other literary works, including all his Latin writings (even though he did not analyse these in great detail).¹⁴ Mozley also explored manuscript sources to piece together Foxe's education and early career as a Latin scholar and tutor. As a result, he was able to demonstrate that the vernacular *A&M* was not the *ultima thule* of Foxe's writings. The work on which Foxe spent his last year was, in fact, an extensive commentary on the Apocalypse, the *Eicasmī seu meditationes in sacram apocalypsin*. Although it remained unfinished, it was published posthumously by his son Samuel in 1587, shortly after Foxe's death in April of that year.¹⁵

This twentieth-century rehabilitation became focused also on Foxe as a historian. William Haller argued in 1963 that the *A&M* was significant because it provided Tudor England with 'an apocalyptic nationalism grounded in a study of the Book of Revelation, and that this led his contemporaries to regard England as the elect nation'.¹⁶ Haller's thesis has been challenged (and mainly dismissed) in the terms in which it was formulated, most recently by Jesse Lander, who points out that, although Foxe himself did not believe England to be the new Israel, 'meanings,

¹³ Review of J.F. Mozley, *John Foxe and his Book*, by C. Read, *American Historical Review*, 48 (1) (October, 1942), pp. 91-2.

¹⁴ Thus, while Mozley did say that Foxe was 'an excellent Latin scholar', he did not in any way attempt to demonstrate Foxe's skills in either speaking or writing in that language. See *Mozley*, pp. 165, 184.

¹⁵ The book covers in 400 quarto pages the first seventeen of the twenty-two chapters of *Revelation*.

¹⁶ W. Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963).

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unintended by [him] could be and were made available to a wide range of readers, including, at particular moments, an assertion about England's peculiar, divinely appointed role in world history'.¹⁷ It had the merit, however, of encouraging a reassessment of Foxe's apocalyptic thought, now analysed in great detail by Katherine Firth¹⁸ and Richard Bauckham.¹⁹ This necessarily rehabilitated some of Foxe's hitherto neglected Latin writings and their work has been taken into account in so far as it contributes to an understanding of Foxe's Latinity. Useful additional material and analysis on the non-martyrological publications can also be found in Norskov Olsen on the Elizabethan church.²⁰ There is also some detailed comment on two of his early Latin tracts by Catharine Davies and Jane Facey.²¹ In 1973 J.H. Smith published an annotated edition with parallel translation of the text of the two Latin plays of Foxe which survive.²² This edition played an important part in the early stages of researching this thesis, since it constituted the only modern edition of Foxe's Latin works available when work began on it.

¹⁷ J.M. Lander, *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 56 – 79.

¹⁸ K. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

¹⁹ R. Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse. Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation: From John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman* The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics (Abingdon: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978).

²⁰ V.N. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

²¹ The *De non plectendis morte adulteris* (1548) and *De Censura* (1551), C. Davies & J. Facey, 'A Reformation Dilemma: John Foxe and the Problem of Discipline', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 39 (1988), pp. 37-65.

²² J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe the Martyrologist*, Renaissance Text Series (London: Cornell University Press, 1973). The two plays have been examined in their biographical environment, with detailed textual and historical analysis, but with the emphasis firmly on them as examples of Renaissance drama. In his edition of the plays, Smith comments on Foxe's poor prosody (see my Chapter 4 below), but he acknowledges that *Christus Triumphans* has echoes of Horace and references to Plautus, that it makes 'even more effective use of the language of Roman comedy than *Titus et Gesippus*', and that it has both effective speeches and effective scenes. However, when he goes on to excuse himself from commenting on Foxe's borrowing from classical writers, e.g. Plautus, Terence and Cicero, noting that this would have been done had his text 'been constructed on the great principles of classical editing', he makes it clear that we still have no Latin work of Foxe which has been properly edited as a work of Latin literature. Smith's real interest in these plays is, understandably in view of his particular specialism, in their place in the development of Renaissance drama. (See Chapter Four for a full discussion of *Christus Triumphans*.)

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

The reassessment of Foxe as a historian has not, however, taken significant account of the fact that the *A&M* began as a Latin work in Foxe's exile. In 1966 Frances Yates delineated the *A&M* as 'a perfect example of propagandist history'. She went on to regret that 'the lurid reputation of Foxe the martyrologist has obscured Foxe the historian'. In reviewing a single-volume, abridged edition of the *A&M*, she analysed the structure of what she termed 'Foxist History'. Regarding him as 'quite untouched by the new critical schools of historical writing . . . which broke completely with the old notions of empire', she summed up 'Foxe is no Machiavellian realist; he is an old-fashioned chronicler.' However, I maintain that Yates was wrong in her conclusion on this point and has failed to see that Foxe, while he may not have always followed the conventions for writing humanist history, was very critical of the medieval chroniclers, remarking on 'their tendency to repeat each other's work, their failure to compare or analyse conflicting accounts, and their concentration on mundane and trivial matters'.²³

More recently Foxe has been delineated by D.R. Woolf as an author who 'ruthlessly pillaged the medieval chronicles for tales of martyrdom and persecution'.²⁴ John King, on the other hand, has defended Foxe from the implicit charge of 'unscrupulous borrowing from older sources'.²⁵ He suggests that we should think of Foxe as an 'author-compiler', with Raphael Holinshed (c.1525 – 1580?) as a comparison.²⁶ Like his companion in exile, John Bale (1495–1563), Foxe was a writer whose 'conception of authorship corresponds not to origination, but rather to compilation or collection in the manner of an editor who gathers material from many

²³ F. Yates, 'Foxe as Propagandist', *Encounter*, XXVII (1966), p. 43. Cf. 1570 *A&M*, p. 686.

²⁴ D.R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 42.

²⁵ J. N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 21.

²⁶ Raphael (or Ralph) Holinshed, *Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: 1587).

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disparate sources'.²⁷ King is no doubt right in his description of the methodology involved in the production of the *A&M*. But we should surely draw the model for such patterns of authorship from classical sources, as Foxe would have done. Compiling material from others was how Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus and Eusebius had written their histories.

Frances Yates had sought to demonstrate how Foxe's universal history used Eusebius as a model,²⁸ whilst combining this with 'the traditions of mediaeval imperialist theory to form a historical justification for the Tudor imperial and monarchical reform':

Sacred Monarchy was the most operative politico-religious idea of the sixteenth century, and it was John Foxe who provided a historical justification for the peculiar form of it which underlay the Tudor assumption of supreme authority in both Church and State.²⁹

Thomas Freeman argues that Foxe did indeed draw on Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* in structuring the *A&M*, showing that it was not just a stylistic model, but one which shaped Foxe's research and historical methodology.³⁰

The most recent assessments of Foxe as a writer have been framed in terms of his contribution to 'literary culture', evidence of the sustained interest in his works from scholars of English literature and culture. John King presents the case for Foxe's contribution to English print culture – the complex literary production of the *A&M* making extraordinary challenges to every aspect of book publishing in the

²⁷ J.N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, p. 24.

²⁸ Foxe himself tells us in the dedication to Elizabeth in the 1563 *A&M* that he was 'followyng the example of Eusebius this worthy Byshop'.

²⁹ F. Yates, 'Foxe as Propagandist', p. 86.

³⁰ T.S. Freeman, 'Great searching out of bookes and autors': *John Foxe as an Ecclesiastical Historian*, Unpublished PhD thesis (Rutgers University: New Jersey, 1995).

sixteenth century.³¹ Jesse Lander uses Foxe's text to illustrate how the Reformation created the literary genre of 'polemic'.³² These assessments presume, however, that the only 'literary culture' which matters is a vernacular one. Although Lander notes that Foxe's martyrology was 'in its origins, a polemical work written in Latin and printed on the Continent' he does not contextualise Foxe's Latin martyrology in arriving at his judgement on the way Reformation polemic framed a particular literary culture. This is most significant in the context of the rhetorical traditions within which Foxe was writing, derived from and drawing their strength from classical education and antique forms (see Chapter Four, pp. 177ff.). Sixteenth-century literary culture was necessarily polyglot. The impact of the religious divisions of the sixteenth century served to reinforce the significance of a Latinate literary culture, even as it provided the occasion for demonstrating the spiritual and polemical necessity of developing and making a virtue out of vernacular literary culture.

Since 1993, the British Academy John Foxe Project (in conjunction with which this thesis has been written) has set itself the task of producing a new edition of the *A&M* in an on-line searchable 'variorum' format with the capacity to view the various editions in a comparative way, and providing a running commentary on Foxe's sources, textual alterations, and overall historical approach. Part of the commentary process has been the examination of his use of Latin and Greek sources in the *A&M*. I have been responsible for that examination, and (although there is no chapter in this thesis directly reflecting the results of that investigation) the result has a bearing upon this thesis, as, for example, in the sections dealing with the Latin prefatory prose and verse passages discussed in Chapter Six. Foxe also translated and

³¹ J.N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

³² J.M. Lander, *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 56 – 79.

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summarised Latin materials on a considerable scale for the *A&M*. The sheer scale of that process should remind us of just how significant his Latinity was in the preparation of that text. In Chapter Six (pp. 252-4) a glimpse at the extensive Latin verses by a number of scholars prefatory to the 1570 edition of the *A&M*,³³ which I have translated for the online edition, is enough to convince one of how Foxe himself clearly saw the book as being both for the general reader and for a scholarly Latinate audience, as only those with a good knowledge of Latin would be able to appreciate those poems.

The Project has also organised four *colloquia* which have each led to a volume of research papers, three edited by David Loades and one by Christopher Highley and John King.³⁴ They each have introductions giving general assessments of the current state of Foxean studies, together with specialised papers on a great variety of aspects of research on John Foxe. These have been taken into account in the preparation of this thesis. But it is fair to say that they have not, in general, succeeded in shifting our attentions significantly away from the *A&M*. Foxe's other writings are still regarded as essentially 'ancillary' to his *magnum opus*, even though, in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, Foxe was so well regarded as a Latinist that his services were called upon as a promoter of the Protestant cause. It will be seen in Chapter Six that he was requested on a number of occasions to write in Latin at the behest of the state, notably in the Osorian controversy and the projected reform of canon law (see pp. 266-70). He may also have been employed for his Latin skills in a private capacity by leading Elizabethan aristocrats. The elegant Latin epitaph on the funeral monument to George

³³ http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/main/pref_1570_0020.jsp, last accessed 27 October 2008.

³⁴ D.M. Loades, (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997); D.M. Loades, (ed.), *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); C. Highley & J.N. King, (eds.), *John Foxe and His World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); D.M. Loades, (ed.), *John Foxe at Home and Abroad* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury (see p. 271), in the Shrewsbury Chapel in Sheffield Cathedral was apparently (though the evidence is circumstantial) composed by Foxe and commissioned from him by the Earl of Shrewsbury.³⁵

Foxe's Latin writings, aside from the two proto-martyrologies, are of considerable variety, demonstrating a much wider interest and expertise in literary pursuits than has been generally perceived, including a certain amount of verse composition in the form of epigrams (some of which are included in the *A&M*: see pp. 254-5) and epitaphs.³⁶ To the familiar description of Foxe as a martyrologist, we should add historian, theologian, polemicist, dramatist, educator, poet and correspondent. This variety is manifest throughout the present study, illustrating that from his earliest days at Magdalen College, through his teaching posts in Warwickshire and London, his exile years in Switzerland and his final years back in London, Foxe was interested in producing literature of all kinds. His Latin works comprise two treatises which still survive only in manuscript, and a further eleven octavo, three quarto and two folio published volumes: the last two groups alone totalling over sixteen hundred pages. Foxe wrote as much in Latin as the longest of the vernacular editions of the *A&M*.

It will not be difficult to demonstrate that Foxe was readily at ease with Latin as a means of discourse within a wider commonwealth of letters. His knowledge of Greek as well as Latin placed him in a strong position to contribute to Renaissance polemic and his approach to his sources reveals his training in, and affiliation to, humanist scholarship. That raises, however, the more complex issues of Foxe's

³⁵ *Sheffield and Rotherham Red Book and Almanac*, 60th edition, (Sheffield: Pawson and Brailsford, 1923), p. 269. See Chapter Six for the discussion on this.

³⁶ See, for example, the final epigram in the prefatory verses in the *A&M* 1570, p. 0020.

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relationship with that broader cultural movement, now often described as ‘Tudor humanism’. John King has already indicated that this is a connection which has not been sufficiently appreciated:

Few readers associate John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Days* with Tudor humanism . . . Examination of Foxe’s versatile career demonstrates, on the contrary, that he is a Renaissance man equally comfortable in the world of Greek and Latin scholarship and Reformation polemics. His drive to return *ad fontes* in the accurate transcription of documents, regardless of whether he approves of their contents, is in the tradition of humanist historiography.³⁷

In the course of my analysis of Foxe’s Latin, I shall show, through an examination of his school and university education – so far as we are able to reconstruct this – that he had a thorough grounding in the humanist principles of scholarship, being influenced in particular by the Dutch humanist, Desiderius Erasmus. John King has demonstrated that ‘Foxe’s discipleship of Erasmus affords support for James McConica’s claim that the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations originated in ideals and actions of English humanists inspired by Erasmus’.³⁸ King noted some opposition to McConica’s thesis from a number of scholars, notably Maria Dowling,³⁹ but he was only able to sustain his argument where the evidence for Foxe’s Erasmianism is at its weakest, namely, in the English editions of the *A&M* published between 1563 and 1583. So we shall analyse Foxe’s Latin writings during his exile to arrive at detailed judgments on his use of Latin and, in particular, for evidence of Erasmian and other humanistic influences on his Latin style and content.

³⁷ J.N. King, ‘John Foxe and Tudor Humanism’, in J. Wofson (ed.) *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 174.

³⁸ J.N. King, *Tudor Humanism*, 2002, p. 177.

³⁹ She questions how much influence Erasmus had on Tudor religion and policy and the extent to which English evangelicals who identified with Erasmian humanism exerted a major influence upon thinking within the Tudor court. See M. Dowling, ‘The Gospel and the Court: Reformation under Henry VIII’, in P. Lake & M. Dowling (eds.) *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 36 – 7, 40, 46, 60 – 71.

Specifically, this thesis contends that John Foxe is a neglected Latin writer, and that this is manifest in the way that historians have generally focused on the *A&M* and not on the nineteen Latin works he wrote before and after its first publication in 1563. He had wanted to write the *A&M* directly into Latin too, as is shown in the extract, printed at the start of this Introduction, from the dedicatory letter accompanying the presentation copy of the first edition to his *alma mater*, Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1563. Even allowing for the conventions of the *captatio benevolentiae*,⁴⁰ that one would expect to find in such a dedication, his argument is clear. He stated that Latin would have made it accessible to ‘more people’ (*plures*) but that he had reluctantly written it in English on the grounds of ‘edifying the masses’ (*multitudinis aedificandae*). How did Foxe construe that somewhat fine distinction? From the spring of 1554, early in Mary’s reign, to the late autumn of 1559, some six months into Elizabeth’s reign, Foxe was in exile in the Rhineland. There he was receptive to two complementary currents. Working in the print-shop of a distinguished scholar-printer, he became more directly in contact with the Latinate world of humanist writers and readers. He also experienced at closer hand the world of Reformed Protestantism, with its emphasis on transforming people’s lives and societies. It was during this time that Foxe’s first continuous and significant body of work in Latin was written. Hence this thesis takes the period 1554 – 1559 as its focus. In so doing, we shall be shifting our attention away from the *Acts and Monuments*, the work that has so dominated Foxean historiography, and therefore hopefully providing a more balanced view of Foxe’s overall contribution as a writer.

The thesis rests on the examination of four propositions about Foxe’s career as a Latin writer: first that his natural language of thought was Latin and that he was an

⁴⁰ A rhetorical method of securing the good will of the reader, often in the form of self-deprecation.

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accomplished Latinist; secondly, that he developed a significant intellectual network with the great scholars of the day; thirdly that his Latin, both spoken and written, is the key to unlocking the distinctiveness of his experience during his exile; and finally that on his return to England Foxe continued to use his Latin as a protagonist in the Elizabethan regime.

The present study aims to examine these four propositions through a close textual reading of his Latin works (including the two precursors to the vernacular *A&M* of 1563, the *Commentarii* of 1554 and the *Rerum* of 1559), concentrating on the period of his Marian exile from March 1554 to September 1559.⁴¹ This exile period also forms a definite intellectual, cultural, social and political unit, as well as a cohesive period of literary output which was almost entirely in Latin, but which also contains quotations and allusions from both classical Greek authors and the Greek New Testament.

My methodology is supported by working translations of all the material in question (presented in *Appendix I* in the supporting volume) since it is only by translating Foxe's works that one comes fully to appreciate the subtleties of his written Latin. The translations provide a way, too, of identifying the numerous classical and post-classical allusions that are the characteristic signatures of the humanist writer.

There is another way of measuring the impact of an Erasmian-influenced education upon Foxe, a Latin educator. This is through his use of grammar, of

⁴¹ The manuscript of the *Commentarii* was virtually complete before Foxe left England, but the textual revision, new dedication and the publication itself were all executed in Germany, and probably while Foxe was in Strassburg, where the book was published.

vocabulary, of tropes, of classical, biblical and proverbial allusions, and of rhetorical and other linguistic devices. Thereby we shall discover the impact of his education to be at its most pervasive. So, beyond the question of why Foxe chose to write in Latin lie more complex evaluations of his use of Latin in different genres, and of the classical writers who influenced him the most. These necessarily have to be considered in relation to his own background and education. We should bear in mind, however, that during his exile on the Continent, Latin, his natural language for thought as a result of his humanist education, became now his *preferred* language of *oral* as well as *written* communication. There is no evidence that he had any direct working knowledge of German, French or Italian and we should regard it as additional, indirect evidence of the sufficiency of Latin as a medium of international communication for him that he apparently never sought to acquire even a reading familiarity with those languages.

Chapter One, in testing the first proposition, examines the degree to which Foxe used Latin as a natural language for his thought and developed his skills in this to a high level of achievement. His education in the humanist tradition led to his formation as a Latin scholar. While there is little direct evidence surviving of his own education prior to his arrival in Oxford, it is nonetheless possible to extrapolate from the evidence of contemporary sources the sort of curriculum Foxe would have followed in a Lincolnshire grammar school and to make an educated guess about what he would have read in the classical languages. This leads on to an analysis of Foxe's career at Magdalen and its abrupt end. We examine an extract from his earliest literary work, the Latin verse comedy *Titus et Gesippus* (pp. 37-42), together with an important letter he wrote to the President of Magdalen, Owen Oglethorpe (pp. 45-50), and a brief selection from some of Foxe's Magdalen correspondence (pp. 33-37). All

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of this gives an early indication of the young scholar's growing skill and experience in the Latin language and gives an insight to the beginnings of the intellectual 'networking' advanced in my second proposition.

Chapter Two considers the relationship between Foxe's location and his use of language and demonstrates the importance of Latin in his intellectual environment and the 'networking' in which as a young scholar he was engaged before and leading up to the exile. This chapter provides further evidence for my second proposition, showing how Foxe developed his network with some of the great scholars of the day. The literature analysed here includes letters to William Cecil, who had recently become a Privy Councillor, and to Peter Delaenus, a Dutch minister in London, and a manuscript 'Address to the Nobles' which Foxe penned around March 1554 shortly before he left England. It is clear that, from the time of his arrival in London to his departure for the Continent, Foxe built up a network of close friends and other contacts within the intellectual circle of reformers connected with the Duchess of Richmond and other leading evangelicals.

Chapters Three, Four and Five deal with Foxe's most concentrated period of Latin writing which was from about March 1554 to September 1559, when he was in exile. It is in these three chapters that I explore my third proposition, that his spoken and written Latin was the key to unlocking the distinctiveness of his experience during the exile. In Chapter Three the first Latin prototype of the *A&M*, the *Commentarii* of 1554, is examined with regard to its structure, content, style and impact, both on its intended audience and on the writer's subsequent literary activities. Chapter Four assesses the diverse works coming from Foxe during his exile in the areas of Latin verse composition within the genre of drama, prose

composition in Latin of theological treatises, the production of a commonplace book and political polemic. It is likely that Foxe would have felt more comfortable writing in the latter genre in Basel than he would have felt in England. He would have been able to take a more detached and objective view of events in England and express them in the Latin he was constantly exchanging with his fellows, both exiles and continental scholars. In addition, it should be noted that Foxe's contemporaries concentrated on reacting to his work as a polemical statement. His critics tried to attack his veracity and undermine his interpretation which linked the martyrs with dying for the true faith, the Protestant faith of the true Church. It is Foxe's skill in polemical rhetoric which will ultimately lead him to the role he plays in the Elizabethan regime, as I argue in my fourth proposition. The works under consideration in this chapter are the 1556 *Christus Triumphans* and *Panegyricon* (pp. 158-172), letters from Foxe to Oporinus (pp. 150-152), Johannes Wigand to John Bale (pp. 156-7) and Foxe to John Cheke (pp. 174-176), the commonplace book *Locorum Communium Tituli* (pp. 177-183) and the address *Ad Inclytos* (pp. 183-192), both dating to 1557. Chapter Five focuses on a swiftly written, but highly effective, Latin congratulatory address in reaction to the accession of Elizabeth, the *Germaniae ad Angliam Gratulatio* (1559), and the very substantial second Latin prototype of the *A&M*, using selections from the *Rerum* (1559). This chapter also includes discussion of a newly-discovered letter from Foxe to Heinrich Bullinger (p. 201).

Finally, Chapter Six explores the fourth proposition, that Foxe was a protagonist for the new regime, where it is shown that his services as a Latin writer in the service of the new Elizabethan regime were sought after throughout the rest of his life. These services were not confined to the very high-profile vernacular *A&M*. He both chose, and at times was specifically required, to produce work composed in

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Latin. Foxe's Latin composition in this chapter includes the letter to Queen Elizabeth on her visit to the University of Cambridge (pp. 257-260), the Dedication and Hortatory Epistle prefixed to the 1564 *Syllogisticon* (pp. 245-247) and an extract from the 1577 *Contra H. Osorium* (pp. 268-270), as well as an epitaph on the tomb of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury attributed to Foxe (p. 271).

In short, this thesis re-examines the importance of Latin in the literary output of John Foxe, setting it in the intellectual and social context of his life and times, concentrating on the period of his exile.

CHAPTER ONE

The Formation of a Latin Scholar

Introduction

In this chapter, through my examination of the extent to which John Foxe's own education and early occupation as a university fellow and tutor to leading English families shaped his means of communication, I explore my first proposition, that his natural language of thought was Latin and that he excelled in his proficiency in that language. I shall also demonstrate an early form of my second proposition, that Foxe developed a significant intellectual network with the great scholars of the day, by showing that, from the time he arrived as a student in Oxford, he used his Latin correspondence as a medium for building friendships, exchanging ideas, expressing his beliefs and especially for the giving and asking for advice on a range of topics

Tudor Humanism and the Grammar School curriculum

At the end of the middle ages Thomas Aquinas had amalgamated Aristotelian and Christian ways of thinking, producing a new rationalism. This rationalism was adopted by the schoolmen and taught by means of Aristotelian syllogisms. This was a kind of logical argument in which one proposition (the conclusion) is inferred from two others (the premises) in a certain form: for example 'All stars twinkle. Planets

do not twinkle. Therefore planets are not stars.’ However, as the effects of the Renaissance spread across Europe during the fifteenth century, humanists sought to moderate or balance scholastic logic. They accepted that logic might have a place, but that it was not really satisfactory for balancing arguments and persuading people. These humanists ‘were absorbed with the place and potentialities of the human individual in this world, without excluding the perspective of an eternal destiny’.¹ A recent re-examination of Tudor humanism sees the humanist movement as being concerned with the ‘recovery, assimilation, reinterpretation of the textual remains of antiquity . . . operating in contexts as diverse as schools, universities, monasteries, princely courts, aristocratic households, academies, private libraries, printing houses and informed intellectual circles, involving the study, teaching, publication and adaptation of an ever-increasing range of different aspects of antiquity’.² In the early fifteenth-century, the humanists taught grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy, but from the mid-fifteenth-century other ancient disciplines attracted their attention: law, medicine, botany, mathematics, the scriptures, and art were among the foremost.

In order to have some idea of the sort of education that Foxe would have undergone, it is necessary, briefly, to look at what was happening in the grammar schools. The first English school where humanist educational ideas were securely established was St. Paul’s, London, founded by John Colet in 1510. With the help of William Lily he issued the boys with two basic text books: his own *Aeditio* and Lily’s *Rudimenta*. The former consisted of an accidence with the articles of faith, seven sacraments and the precepts of living, written in English; and the Apostles Creed, the *pater noster* and a prayer written in Latin. The latter was a straightforward syntax,

¹ J. McConica, *Erasmus, Past Masters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 6.

² J. Wolfson, (ed.), *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 1.

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written in English. Latin grammar was taught from a work by Lily and Erasmus published anonymously, the *De Constructione*, first printed in 1513.³ Lily's grammar rules in verse, *De generibus nominum* (later to be known from the opening words of its two sections as *Propria quae maribus* and *As in praesenti*), were supplemented by Erasmus's verse translation of Colet's moral precepts. Erasmus later produced a work in two parts, *De Copia Verborum* and *De Copia Rerum*, which incorporated systematic instructions on how to embellish, amplify and give variety to speech and writing. These were accompanied by a manual for the schoolmaster called *De Ratione Studii*. All three were written for St. Paul's School.⁴

One of the features of the teaching of Latin to which Colet objected was that of using Latin phrases and sentences to illustrate particular rules of grammar, a method much used by Stanbridge and Whittinton at Magdalen College School, Oxford, and subsequently at Banbury and Lichfield.⁵ This method was no doubt suitable for developing conversational Latin from everyday English 'playground' phraseology, but certainly not what was required for reading Latin authors.⁶ From 1515, Magdalen College School was using Lily's grammar, although Eton and

³ The earliest surviving edition is dated 1533. The book known as 'Lily's grammar' or *The Royal Grammar* had been proclaimed as the only authorized Latin grammar for schools in 1543 by Henry VIII. Further proclamations on this were made in 1547 and 1559 by Edward VI and Elizabeth respectively. The definitive version was published in 1548-9. Cf. R.D. Smith, 'Lily, William (1468? – 1522/3)', [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Jan 2008 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>. It is interesting that despite (or maybe because of) this 'authoritative' situation, Foxe felt that he could offer an alternative grammar with his *Tables of Grammar* (1552), and indeed that he apparently received backing from the Privy Council so to do. See below for further discussion on this.

⁴ D. Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings*, 1 and 2: Volume 1: *Antibarbari /Parabolaes*. Volume 2: *De copia / De ratione studii*. Thompson, C.R. (ed.) Vols. 23-24 *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1978). Cf. J. Simon, *Education and Society In: Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 73ff.

⁵ J. Simon, *Education and Society*, p. 89.

⁶ An interesting aside on using Latin in daily conversation is provided by Foxe himself in telling the story of the Reading school headmaster, Leonard Coxe (see below in the main text), being called to his aid by the imprisoned John Frith, a stranger to Coxe. Foxe says: 'As soone as he came vnto him, Frith by and by began in the Latine tongue to bewaile his captiuitie. The Schoolemaister by and by beinge ouercome wyth his eloquence, did not onely take pitie and compassion vppon him, but also began to loue and embrace such an excellent witte and disposition vnlooked for, especially in such a state & miserie. Afterward, they conferring more together vpon many things as touching the Vniuersities, scholes, and tongues, fell from the Latine into the Greeke . . .' *A&M* 1877, Vol. 5. pp. 5-6.

Winchester continued to use the grammars of Stanbridge and Whittinton for another decade or more.⁷ These last mentioned, while not altogether typical of the period, would seem to have placed as much emphasis on the oral as on the written aspects of Latin. Westminster School too espoused Erasmian principles and instructed the boys in rhetoric, ensuring they 'collect in their notebooks figures of speech, antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, anecdotes, descriptions of times, places and persons, fables, witty sayings and apophthegms; in short, all the usual illustrative matter of rhetoric.'⁸ In the early part of Henry VIII's reign, the Master at Magdalen School from 1526 to 1534 was Thomas Robertson (or Robert, or Robinson), a famous grammarian and theologian whose views, as noted by Anthony Wood, led him to be seen as a 'great oppugner and vilifier of the questionists' [scholastic theologians].⁹

As far as Greek was concerned, in the early part of Elizabeth's reign scholars such as Sir John Cheke and Roger Ascham had been trained to a high level in dialectic and rhetoric, but by the end of the century there had been no great successors to Richard Croke and Sir Thomas More. Perhaps this was the result of a decline in the humanist programme in England, as had also happened elsewhere, which resulted in the legacy of Greece and Rome being represented in a 'few hundred pages of Cicero and Demosthenes, a few hundred lines of Virgil and Homer, with extracts from the historians and the elegiac poets, and perhaps a tragedy by Euripides or a comedy by Terence.'¹⁰

⁷ J. Simon, *Education and Society*, p. 90.

⁸ R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 364.

⁹ A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford, from . . . 1500 to the end of . . . 1690 . . . To which are added, the Fasti or Annals of the said university for the same time* (London: Thomas Bennett, 1691), Vol. I, p. 320.

¹⁰ R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, p. 365.

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Another English scholar involved in teaching methods at this period was Leonard Coxe (c.1495 – c. 1549). He taught at the University of Cracow in Poland from 1518 – 1520, and was for four years headmaster of the schools in Levoca and Kosice. He then went back to his university post in Cracow before returning to England in 1529 to become headmaster of the Reading grammar school. In 1526 he published *Libellus de erudienda juventute*, which was based both on Quintilian and on Erasmus's *De ratione studii*, and in the same year he also published *Methodus humaniorum studiorum* (of which no copy survives).¹¹ Coxe had been closely associated with a humanist circle advocating Erasmian principles and had received considerable patronage from the local nobility. It was to Leonard Coxe that John Foxe sent his *Tables of Grammar* (probably published in 1552, but see below): he mentions this in a letter to William Cecil dated May 1551, although by then, if we accept the current thinking on the date of Coxe's death being 'in or after 1549',¹² the famous grammarian was already dead: perhaps Foxe had sent the manuscript to Coxe considerably earlier than the letter to Cecil.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine all that was happening in early- to mid-Tudor schools and their curricula, but there is one more humanist scholar whose influence was enormous. This was the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives (1492 – 1540), who spent some time between 1522 and 1528 in Oxford and London and at the court of Henry VIII.¹³ Vives advised that boys should learn Latin from the age of seven, that they should be taught to read Latin, first by single vowels, then by

¹¹ S.F. Ryle, 'Cox, Leonard (b. c.1495, d. in or after 1549)' [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Vives incurred the displeasure of the King and Wolsey for his support of Katharine of Aragon when Henry was ensnared by the charms of Anne Boleyn, but when he failed to support the Queen in her trial before the papal legates at Blackfriars (knowing that it was pointless) he was dismissed and lost his pension. See C. Fantazzi, 'Vives, Juan Luis (1492/3 – 1540)' [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oct 2008 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

combining letters, then syllables and finally naming the letters.¹⁴ He recommended that the grammars of Lily and Linacre be used and encouraged pupils to keep highly structured notebooks to record vocabulary, history, sayings, proverbs and all manner of miscellaneous useful material, such as plant names and the names of famous people, a technique that had earlier been used to great effect by Erasmus.¹⁵ In all of this intensive attention was paid to Latin grammar and syntax, as well as to reading the best writers: Caesar, Cicero's *Epistulae Ad Familiares*, Terence, Plautus (suitably edited), Seneca's *Tragedies*, Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, Horace's *Odes*, Prudentius, Baptista of Mantua, some Ovid, Martial's *Epigrams*, Persius and Virgil's *Aeneid*. However, Vives saw these authors as a mere introduction to those he regarded as the most important: Livy, Valerius Maximus, Caesar, Sallust, Tacitus and Cicero. It is implicit that the boys were also drilled in conversational Latin.

Foxe's Early Education

We know very little about Foxe's early schooling. However, this sort of information is lacking even for very prominent members of Tudor intellectual society, such as, for example, Thomas Cranmer,¹⁶ William Cecil¹⁷ and Thomas Wolsey,¹⁸ for whom we have, respectively, the possibility of a village or home tutorship, the names of two successive grammar schools, and the town where this teaching probably took place. Probably we know so little about the schooling of boys over such a significant period of time – this little group, including Foxe, covered a period of some sixty years – because schoolboy exercises and notebooks are ephemeral and tended not to be kept

¹⁴ J. Simon, *Education and Society*, p. 108.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 108 – 9.

¹⁶ D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: a life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 15.

¹⁷ C. Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1955), p. 23.

¹⁸ S.M. Jack, 'Wolsey, Thomas (1470/71 – 1530)' [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Jan 2008 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

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in the family archives (with the notable exception of the members of the Tudor royal household, some of whose exercise books have been preserved).¹⁹

Our primary sources for Foxe's education are what Foxe himself says in a letter he sent with a presentation copy of the 1563 edition of the *A&M*, the memoir by his son Simeon prefaced to the 1641 edition of the book and the registers of the Oxford Colleges. Scholars from John Strype to Thomas Freeman have drawn on these sources, and the following outline of his early years and education is the currently accepted account.

According to Simeon Foxe,²⁰ his father John was born to parents who were *utroque genere plebeio* ('both of common stock') in Boston, Lincolnshire, in 1517. Simeon says that John *patrem paruulus admodum misit* ('lost his father while he was very young') and subsequently, on the re-marriage of his mother *in domum uitrici concessit* ('went into the house of his step-father [Richard Melton])²¹ and there *pueritiam exegit* ('spent his childhood'), before *Oxonium ad artes capessendas missus est* ('he was sent to Oxford to engage in [studying] the arts'). In the next sentence Simeon says of his father that *prima literarum alimenta in Collegio Aenei nasi hausit, datus in contubernium Alexandro Noello* ('the first nurse of his more serious studies was Brasenose College, where he was chamberfellow with Dr.

¹⁹ For example, Edward VI's *Chronicle*, begun as a school exercise, and Elizabeth I's letter in Italian to Catherine Parr, again a school exercise, in the Bodleian Library MS Cherry 36, ff. 2-4.

²⁰ S. Foxe, *Johannis Foxii Vita*, prefaced to the 1641 edition of the *A&M*. Cf. *Mozley*, p. 1ff. for a verification of the authenticity of this document as the work of Simeon, as well as the English translation which precedes it. The Latin version was written first, we are told in the preface, and *Mozley* shows that the manuscript original of this (in BL Lansdowne MS 388) was about 1611, but we are not given a date for the English version, which may have been prepared specifically for the 1641 edition.

²¹ Richard Melton was a wealthy yeoman from Coningsby, some 12 miles north-west of Boston. See *Mozley*, pp. 12ff. for this identification. Cf. the dedication to his step-father of *An Instruction of Christian Faith*, a translation of a Latin tract by Urbanus Regius, c. 1548.

Nowell’).²² This is all Simeon tells us of his father’s life prior to his arrival in Oxford, leaving it unclear as to whether his father attended school in Lincolnshire or Oxford.

David Loades has suggested that Foxe attended Tattershall College, a short distance from Coningsby in Lincolnshire, an establishment at which teaching posts were held by future Protestant reformers.²³ Indeed, Magnus Williamson has brought to light some interesting early evangelical activity in South Lincolnshire, involving both Tattershall College and the Lady Guild at Boston, with links to Cardinal College, Oxford.²⁴ Loades speculates that, while Foxe seems to have been unaware of the connections of Boston and Tattershall with Oxford, the presence of this evangelical network close to his birthplace ‘may well have predisposed him to sympathise with reforming views’ prior to his arrival in Oxford. It is equally possible that Foxe may have been tutored in Latin locally in Lincolnshire by a freelance teacher, of whom there were many. This then is what can be deduced from Simeon’s account about Foxe’s education prior to entering university.

Turning to Foxe’s own words, in the letter accompanying the presentation copy of the first edition of the A&M, Foxe says: *Intelligo enim quid ueteri scholae, quid charis consodalibus, quid demum uniuerso Magdalensium ordini ac caetui* (‘For I realise what I owe to my old school, to my dear fellow pupils, what in short I owe to the whole of the succession and company of the men of Magdalen’). Taken at face value, this means that Foxe attended Magdalen College School and then Magdalen

²² Confirmation of his friendship with Nowell at Oxford can be seen in the letter Foxe wrote to Nowell printed as *Appendix I*, No. 4. See below, p. 33.

²³ These included Thomas Lawney and John Taverner. It is also possible that William Tyndale was briefly on its staff. D. M. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, p. xvi.

²⁴ M. Williamson, ‘Evangelicalism at Boston, Oxford and Windsor under Henry VIII: John Foxe’s Narratives Recontextualised’, *ibid.* pp. 31–45. Other reformers involved with this group were Thomas Garrett, Robert Lyne and Thomas Watson.

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College. The situation is complicated by three factors, first that Simeon says that Foxe initially attended Brasenose College, Oxford, secondly that John Hawarden (Harding), rector of Coningsby from 1533 to 1566, was a fellow and later (1547 – 1564) the principal of Brasenose College, Oxford,²⁵ and thirdly that the records of neither Magdalen College School, Brasenose College, nor Magdalen College show Foxe entering their institutions. The earliest mention of Foxe in the Oxford records is his graduating BA at Magdalen in 1537.

However, I would argue the case for a new, and perhaps even more plausible, suggestion as to the institution where Foxe received his early education: Magdalen College School itself. It has hitherto been assumed that he did not arrive in Oxford until 1534. This is based on calculating from 1533, when John Harding was presented to the living of Coningsby, to the known date of Foxe's graduating BA in 1537. But why should it be assumed that Harding and Foxe had met before the latter went to Oxford? Foxe could well have been sent directly to Magdalen College School by his step-father, Richard Melton (who would seem to have been sufficiently well-off to do this) and later met the 'new' local parson (who happened to be the Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford) as one of the local bright boys, who subsequently was encouraged to study at his vicar's college. This would also fit well with his later tribute to Magdalen College *and* its School, if he had actually been a pupil there. The absence of Foxe's name from the Magdalen School records is not necessarily an obstacle to this theory, as records at that time were haphazard.

²⁵ Mozley, pp. 13ff., 244. T.S. Freeman, 'Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)' [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Jan 2008 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

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Whether or not Foxe attended a Lincolnshire grammar school or Magdalen College School, we can reconstruct from the evidence of known examples in the 1530s, such as Magdalen College School itself and other 'typical' grammar schools of the period, the sort of curriculum which would have been experienced by the young Foxe. R.S. Stanier has summarised the Latin grammar and authors studied at Magdalen, based on what Wolsey had laid down for Ipswich, as follows:

In the First Form the boys learned the eight parts of speech and the pronunciation of Latin . . . In the Second they learn to speak Latin and do easy sentences into Latin and write them out fair; for reading Lily's 'Carmen monitorium', i.e. the *De Moribus*, and Cato's *Moralia* are recommended. In the Third Form Aesop and Terence are read and Lily's Nouns studied: in the Fourth, Virgil and Lily's Principal Parts of Verbs. The Fifth are to read select letters of Cicero; the Sixth Form 'seems to call for some history, whether Sallust or Caesar'. In the Seventh the boys read Horace's *Epistles* or Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or *Fasti*; they compose verses or letters, practising the turning of verse into prose and back again into verse, and learn by heart, just before going to sleep, passages to be said next day. In the Eighth Class they study the science of Grammar proper in Donatus or Valla and deal with some set book thoroughly. Letters and compositions are to be practised.²⁶

More detail on the composition component in this type of curriculum, as followed at Magdalen College School, can be ascertained from the research of Nicholas Orme on a manuscript sixteenth-century schoolbook in the British Library containing, among other items, some eighty-seven passages of Latin prose, each followed by an English translation.²⁷ It would seem that these passages were used to illustrate particular points of grammar, but would have resonated well with the pupils as they involved aspects of school life pertinent to both staff and pupils, probably dating from somewhere between 1512 and 1527,²⁸ the later date being just seven years before Foxe's assumed arrival in Oxford.²⁹ Orme has divided these exercises into two types: those concerned with the everyday life and surroundings of the pupil in the school and those concerned with teaching moral precepts. Both are intended to broaden the student's vocabulary in their different respects and were certainly intended to equip

²⁶ R.S. Stanier, *Magdalen School: A History of Magdalen College School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 46-7.

²⁷ N. Orme, 'An Early-Tudor Oxford Schoolbook', *Renaissance Quarterly* 34 (1981), pp. 11-39. BL Royal MS 12. B. XX.

²⁸ N. Orme, 'An Early-Tudor Oxford Schoolbook', pp. 12 – 13.

²⁹ But see above for an alternative date for Foxe's arrival in Oxford.

him for both written and spoken Latin. A better known manuscript containing exercises of a similar nature and for the same school had previously been published by William Nelson.³⁰ Orme notes the similarities and differences between them and shows that both sets of exercises were intended for more advanced pupils who had already read widely in the Latin authors.

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the Latin grammars used in Magdalen College School were those of Anwykyll, Stanbridge and Holt which, in addition to using everyday vocabulary which would be familiar to the schoolboys, made use of pictures and simplified explanatory terms for some of the less familiar technical terms for grammatical terminology. These grammars were replaced from 1515 by that by Lily, Colet and Erasmus. One of the main changes to the earlier grammar books used at Magdalen in the new grammar produced by Lily *et al.* was its far more formal approach to instruction in the rudiments of Latin. Although Lily's grammar was a less attractive book, its function was intended to be that of a reference grammar supplementary to the reading of Latin texts, from which many of the illustrative examples were taken. In addition, Latin hexameter verses were used as mnemonics to illustrate particular grammatical or stylistic features: it is to be noted that Thomas Robertson, who was the Master at the time Foxe may have attended the school, added many such verses to this Magdalen grammar.

This is very likely to be the sort of classical education which Foxe received, especially in the Latin literature he will have read. Although Greek was not part of the curriculum at Magdalen until 1535, it is quite certain that it was taught to interested pupils by those so qualified.³¹ We have no way of knowing whether Foxe

³⁰ W. Nelson, *A Fifteenth Century School Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956).

³¹ R.S. Stanier, *Magdalen School*, pp. 48-9.

acquired his facility in Greek before he entered the university in 1534, but he was certainly quoting from Greek authors in his earliest surviving manuscript letters dating from the mid 1540s. There was a Greek lecture at Magdalen College from 1535, following a visitation to Oxford by Henry VIII,³² although it was not until nearer the end of the century that Brasenose acquired its own Greek lecture.³³ From 1538 onwards Corpus Christi College provided support for six scholars on the foundation who were able to hear the Greek reader at Corpus.³⁴

Foxe at the University of Oxford

We can be certain that Foxe entered the University of Oxford in about 1534 and that he spent some time at Brasenose College, sharing rooms with Alexander Nowell, the future Dean of St. Pauls.³⁵ This was the college where John Harding (Hawarden) was Principal and it is quite natural that Harding, who from 1533 was the vicar of Coningsby where Foxe lived in his early years, should introduce Foxe to his own college, a college which in the 1530s included a number of ‘members interested in continental Protestantism’.³⁶ Mozley suggests that if Harding were in residence he would have been Foxe’s tutor, and although we have no way of knowing whether or not Harding was away at one of the several livings he held,³⁷ it is more than likely that he was at Brasenose and that his livings were being looked after by curates, as was usual in these circumstances. There is no evidence as to why or when Foxe moved from Brasenose to Magdalen.

³² J. McConica (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. III: The Collegiate University* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 342.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁵ Mozley, p. 16. Nowell was about ten years older than Foxe. The two men remained close friends: see the letter addressed to Nowell c. 1545 after the latter had left Oxford (BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 80r). Nowell went with Foxe to visit the condemned duke of Norfolk many years later in 1572.

³⁶ J. McConica, *The History of the University of Oxford*, p. 367.

³⁷ T.S. Freeman, ‘Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)’ *ODNB*.

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After Foxe moved to Magdalen, he graduated BA on 17 July 1537, became a probationer fellow in July 1538 and a full fellow on 25 July 1539. During the next session 1539 – 40 he lectured in logic and then three years later he graduated MA.³⁸ Following this graduation, according to the college's statutes, Foxe's next step was to be ordained within a year of completing the year-long regency of his MA, i.e. by autumn 1545. His strong objection to celibacy and his realisation that his reformist views were making his position at Magdalen untenable caused Foxe to resign his fellowship in 1545.

In all Foxe spent some eleven years at the University of Oxford, up to 1545. The only primary source comment we have on his skills in Latin, Greek and Hebrew at Oxford comes from the over-generous account of his son, Simeon, who makes an all-inclusive statement on the extent of his father's reading that 'before the thirtieth year of his age, he had read over all that either the *Greek or Latine* Fathers had left in their writings and had acquired no mean skill in the *Hebrew Language*'.³⁹ We cannot know for certain whether Foxe had read *all* the patristic writings and whether he was a skilled Hebraist, or was just able to read enough Hebrew words to assist his general reading in theology. However, there can be no doubt that Foxe felt perfectly at home in both oral and written Latin, and that in any form of intellectual discussion or dialogue on classical or theological subjects he will have automatically formed his responses or opinions in Latin, his natural language of thought. Equally, there can be no doubt that he became very skilled in practising this.

Although nothing survives that Foxe wrote prior to 1544, some ten years after his arrival in Oxford, there exists a corpus of manuscripts which can be securely dated

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ S. Foxe, 'The Life of Maister John Fox' In: *A&M* 1641. Simeon also says that Foxe had read 'the Schoolmen in their Disputations; the Councils in their Acts; or the Consistory in their Decrees'.

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between June 1544 and July 1546.⁴⁰ This consists of a series of (generally) short Latin letters to fellow students and other academics both at Oxford colleges and further afield, together with one of Foxe's two Latin comedies, *Titus et Gesippus*, which has been dated to the autumn of 1544.⁴¹ These Magdalen letters are important in that they provide our earliest insight into Foxe as a writer of original Latin, rather than compiled or edited Latin.⁴² There is a wide range of recipients of these letters: students, colleagues among the fellows, other scholars outside Oxford, one to the Bishop of Winchester and one to the President of Magdalen College. It is clear from the letters that Foxe is part of a coterie or circle within the university, thus providing us with evidence for my second proposition - an insight into one of his early networks. This regular engagement with friends and acquaintances, especially through the exchange of Latin letters, is a constant feature throughout Foxe's life: we shall see it operating in London, in Basel during his exile, and once again in his final years in London. There is playfulness in both the letters and the play and Foxe is clearly quite 'at home' making jokes in Latin. The full Latin text for each of the letters discussed is contained in *Appendix I*.

⁴⁰ Cf. BL Lansdowne MS 388. These manuscripts were among his father's papers gathered together by Samuel Foxe, passing through his great-grandson Sir Thomas Willis, then coming into the possession of the historian John Strype and ultimately into the Lansdowne collection in the British Library. They are transcribed in Appendix XVIII of the 1870 Pratt ed. of John Foxe's *A&M* (though not re-printed in the 1877 ed.) and to date remain untranslated and unedited, though Mozley did summarise a number of them and abstract the more important biographical and historical information they contain.

⁴¹ J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe the Martyrologist*, Renaissance Text Series (London: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 7.

⁴² There are fifteen letters, including the lengthy draft of an appeal by Foxe to Owen Oglethorpe, President of Magdalen, the remaining letters being addressed to [Innocent] Sharpe, Stephen Gardiner, John Harding, Alexander Nowell, Richard Berti (2), [?] Pinfold, John Cheke (2), [?] Tindall, [?] Hedley (2) and [?] Hensey (2).

The Magdalen Letters

The Revd. John Harding is addressed in a short letter (*Appendix I, No. 3*),⁴³ which shows the esteem in which Foxe held Harding, but long enough to give him the opportunity to bring in allusions to some of his classical reading. With the words *in parandis munusculis recte Seneca . . . admonet . . . apta* Foxe is no doubt alluding to Seneca's *De Beneficiis*, an allusion he makes again (but using *xeniola* rather *munuscula*) in another letter to a fellow student called Pinfold (see below). The diminutive *munusculum* ('small present') is found in Cicero, Virgil and Juvenal,⁴⁴ but is not particularly common. A quotation from Isocrates, τῶν χρημάτων σημεῖον ('a sign of worldly goods'), appears in the next sentence by which Foxe explains that this is not the reason for sending the gift of a text to a friend.⁴⁵ He uses yet another diminutive with *meditatiunculum* ('little meditation') in the usual self-deprecatory way of sixteenth-century writers when mentioning their own works. The one use of this word in classical writings is that found in the Christian writer, Claudianus Ecdicius Mamertus, at the end of the fifth century A.D.,⁴⁶ but we have no proof that Foxe will have read the work and was consciously borrowing from it. Two more terms, *symbolum* and *pignus*, this time of classical origin, also occur frequently in early Christian writings. So here we have a fluently written short missive which combines a good knowledge of classical literature with the appropriate terminology and vocabulary relating to an exchange between two sixteenth-century scholars engaged in theological study.

The letter addressed to Alexander Nowell has already been mentioned (*Appendix I, No. 4*).⁴⁷ It contains a delightful expression, *speculo chartario* ('a paper

⁴³ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 81v.

⁴⁴ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 9. 12. 2; Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4. 18; Juvenal, *Satires*, 6. 36.

⁴⁵ Isocrates discusses the topic of guest friendship in a number of passages. See J.A. Rydberg-Cox, 'Offering Advice: Textual Gifts and Guest-friendship in Isocrates' in *Pomoerium: Studia et Commentarii ad Orbem Classicum Spectantia* 3 (1998), pp. 27–35.

⁴⁶ Claudianus Ecdicius Mamertus, *De Statu Animae*, 1. 3.

⁴⁷ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 80r.

or papyrus mirror'), by which Foxe suggests that Nowell can see his friend mirrored in the text of the letter. Then he moves on to talk about the relationship between the voice and one's feelings with the written words in *Siquidem ut uox animi character est, ita uocis rursus interpretes et organa sunt literae* ('At any rate, just as the voice is a mark of one's feelings, so again is a letter the expounder and instrument of the voice'). It may be that Foxe had consciously in mind a sentence of John Scotus Eriugena (810- 877) which states: *Est igitur uox interpretis animi* ('And so the voice is the interpreter of the mind').⁴⁸

There is a pleasant short letter addressed to a fellow student called Pinfold (*Appendix I, No. 6*),⁴⁹ containing phrases derived from classical literature which sit happily beside expressions of Foxe's Christian devotion. The letter begins with a reference to the 'gifts of friends' being suitable for the recipients: instead of using the usual Latin word for 'gifts' which would be *dona*, Foxe uses the word *xeniola*, a diminutive of *xenium* from the Greek ξένιον ('a gift from a guest').⁵⁰ Then he credits this as 'advice from Seneca', in a reference to Seneca's *De Beneficiis*;⁵¹ a line or two later, in describing the biblical Zaccheus, he uses a Ciceronian expression *corporea statura perpusillus* ('very small in stature'),⁵² following this up with the expression *Euangelica . . . historiola*, meaning 'Gospel story', but seems to have coined *historiola* (a diminutive form of *historia*).

⁴⁸ John Scottus Eriugena '*Periphyseon (De divisione naturae)*' H. J. Floss ed., *Patrologia Latina* 122, 680D-81A (Paris: J-P. Migne, 1853).

⁴⁹ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 82v.

⁵⁰ The Greek version is more usually found in the plural, τα ξένια.

⁵¹ Seneca the Younger, *De Beneficiis* II. 17. 3: *eadem beneficii ratio est: nisi utrique personae, dantis et accipientis, aptatur nec ab hoc exhibit nec ad illum perueniet, ut debet* ('so it is with a benefit: unless it be suitable both for the giver and receiver, it will neither leave the one nor reach the other as it ought'). Foxe may also be referring generally to Seneca's *lex uitae* ('a rule for life') on the manner in which benefits should be given, received and returned. Cf. M. Griffin, 'De Beneficiis and Roman Society', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 93 (2003), p. 92.

⁵² Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2. 60. 245.

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Foxe's university correspondence as preserved was not confined to staff and students in Oxford, but included letters to other scholars such as John Cheke, the Cambridge scholar who became tutor to Edward VI, and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. There are two letters to Cheke, the second of which (*Appendix I, No. 11*) is examined later in the chapter in the context of Foxe's job-hunting following his decision to leave Magdalen, and a letter to Gardiner (*Appendix I, No. 2*) which was described by Mozley as 'obscure', in which Foxe complains to Gardiner that if the rumour that he has heard about fellows being taken from other Oxford colleges to staff the re-founded Christ's College (formerly Henry VIII College, itself a renaming of Cardinal College, following Wolsey's death in 1529) with salaries of sixteen or twenty gold pieces, then he is concerned that this is nowhere near enough even to repay their friends and relatives who are contributing to their maintenance, in fact almost not enough to buy a single volume of St. Augustine for the library.

This correspondence gives an early indication of the young scholar's facility in the Latin language, writing in an easy and fluent manner to a variety of fellow students, scholars (both in and out of Oxford) and those in authority. They are friendly and intimate, yet carefully composed and, as we have seen, abound in classical allusions. Foxe is here demonstrating the skills in writing in Latin (and at times in Greek) he has acquired from his school and university education. They show that he was not only well versed in classical literature and applying his familiarity with Erasmian techniques – these letters abound in examples from the *Adagia* – but that he was also prepared on occasions to coin neologisms. He was particularly fond of using diminutives, words formed from others to express little ones of the kind, and some of the words he coined are among these.

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It is in this correspondence we see friendships being ‘fashioned’ by Foxe’s Latin in his developing network. A number of the letters, for example those to Cheke, Bertie and Tindall, show quite clearly that Foxe was prepared to use his contacts within the network to forward his career opportunities. He has a good sense of humour and is prepared to be quite outspoken in his views – for example on the question of celibacy for a priest which he sees as undergoing ‘castration’.⁵³ If he can work in a classical reference or allusion, he does so. They are invariably apt and well chosen, illustrating either the breadth of his reading, or, just as likely, judicious use of a book of ‘useful quotations’ such as Erasmus’s *Adagia*. When he uses one of those proverbial expressions found in the pages of Erasmus’s compendium, either he has used that composition ‘tool’ or he is quoting directly from the original Greek or Roman writer. It is my opinion that he will have read the original passages as part of his schooling, especially those coming from Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Terence and Virgil, as we have seen from the literature that would have formed part of a boy’s curriculum in the grammar schools of the period.

It was quite usual to send complimentary copies of literary works, especially short treatises and pamphlets, to one’s friends as gifts. This Foxe did, as can be seen in the letters to Harding,⁵⁴ Cheke,⁵⁵ Bertie and Bennett.⁵⁶ In the same way he sent a copy of *Titus et Gesippus* to one Hedley,⁵⁷ and another to a Doctor Hensey of Exeter.⁵⁸ These two letters (*Appendix I*, Nos. 8 and 9) contain one or two interesting features: in comparing the writing of a letter and conversation in person with his correspondent, Foxe describes the letters as *nihil aliud . . . quam praesens quaedam et*

⁵³ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 80v.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, fol. 81v.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, foll. 111r, 118r-v.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, fol. 83v.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, fol. 120r-v. Hedley is possibly the individual mentioned in *A&M* 1877 Vol. VIII, p. 599, accused of selling heretical books in 1556: J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies*, p. 7. n. 23.

⁵⁸ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 80v. It is unclear whether this is Exeter College, Oxford, or the city of Exeter. See J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies*, p. 4.

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expressa cum amicis confabulatio, neque quicquam a uiua ipsa lingua differentes ('nothing other than some conversation also expressed with friends, and not differing in any way from the living tongue itself'),⁵⁹ which underlines the everyday use of Latin as a natural language among these scholars. Another feature of his writing is the inclusion of many diminutive forms. In the first paragraph of the letter to Hensey he uses *occasiuncula* ('little opportunity') and just a couple of lines later *donusculum* ('little gift'), both of which were highly unusual in classical and post-classical writing. Moreover, diminutives are a very common feature of the Dutch language (more so than of English).⁶⁰ Certainly, Foxe's fondness for diminutives has been noted by the editor of Erasmus's poetry, which form the final two volumes in the University of Toronto's *Collected Works of Erasmus* series.⁶¹ Leon Halkin makes the point that Erasmus was fluent in Latin as a living language by the age of fourteen.⁶² It is more than likely that Foxe and his contemporaries at Oxford, who had been schooled on Erasmian principles, were also fluent in spoken Latin.

Titus et Gesippus

Among the corpus of manuscripts which date to Foxe's Magdalen days is that of a Latin play, *Titus et Gesippus*. The play in fact only survives in this manuscript copy, which seems to have been an early version at that.⁶³ In considering why Foxe wrote this Latin play – which, leaving aside the Magdalen letters, is his earliest surviving

⁵⁹ Appendix I, No. 8 Section 1.

⁶⁰ K. Spalek and H.J. Schriefers, 'Dominance affects determiner selection in language production', *Journal of Memory and Language* 52 1 (2005) pp. 103–119. It may be worthwhile in a future research project to do an electronic analysis of Erasmus' Latin to see whether or not his use of the diminutive is significantly greater than that of his English contemporaries.

⁶¹ The *Collected Works of Erasmus* [online] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1969- ongoing) from University of Toronto Press Inc last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.utppublishing.com/pubstore/merchant.ihtml?id=52&step=2> [hereafter abbreviated to *CWE*]: *Poems*, Vol. 86 'Notes', Translated by C.H. Miller. Edited and annotated by H. Vredeveld (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

⁶² L.H. Halkin, *Erasmus: A Critical Biography*, tr. John Tonkin (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 2.

⁶³ J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies*, p. 8.

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Latin work – it is important to realise that an aspiring young scholar would gradually assemble a portfolio of his compositions with a view to circulating copies of these to other scholars.

J. Hazel Smith says, in commenting on the various revisions made to the text of *Titus et Gesippus*, that ‘Foxe’s prosody, deficient even in the best of circumstances, in this play often defies analysis. As it stands, then, it would scarcely be a persuasive demonstration of Foxe’s competence to teach Latin.’⁶⁴ Unfortunately, Smith does not elaborate on ‘deficient even in the best of circumstances’, so we are left without any evidence to back up this criticism of Foxe’s Latin, and an implied criticism of his competence as a teacher of Latin. Smith is wrong in this assessment, as he takes no account of the fact that during this period, while there was no real understanding of the principles of archaic versification until the seventeenth century,⁶⁵ writers of Latin verse, such as Foxe and other sixteenth century humanists, produced poems and plays which were nevertheless admired by their contemporaries. This is consistent with Foxe’s 1556 Latin play, *Christus Triumphans*, which received at least one and probably more performances at Oxford, being translated into French in 1562 and reprinted in 1672 in London to be used as a school text book. Smith himself says that the unpublished *Titus et Gesippus* is a better play than the successful *Christus Triumphans*, so we may reasonably assume that it was a successful student production. To extrapolate from this verse composition by Foxe that he was a Latin teacher of questionable skill is therefore completely unjustified.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ See C.O. Brink, *English Classical Scholarship: Historical Reflections on Bentley, Porson and Housman* (Cambridge: Clarke, 1986), where he discusses archaic versification in some depth in his chapter ‘Bentley the textual critic’. Brink says that this was ‘a subject almost completely neglected and misunderstood at the time’ [i.e. the 1720s]. He goes on to say of Bentley’s *Terence* of 1726 that it is ‘the first edition of an archaic comedy in which a consistent and continuous attempt has been made to scan the verses, without falling either into earlier obtuseness that recognised nothing but iambs and trochees, nor into . . . amateurish over-notation (a caricature of Bentley’s own doctrine).’

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Titus et Gesippus is essentially Terentian, the most obvious additions to the basic story line of this tale of friendship being the names of the characters, which are almost entirely to be found in the plays of Terence and notably the name of the principal comic slave, Phormio, who in Terence's *Phormio* is the archetypal 'clever slave' of Roman comedy, as Tranio is in Plautus's *Mostellaria*. In the first three scenes of *Titus et Gesippus*,⁶⁶ there are many borrowings from Plautus.⁶⁷ Foxe also incorporates allusions here and later in the play to other writers such as Catullus,⁶⁸ Cicero,⁶⁹ and Curtius Rufus⁷⁰. But Foxe does not just use a recognisable item of vocabulary or quotation. At times he cleverly develops an allusion for effect. Such must surely be the case in I.ii.1 – 2, where he has:

Citius decem
Elephanti pariunt quam unas isti parturiunt nuptias.

Ten elephants give birth quicker than this lot produce one wedding.

The university audience would no doubt recognise the Erasmian adage *Celerius elephanti pariunt* ('Elephants breed faster'),⁷¹ but they would also be familiar with the original citations from Pliny the Elder,⁷² and, in particular, from Plautus,⁷³ which was:

auditau saepe hoc uolgo dicier
solere elephantum grauidam perpetuos decem
esse annos;

I have often heard it said in common parlance that an elephant is pregnant for ten years.

⁶⁶ See *Titus et Gesippus*, Act I Scenes i – iii, *Appendix I*, No. 14. All references are to the edition of *Titus et Gesippus* by J.H. Smith in *Two Latin Comedies*, cited above – see footnote 41.

⁶⁷ E.g. I.i.18: Plaut. *Mil.Glor.* III.i.27; I.i.53: Plaut. *Bacch.* V.i.2; I.ii.1 – 2: Plaut. *Stich.* I.iii.15.

⁶⁸ *Titus et Gesippus* II. ii. 6: *Candidus albis*. Cf. Catullus, *Carmina*, 68. 138.

⁶⁹ *Titus et Gesippus* III. ix. 3: *O mores, o tempora*. Cf. Cicero, *In Catilinam*, I. i. 2.

⁷⁰ *Titus et Gesippus* I. i. 7: *nuptiae . . . coeant*; Cf. Curtius Rufus, IX. 1. 26. Also *Titus et Gesippus* III.ix.3: *honeste morte*. Cf. Curtius Rufus V. 25. 11 and VIII. 7. 5.

⁷¹ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. ix. 11.

⁷² Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 8. 28.

⁷³ Plautus, *Stichus* I. iii. 15.

Foxe has turned this proverbial expression into a joke (which would doubtless have gone down well with the students) by using the ten-year period of the elephant's pregnancy into what would add up to one hundred years (ten elephant pregnancies) for the time it is taking to organise the wedding of Gesippus and Sempronia. The previous line, coming at the end of Scene 1, would also have resonated with the Magdalen audience. Phormio, having instructed his master Titus to remain calm and give some thought to his situation (of being in love with his best friend's fiancée), announces: *Ego consulam locos meos dialecticos* ('I shall be consulting my places of logic').⁷⁴ Dialectics, or logic, together with rhetoric and grammar, formed the *trivium* of a schoolboy's grammar school curriculum, which was continued at a higher level at university. Foxe had himself taught logic at Magdalen from 1539 – 40.

The verb *eneco* (more usually printed *enico*), a word which is used frequently in the classical period and which occurs at I.ii.5 in *Me enecant isto taedio* ('They are killing me with this annoying delay'), is very common indeed in both Plautus and Terence, especially when used in colloquial language. While the vocabulary which Foxe associates with luxurious eating in I.ii.13 – 14, namely *gulae* ('palates'), *deliciae* ('delicacies') and *lautitiae* ('luxury'), are all found in Petronius' *Satyricon*,⁷⁵ only *lautitiae* seems to be used with a similar meaning. *Deliciae* in particular is used in Petronius and most other authors cited by *L&S (Lat.)* with the sense of 'delight', 'allurement', 'voluptuousness' and 'pleasure'. It is used as a term of endearment as in, for example, the well known description by Suetonius of the Emperor Titus as *amor ac deliciae generis humani* ('love and delight of the human race').⁷⁶ I can find no classical instance where *deliciae* has the connotation of delicacies as applied to

⁷⁴ It is possible that this may have been an 'in-joke' poking fun at a particular lecturer, but it is impossible to demonstrate the point.

⁷⁵ Petronius, *Satirae*, 21; 27; 32; 132

⁷⁶ Suetonius, *Titus*, 1.

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food, so perhaps Foxe has coined this usage. When he comes to describing the decoration of the house to receive the new bride, Foxe does not just talk of perfuming the air and laying out carpets, but uses adjectives which stress the quality of these adornments: *thura Sabea . . . Peristroma . . . ex Arabia* ('incense from Sheba' . . . 'a carpet from Arabia'), each place being famous for one of these products. Reference has already been made to Foxe's fondness for diminutives. There is another instance here in I.iii.22 with *drachumulas* ('little drachmas'). *Drachma* and an older form *drachuma* are both found in classical texts, the latter in Plautus and Terence,⁷⁷ but it would seem that Foxe has either coined this diminutive or used an existing neo-classical form, again illustrating his capacity to be innovative in his use of vocabulary and adapt his Latin writing accordingly.

From our analysis of a small section of *Titus et Gesippus*, some evidence can be seen that Foxe has produced for this period an acceptable version of a Roman comedy. As argued above, this in no way invalidates my first proposition with regard to his skill in Latin writing, since his contemporaries were limited in the same way with regard to the rules of archaic versification not being understood until the following century. Foxe's Latin verse not only draws upon the vocabulary and poetical forms used in that genre but also incorporates other classical allusions, all of which would be apparent to a university audience. It may well be that the piece did form part of the young scholar's portfolio of work prepared for submission in the hope of gaining future employment. It is more than likely that the final form of the play (rather than the rough draft we have in the manuscript) had fewer solecisms in the text than it has at present, so we should not be too quick to condemn the Latinity of the play.

⁷⁷ e.g. Plautus, *Trinummus*, II. iv. 23; Terence, *Heautontimorumenos*, III. iii. 40.

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The significance of *Titus et Gesippus* is demonstrated in the fact that at an early date Foxe had developed his skills in Latin beyond that of prose composition or translation into English from Latin texts. This is also an early indication of the diversity of genres in which he was to become very proficient, both in London over the next eight years and then in Basel during his exile. It may well be, in addition, that the techniques in verse composition which he developed in Oxford in the 1540s stood him in good stead when he came to compose *Christus Triumphans* in 1556.

Protestantism at Oxford

In determining how Foxe came to resign his fellowship in 1545, we need to examine the circle of friends he had and whether this was at all significant with respect to the reformist views he had espoused during his time at Oxford. His contemporaries at Magdalen included the future Protestant polemicist and printer, Robert Crowley, who would later become an Elizabethan Bishop of Lincoln and of Winchester, Thomas Cooper, and the Edwardian Bishop of Hereford, John Harley. It is significant that the first two of this trio also resigned their fellowships in the same year as Foxe, as they are mentioned by Foxe as sharing his views in a letter he wrote to Owen Oglethorpe, the President of Magdalen College.⁷⁸

We therefore need to look briefly at where Oxford stood with regard to early dissemination of Protestant thinking, to examine the influences to which Foxe may have been exposed. Evidently, as early as 1528 some of Luther's works had found their way not only into Oxford, but even into Wolsey's flagship college of orthodoxy, the recently founded Cardinal College.⁷⁹ The founding of Corpus Christi College in

⁷⁸ Mozley, pp. 24 – 25. See below for the letter to Oglethorpe.

⁷⁹ J. McConica, *History of The University of Oxford*, p. 123.

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the University of Oxford by Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester and formerly Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1517 had provided humanist reformers with the opportunity to develop their curriculum, using the Waynflete model at Magdalen College.⁸⁰ This consisted of a humanist curriculum with public lectures on humanity,⁸¹ Greek,⁸² and sacred theology, including texts in both the Old and New Testaments, as well as the Church Fathers in both Latin and Greek.⁸³ This development was supported by Sir Thomas More, who was particularly keen to encourage the study of Greek for those reading theology at his old university. More was convinced that ‘a revival of classical learning at the universities would lead to a renewal of piety in the church’.⁸⁴ The curriculum at Cardinal College (later to become Christ Church College), founded by Wolsey in 1525, was again initially based on that at Magdalen, but with clear humanistic influences through twice daily lectures on Latin and Greek authors, as well as on philosophy.⁸⁵

Wolsey was alarmed to discover at the end of 1527 that the works of Luther were receiving attention within the Oxford colleges – and indeed within his own college – and that copies of Tyndale’s translation of the New Testament were circulating through the agency of Thomas Garrett. In February 1528,⁸⁶ Wolsey had Garrett arrested. He uncovered and broke up a group of twenty-two suspected Lutherans, including Frith, Cox, Bettes and Taverner. It would, however, be unwise to suppose that this meant that reformist ideas had been rooted out of the Oxford

⁸⁰ William Waynflete (c.1400 – 1486), Bishop of Winchester and founder of Magdalen College, had instituted public lectures in the *quadrivium* and theology. J. McConica, *ibid.*

⁸¹ Including Cicero, Quintilian, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Pliny the Elder, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal, Terence, Plautus, Horace and Persius.

⁸² Including Isocrates, Lucian, Philostratus, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindar, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Plutarch, Homer and Plato.

⁸³ J. McConica, *The History of the University of Oxford*, pp. 21–2.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 120 – 1.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 29f.

⁸⁶ A.A. Chibi, *Henry VIII's Bishops* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2003), p. 92.

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colleges, as McConica seems to suggest.⁸⁷ Following the Cardinal's fall in the following year, there was a fear that the university would lose both the half-built new college and the lectureships Wolsey had endowed. This weakened position at Cardinal College without their patron was further damaged by the procrastination from the Oxford fellows in coming forward to support the King's divorce. The university finally gave that support in 1534, the same year that Foxe arrived in Oxford.⁸⁸ The following year saw a royal visitation to Oxford, in which the commissioners set up extra public lectures in Greek and Latin at New College, All Souls, Merton and Queens. This was also the time when the individual colleges started to build up their own libraries, particularly between 1535 and 1550, and Magdalen was very alert to this aspect of the visitation.⁸⁹

It was soon after the composition of *Titus and Gesippus* in the autumn of 1544 that Foxe had to make a momentous decision about his future at Oxford. Simeon Foxe's biographical note dwells on the circumstances leading to his father's decision to resign his Fellowship.⁹⁰ This, together with the letter Foxe sent to Owen Oglethorpe protesting about the complaints being made against his non-attendance at Mass (see below), is bound up with his religious convictions. It is therefore appropriate at this point to examine how Foxe's formation as a Latin scholar lay alongside his developing reformist views.

This is a complex question. There is no automatic connection between the fact that he was a good Latin and Greek scholar and the fact that he became a Protestant reformer. How do we situate Foxe as an emerging student of Latin within an Oxford

⁸⁷ J. McConica, *The History of the University of Oxford*, p. 124.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 123ff.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 127 – 8.

⁹⁰ S. Foxe, 'The Life of Maister John Fox' In: *A&M* 1641.

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that was feeling the early impact of Protestantism? Undoubtedly this impact was fragile and contested. It is difficult to gauge how much interest there was in the new, largely religious, perceptions. There was everything to be said for being discreet. The arrest in 1528 of Thomas Garrett and his associates referred to above is important in assessing the degree to which reformers had penetrated the university membership, but we should not assume that this signalled a return to orthodoxy: the arrest was a 'warning shot' which probably did not work.

The new learning arrived in Latin (Tyndale's work in English was an exception) with works by Luther, Oecolompadius and Melanchthon, and others, being circulated round the university. It is worth noting that the first three works produced by Foxe when he arrived in London in 1547 were translations of Latin sermons by Luther and Oecolampadius and a tract by Urbanus Regius (see next chapter). Given Henry VIII's opposition to Luther from 1521,⁹¹ (and there is an interesting dichotomy here between the King and Wolsey, opposing the work of the German humanist reformers and being themselves advocates of humanism) it is not surprising that these translations, if the young Foxe had been working on them towards the end of his time at Oxford or during his spare time while tutoring, appeared in quick succession during the first two years of Edward VI's reign.

Foxe and Owen Oglethorpe

Owen Oglethorpe had been President of Magdalen College since 1536 and was seen as a theological conservative. It is clear from the letter Foxe wrote to Oglethorpe, dated about September 1544 (See *Appendix I*, No. 10) that he and others holding

⁹¹ E. Doernberg, *Henry VIII and Luther: An Account of their Personal Relations* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 30.

reformist views felt that they were under threat from fellow students and tutors. Here we see Foxe's network in action, since he is clearly acting as a spokesman for the two colleagues he mentions by name, and probably he is speaking for others as well. The letter has survived in draft,⁹² but we do not know whether it was actually sent. It could be said that the tone of this lengthy and rambling missive from a junior Fellow to the President of the college is close to being impudent, but Foxe may have written it as an exercise in getting his concerns 'off his chest' without any intention of delivering it as a formal letter. If so, this could be an unusual opportunity for us to examine the state of his mind from a private rather than public perspective. The letter is by far the longest piece of Foxean prose prior to his 1554 *Address to the Nobles* just before he went into exile,⁹³ and is in fact our earliest example of his polemical writing – here in the form of an *apologia*, or defence, on behalf of himself and several of his friends.

As in his other university correspondence, Foxe makes use of Classical and proverbial expressions, with allusions to Archilochus, Cicero, Seneca the Elder and Virgil, together with four Erasmian adages and a reference to the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus. As already noted, the letter is long-winded and petulant, although there is a logical structure to it. Foxe starts by explaining why he is going directly to Oglethorpe, and is pleased that the latter is now present in the college (Sections 1 – 3). He then mentions each of the charges against him with immediate refutation of these point by point (Section 4), followed by a statement that he in fact is prepared to offer no defence if he is to be judged by the President and wishes to throw himself on his mercy, bearing in mind the sort of person Oglethorpe is (Sections 6 – 9). Now Foxe adds an extra complaint: his accusers are spying on him and recording all his

⁹² BL Lansdowne MS 388, foll. 53r – 58r.

⁹³ See Chapter Two, pp. 82-88 for the *Address to the Nobles*. The manuscript for this is to be found in BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 123r-v.

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movements; he speculates on their motives and criticises them for their actions (Sections 10 – 12). Finally, he points out that he is not alone – his friends Crowley and Cooper join with him in collectively appealing to the President’s compassion – and he hopes that there will be no more disputes within the college, but that all will unite in the name of Christ and in brotherly love (Sections 13 – 15).

Foxe appeals to Owen Oglethorpe for clemency, as he is well aware that he has been much criticised by his ‘accusers’ for missing the Mass in the college chapel and other apparent demonstrations of his reformist inclinations. In Section 1 he refers to the fact that much of this criticism has surfaced when the President has been absent from the college, but now that he is actually here Foxe may put his case *liberius* (‘more freely’). He emphasises this at the start of Section 2 by repeating the simple adverb *libere* (‘freely’) and then in the next sentence with rhetorical repetition writing *te praesente liberrime* (‘in your presence most freely’) twice within eight words. Foxe states that he is more inclined to throw himself on the President’s mercy than defend himself before his accusers. The opening lines contain an allusion to a passage of the Elder Seneca with the words *in procellis fluctibusque* (‘in storms and waves’) in his first book of *Suasoriae*:⁹⁴ *aspice quibus procellis fluctibusque [Oceanus] saeviat* (‘see with what storms and waves the sea rages’).⁹⁵ Towards the end of the same sentence Foxe’s *iugulum appetunt* (‘attack my throat’) is reminiscent of a fragment of the poet Archilochus: *Nonne appetebant iugulum amici ipsi tuum* (‘surely your very friends were attacking your throat’),⁹⁶ a line quoted by Aristotle in the *Politics*.⁹⁷ Section 4 concludes with the first of four adages of Erasmus: in answer to the charge that Foxe has turned from studying philosophy to theology, he says that

⁹⁴ This would seem to a particularly appropriate work from which to quote for one trying to persuade his correspondent to understand his position.

⁹⁵ L. Annaeus Seneca Senior, *Suasoriarum*, I. 1. 4.

⁹⁶ Archilochus, *Fr.* 676, Diehl.

⁹⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, 5. 3. 3.

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God has led him to do this and that, as he has had little choice in the matter since it is God's will, he is effectively being dragged into this study *obtorto (ut aiunt) collo* ('with (as they say) his neck twisted'), an expression used by both Plautus and Cicero.⁹⁸ Another Classical reference occurs in Section 7, where Foxe suggests that some people, who do not know Oglethorpe, may see his appeal to the President as *statioque meis malefida periclis* ('a faithless anchorage in my time of danger'), which is surely an adaptation of Virgil's *statio malefida carinis* ('a faithless anchorage for ships').⁹⁹

There is later, in Section 7, a striking phrase with the words *clipeo . . . abiecto* ('having abandoned my shield'), which reminds us of the passage in Aristophanes about the Athenian politician Cleonymus, who dropped his shield in a battle.¹⁰⁰ But Foxe will also have known Erasmus's *Enchiridion*, where in the sixteenth canon the reader is advised: *caue ne protinus abiecto clipeo relictis armis hosti te dedas . . .* ('see that you do not immediately throw away your shield, leave your weapons behind and surrender to the enemy'). As we shall see in the next chapter, Foxe was a devotee of Erasmus, but he was also well read in classical authors such as Aristophanes. In Section 10 we find: *etiam digitorum motus quasi ad unguem teneant* ('and even of my fingers as it were to my fingernails'), which is reminiscent of Erasmus's adage *ad unguem*,¹⁰¹ where it could be interpreted as being that Foxe's accusers have so

⁹⁸ Erasmus, *Adagia* IV. ix. 50. Cf. Plautus, *Rudens*, 853: *Rapi te optorto collo maius an trahi; Poenumus*, 789: *obtorto collo trahere*; Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, XXI. 59: *collo obtorto ad subsellia reduceret*.

⁹⁹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, II. 23.

¹⁰⁰ Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 17 – 19: ἀσπίδα φέρειν . . . κάπειτα ταύτην ἀποβαλεῖν κλεώνυμον. Cf. Suidas, who explains this reference and the fact that Cleonymus was subsequently branded a coward.

¹⁰¹ Erasmus, *Adagia*. I. v. 91. Cf. Horace, *Satires*, I. 5. 32-3: *Fonteius, ad unguem factus homo*; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 292 – 4: *praesectum deciens non castigavit ad unguem*; Virgil, *Georgics*, 2. 277 – 8: *nec setius omnis in unguem arboribus positus . . .*

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thoroughly observed all his movements in the past few months that they have really made a polished job of it.¹⁰²

When Foxe in Section 11 comes to consider his accusers' suspicion that he has some new religion (*nouae cuiusdam religionis*) he likens this *quasi alterius farinae suo uidelicet fermento neutiquam conuenientis* ('as it were of another nature, of course not at all agreeing with their own passion'). *Farinae* may be an allusion, in part, to the Erasmian adage *nostrae farinae* ('of our substance'),¹⁰³ but with its basic meaning of 'grain' and in close proximity to *fermentum* ('fermentation'), one can almost see the new religion being described as of 'another brew'. The classical proverbial expression *farinam facis*, meaning 'you are making dust',¹⁰⁴ could also imply that Foxe's accusers were saying that the new religion was a waste of time. *Fermentum* as a trope meaning 'passion' or 'anger' is poetical and very rare.¹⁰⁵ The final allusion we shall consider here comes when in Section 12 Foxe, in deciding to reveal to Oglethorpe the troubles of his life (*uitae aerumnas*), says to the President: *simul et factum alba (quod aiunt) amussi comprobare* ('at the same time you would also approve of the deed with (as they say) an unmarked rule'), clearly indicating the Erasmian adage *Amussis alba*.¹⁰⁶ It may be that Foxe is confident that Oglethorpe will look at his case without prejudice, although it could be interpreted in such a way that Foxe is seen to be extremely insolent and suggesting, as in a reference in Aulus

¹⁰² The metaphor is taken from marble workers running a fingernail over the stone's surface to test its finished smoothness. See D. Erasmus, *Adages Iii to Ivi* 100, translated by M.M. Phillips and edited by R.A.B. Mynors, In: *CWE*, Vol. 31, pp. 463 – 4.

¹⁰³ Erasmus, *Adagia*, III. v. 44: *Nostrae farinae* 'Of our substance, quality'.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Martial, *Epigrams*, VIII. 16: *et panem facis et facis farinam*.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Plautus, *Casina*, 2. 5. 17: *(uxor) nunc in fermento tota est, ita turget mihi*; Juvenal, *Satires*, 3. 188: *accipe et istud Fermentum tibi habe*.

¹⁰⁶ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. v. 88: *Amussis alba* 'An unmarked rule'.

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Gellius,¹⁰⁷ that Oglethorpe reads anything he receives ‘without discrimination, using a “blank ruler”, as they say, simply intent on quality alone.’¹⁰⁸

Thus we can see that Foxe has constructed his letter very carefully, using both classical and Erasmian allusions, as well as employing rhetorical devices, such as repetition and the questioning manner of Socrates. Indeed, the references to *meorum accusatorum* (‘my accusers’) at the start of Section 8 is very reminiscent of the Greek words of Socrates τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγορῶν, with exactly the same meaning, at the start of his trial in 399 B.C.¹⁰⁹ Here in a powerful piece of rhetorical writing, and using the language of the courtroom, Foxe is virtually delivering a speech in defence of his views in the manner of a classical orator. It is full of rhetorical questions and repetitions, especially of the same word at the start of a sequence of questions. The juxtaposition of a series of short clauses is most effective, as for example at the start of Section 4:

Sic itaque contenderem. Dicitis me non auduisse missas: Nego. Templo non interfui: Nostro quidem interdum, fateor: sed in nullo me templo auduisse, id uero pernego.

So this is what I would maintain. You say that I have not been hearing the masses: I deny this. I was not present in the Chapel: indeed in ours from time to time, I confess: but that I have heard them in no chapel, I very strongly deny.

This speech – for that is really what the letter is – shows Foxe fully in his element of one who is thinking and speaking in Latin, confirming in unequivocal terms his mastery of the Latin language in both its written and spoken forms – we can almost hear Foxe declaiming it.

¹⁰⁷ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, Praefatio 11.

¹⁰⁸ See *CWE*, Vol. 31, p. 461.

¹⁰⁹ Plato, *Apology*, 1. 1.

Foxe resigns his Fellowship

However the letter is interpreted, Foxe and Cooper, together with five others, resigned their fellowships between July 1545 and July 1546,¹¹⁰ although Basil Morgan gives the date of 1542 for Crowley's resignation from his fellowship.¹¹¹ Mozley speculates on Foxe's departure and questions whether the issue of taking priest's orders was in fact the real reason, since at least one of his contemporaries, William Webbe, did not take orders until 1551. He suggests that the possible difference in attitude towards the two young men by the college authorities could be attributed to Foxe's 'warm and outspoken Protestantism',¹¹² and this seems likely to have been the case. What we should also note is that in 1539 Parliament had passed the Act of Six Articles, which restated six points of traditional doctrine: the real presence in the bread and wine at the Mass, no necessity for the administration of the communion in both kinds, priests were not permitted to marry, vows of chastity or widowhood made to God should be observed, the continuance of private Masses and lastly the continuance of auricular Confession. Alec Ryrie has shown that, despite Foxe's general picture of persecution, of the thirty-nine evangelicals who were executed for religious offences between the 1539 Act and the death of Henry, only twenty-eight were executed for heresy – i.e. for being in contravention of this Act – and that most of the executions took place at two specific times, nine in 1540 and another ten in 1546.¹¹³ Nevertheless, the second date suggests heightened tension in the year leading up to those executions, which would

¹¹⁰ Mozley, p. 25, citing college records.

¹¹¹ B. Morgan, 'Crowley, Robert (1517x19–1588)', [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Jan 2008 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>. Either Morgan is mistaken or the letter to Oglethorpe is dated too early by Mozley as c. September 1544, since Foxe includes Crowley as still being in the college.

¹¹² Mozley, p. 25.

¹¹³ A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 13–23. Ryrie gives a full analysis of, background to and impact of this Act, listing the Six Articles on pp. 27–28.

be about the time that Foxe and his colleagues made up their minds to resign their fellowships.

Foxe as a Latin Tutor

Having made the decision to leave Magdalen, Foxe now had to think about employment outside the university. He will no doubt have assembled a portfolio of his works, which would include copies of various tracts he had written during his time at Magdalen. Four of his letters make reference to such works which he liked to present to his correspondents.¹¹⁴ This is, in fact, the only evidence for the existence of these works, whatever they were, and he would no doubt use copies of them to support applications for either a teaching post in a school or that of a tutor in a private household. Foxe clearly had a preference for a post as a schoolmaster and wrote to his friends, John Cheke and Richard Bertie (*Appendix I*, Nos. 11 and 12), to ask for their support to secure a new school teaching post which has been advertised apparently in association with the re-founding of Henry VIII's college. A (presumably) later letter, addressed to another friend, Tindall, refers to a visit by Foxe to the household of the Lucy family at Charlecote in Warwickshire prior to his taking up the post there which he held from the summer or autumn of 1545 until a similar point in 1547.¹¹⁵ These three letters obviously bring Foxe's Latin writing to the centre stage at this point in his life: he has made the decision to leave Magdalen College, but he has also decided that he wants to keep the Latin language at the forefront of his daily occupation through teaching. He now needed to make full use of the scholarly network he had developed during his time at Magdalen in order to secure his future.

¹¹⁴ *Mozley*, p. 18.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 28. Foxe was still at Charlecote in February 1547, as the church register there records his marriage to Agnes Rondull (or Randall) on 3 February of that year.

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Letters to Cheke and Bertie about a schoolteaching position

The letters both illustrate the close friendships Foxe had forged while at Oxford and underline the importance of patronage in securing academic and/or literary employment in the Tudor period. Here Foxe is quite openly using his friendship with John Cheke to promote his interests in securing employment. In his letter to Cheke, most of which expresses in florid style the respect Foxe has for his friend and his scholarship, he hopes that Cheke will be using his talents to produce much needed literary efforts, especially with regard to religion at this difficult time when *ubique obsidet imo occupat barbaries artesque quaesturiae* ('everywhere barbarity and mercenary arts besiege or rather seize hold of everything'). The letter opens with an adaptation of a well-known line from Virgil in the words: *trahit sua quemque oblectatio* ('each man is led by his own pleasure') for Virgil's actual words: *trahit sua quemque uoluptas* with apparently the same meaning.¹¹⁶ This, as all other allusions, would instantly be recognised by Cheke, who was an outstanding Classical scholar. Here Foxe has probably quite deliberately replaced *uoluptas* ('pleasure' in either a sensual or spiritual sense) with *oblectatio*, a favourite word of Cicero for 'pleasure' which has no sensual connotation. While this is an isolated example, it perhaps indicates the thought Foxe put in to the choice of words he used in writing Latin: he wishes to dissociate this particular pleasure, namely that of being attracted *doctorum familiaritate* ('by the acquaintance of learned men'), that he has in life from any suggestion of sensual pleasure. In Section 2, Foxe includes an Erasmian adage with *ut Spartam idcirco hanc ornes tuam* ('so that for this reason you may adorn this Sparta of yours'),¹¹⁷ which, derived originally from Euripides's lost play *Telephus* and quoted by Cicero, means that whatever people happen to be doing, they should adapt

¹¹⁶ Virgil, *Eclogues*, II. 65.

¹¹⁷ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. v. 1: *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna* ('Sparta is your portion; do your best for her'). Cf. *CWE*, Vol. 33, pp. 237 – 243.

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themselves to those circumstances and live up to their given standards.¹¹⁸ In Section 4, the letter, which had apparently concluded at the end of Section 3 with the words *Vale feliciter* ('Farewell and good luck'), has an additional paragraph referring to a work of his own that Foxe has attached to the missive to fill up the remaining space in the pages of his letter (with a typical self-effacing comment), but this is then followed by a hastily written postscript in response to the news just received about the new school teaching post in Oxford and Foxe's wish that Cheke should put his name forward to Dr. Richard Cox, if the post has not yet been filled. Foxe's letter to Bertie, probably written at the same time as the postscript to Cheke, is very much to the point on the subject of seeking employment as a schoolmaster in Oxford and does not contain any obvious classical allusions or distinctive stylistic features.

Employment in Warwickshire

An Oxford post did not come Foxe's way, but there was an opportunity of employment as a tutor with one of the leading families in Warwickshire, the Lucy family at Charlecote. Foxe went there, some time between Easter and the end of the summer term in 1545, to meet the family, presumably to be interviewed. William Lucy was a Protestant and a friend of Hugh Latimer, who was also one of Foxe's growing network of academic friends with whom he was in correspondence from Magdalen. As we shall see in the next chapter, Latimer was a member of the Cambridge University group of reformers and one of the circle of Protestants closely associated with Katherine Parr, Henry VIII's widow, and the Duchess of Richmond.¹¹⁹ It is probably more than a coincidence that Latimer is the common factor in linking Foxe with the Lucy family in Warwickshire and his subsequent

¹¹⁸ Cicero, *Epistolae Ad Atticum*, 4. 6: Σπάρταν ἔλαχεσ, ταύταν κόσμει ('Sparta has fallen to your lot, do it credit').

¹¹⁹ J.N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture*, p. 33.

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employment by the Duchess of Richmond in London. Here we see my second proposition being demonstrated in that Foxe's Oxford network of correspondents, which included Cheke in Cambridge and Hugh Latimer in Baxterley, Warwickshire, transfers with him to Charlecote and then on to London, as we shall see in the next chapter.

The Letter to Tindall

The final letter to be examined here is that written to Tindall,¹²⁰ a former Oxford colleague who had also been a monk (*Appendix I*, No. 13), in which, after chastising his friend for his lack of communication in Section 1,¹²¹ Foxe describes his visit to the Lucy household. In Section 1 Foxe seems to be combining an earlier comment that Tindall may have been *a Judaeis crucifixum* ('crucified by the Jews') with his own assessment that he was *coruos pascere* (literally 'feeding the ravens', meaning simply 'was dead'): the full proverbial expression was *in cruce coruos pascere* ('to feed the ravens on a cross', meaning 'to be hanged') occurs in Horace.¹²² Section 2 includes, after some fulsome comments of approbation expressed about Lucy and his family, two graphic images of the Warwickshire house: its remote location adjacent to a stagnant stream, which *singulis annis semel domum ipsam perluit, ut Nilus Aegyptum* ('each year washes the house itself once, as does the Nile wash Egypt'), and the bedroom of Faulkner, the tutor whom Foxe is to replace, which smells like a sewer with the result that *opus sit exectis naribus quisquis ibi habitare uelit* ('anyone wanting to live there would have to have his nose cut off'). Nonetheless Foxe accepted the post and remained with the Lucy family for about a year. During his

¹²⁰ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 119r-v.

¹²¹ Tindall's disappearance produced amusing speculation from Foxe and other friends that he had either been hanged or crucified or had returned to his monastery. In fact it would appear that he had got married.

¹²² Horace, *Epistles*, 1. 16. 48.

time there he married Agnes Randall, who may have been a member of the Lucy household.¹²³

Conclusions

Thus we have seen that from the start of his education, throughout his university career and then into his first employment as a Latin tutor, that Foxe was steeped in the Latin language, that he spoke Latin when this was required, that he was quite capable of declaiming in Latin and that he spent a great deal of time writing it in the form of tracts, plays and letters. While his early tracts do not survive, a single play and a corpus of letters belonging to his days at the university are extant. They provide us with clear evidence of his skills in both Latin and Greek, as well as showing us his classical and Erasmian grounding in the *literae humaniores*. We may conclude that Foxe's thoughts in matters of substance would more easily form themselves into Latin constructions in his mind than into vernacular expression. In addition, from the same correspondence we gain an insight into the early construction of a network of friends and fellow scholars which would stand Foxe in good stead in his post Oxford employment. This would remain with him, as we shall see, and be strengthened by an enforced situation of daily communication with German scholars while on the Continent. Ultimately it would find expression in his deeper excursions into literary composition towards the end of his life.

¹²³ Mozley, p. 27.

CHAPTER TWO

Towards exile

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to continue to develop my first proposition and, more importantly, to provide evidence for my second proposition that Foxe constructed a significant intellectual network with the great scholars of the day in which the skills he acquired in his school and university education and subsequent career as a Latin tutor continued to be used and further refined. The second half of the chapter explores the background of Foxe's approaching exile, how his network was used and its use for Foxe and what exile would mean for Foxe the Latin scholar.

The new arrivals came from every area of England, Cornwall to Cumberland . . . and the number of foreign immigrants rose at an accelerating pace, making the city truly cosmopolitan. So high was the mortality, and so low the birth rate, that without this influx of traders and workers the population would in fact have steadily declined. Yet it continued to expand, with brewers and book-binders from the Low Countries, tailors and embroiderers from France, gun makers and dyers from Italy, weavers from the Netherlands and elsewhere.¹

Such is Peter Ackroyd's assessment of immigration in London during the Tudor period, based on his reading of John Stow's vivid description of the capital, published

¹ P. Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), p. 105.

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in 1603,² an eye-witness account of the teeming, noisy city, in which Foxe, the young Oxford don, arrived in the summer of 1547. This, on the face of it, was the wider world which greeted him when he reached the capital. But for the young scholar from Oxford such a quest had already begun with his engagement with the equivalent of a global culture in the intellectual and social openings experienced in the University and, subsequently, in the surroundings of a leading aristocratic household in Warwickshire. What opportunities were there for Foxe in London? He was already equipped with teaching materials for the humanist curriculum and immersed in Erasmian techniques, shortly to find further expression in the writing of a new Latin grammar. With his seven years as an Oxford fellow, a year's teaching experience in Warwickshire, and now about to instruct the children of another leading aristocratic family, Foxe was ready to show his literary credentials and engage with London's intellectuals, but more especially with those intellectuals concerned with the reform of the Church.

The chapter concludes with an examination of the issues surrounding Foxe's decision to go into exile seven years later; they form an important aspect of both his relationship with his location and the intellectual friendships he was developing in London, and through his contacts there with scholars on the Continent. I shall demonstrate that Foxe's knowledge and skill as a Latin writer, his network of connections and his sense of belonging to a republic of letters played an important role in his decision to go into exile. I shall show that he felt that his own position as a known reformer, as the author of a number of translations of continental Protestant tracts into Latin and, more recently, as an author of Protestant literature composed in Latin in his own name, had made his position untenable. The proximity of his patron,

² J. Stow, *A Survey of London. Reprinted from the Text of 1603, with Introduction and Notes by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford* 2 Vols. Facsimile ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

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Thomas Howard, to Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, who had been released by Mary from the Tower to become her Chancellor, and the latter's moves against both foreign and domestic Protestants, must have made Foxe's fears for his personal safety and that of his fellow reformists so much the greater. The issues covered in this chapter further demonstrate my first two propositions about Foxe's skill in his natural language of thought and the importance of the intellectual networks he had been building since he reached Oxford in the 1530s.

Foxe's 'networking' in London

Historians know virtually nothing about the circumstances of Foxe's arrival in London, other than his son Simeon Foxe's suggestion³ that his father would find Protestantism stronger in the capital than in other parts of the country.⁴ Whatever the truth of the account given by Simeon of his father, now greatly impoverished, being offered employment by the Duchess of Richmond as tutor to the children of her late brother, the Earl of Surrey,⁵ the young scholar was engaged to teach the three eldest: Thomas (the future fourth Duke of Norfolk), Jane (later Countess of Westmorland), Henry (later Earl of Northampton), and – in a later addition to the group – Charles Howard (the future Lord Howard of Effingham), first at the Duchess's London home, Mountjoy House in Knightbridge Street, and subsequently at Reigate Manor, one of the Duke of Norfolk's residences in Surrey.

³ S. Foxe, 'The Life of Maister John Fox' In: *A&M 1641*.

⁴ *Mozley*, p. 28.

⁵ S. Foxe, 'The Life of Maister John Fox' In: *A&M 1641*; cf. *Mozley*, pp. 29 – 30.

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Further opportunities for networking were presented at evangelical gatherings of reformists at Mountjoy House, where Foxe first met John Bale,⁶ who was to influence him profoundly and encourage him in writing his martyrology. Bale was with Foxe in exile in Basel, when they both worked for the printer Johannes Oporinus (see Chapter 3).⁷ So from 1547 the number of Foxe's friends and contacts considerably increased, giving us circumstantial evidence of his widening network. At Mountjoy House he met those who formed a circle of Protestants closely associated with Katherine Parr, Henry VIII's widow, and Hugh Latimer.⁸ The latter, a member of the Cambridge University group of reformers and Bishop of Worcester from 1535 – 1539, owed his appointment largely to the patronage of Anne Boleyn, Henry's second wife, and even after his resignation at the time of the introduction of the Act of the Six Articles, he remained a focal point for the protestant reformers. We saw in the last chapter that Latimer, who now spent much of his time at Baxterley in Warwickshire (not far from Charlecote), may have been the contact for Foxe's London employment. Foxe had received an invitation from Latimer at the time that he was contemplating the tutoring job at Charlecote (see *Appendix I*, No. 13),⁹ although he was unable to accept it. From the time of Edward's accession in 1547 Latimer was back in favour at the court in London and was very much associated with Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London from 1550, and the staunchly Lutheran Protestant, Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, all members

⁶ See *A&M 1877*, Vol. III, p. 705; J. Bale, *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae scriptorum, hoc est, Angliae, Cambriae, ac Scotiae summarium: in quasdam centurias diuisum, cum diuersitate doctrinarum atque annorum recta supputatione per omnes aetates a Iapheto sanctissimi Noah filio, ad annum domini M.D.XLVIII. Autore Ioanne Balaeo Sudouolca* [[online] (London, 1548), from Early English Books Online last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> p. 244; *Scriptorum Illustrium maioris Britanniae quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam uocant: multorumque aliorum, qui in eadem uixerunt & obierunt insula, Catalogus: a Iapheto per 3617 annos, usque ad unum hunc Domini 1556 . . . In XII centurias partitus* (Basel: Oporinus, 1557), p. 763.

⁷ *Mozley*, pp. 29–30; 51. Cf. *A&M 1877*, p. 705; J. Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium maioris Britanniae*, p. 244.

⁸ J. N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture*, p. 33.

⁹ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 119r-v.

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of Foxe's network. It should be noted that, in the changed circumstances of the new Protestant regime, Foxe now had no worries about ordination with regard to his marital status and was duly ordained deacon on 24 June, 1550 by Ridley: the register described him as born in Boston and living at the house of the Duchess of Suffolk.¹⁰ Others whom Foxe included in his ever widening network at this time were John Bale, John Hooper and Robert Crowley. Bale, having already produced his own martyrology based on John Oldcastle, had lent Foxe his notebooks and was encouraging him to write a Latin martyrology.¹¹ John Hooper was Bishop of Gloucester and of Worcester, before being martyred in February 1555. Foxe's Oxford colleague and friend, Robert Crowley, who had resigned his fellowship at Magdalen (probably in 1545, but see p. 51), reached London in 1546 and set up a publishing business in 1549 (although he seems not to have published anything by Foxe); he was later to become one of the Marian exiles in Frankfurt. An indication of the close friendship of Foxe and Crowley is the fact that when the latter died in 1588 he was buried under the same stone as Foxe in the chancel of St. Giles, Cripplegate.¹²

It had not, therefore, taken Foxe long to find new friends in London and establish himself within a community of like-minded people with reformist ideas. He became part of the milieu at the heart of the reformed Protestant movement and this brought him into contact with many more scholars and writers with a similar humanist education to his own. So far, Foxe had only circulated manuscripts of his work, such as *Titus et Gesippus*, but it was not long before he started to produce his own material for publication.

¹⁰ S. Wabuda, 'Latimer, Hugh (c. 1485 – 1555)' [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Jan 2008 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

¹¹ See below in Chapter Three.

¹² B. Morgan, 'Crowley, Robert (1517x19–1588)', *ODNB*.

Foxe's early London writings, 1547 – 1554

Between c. 1547 and March 1554 Foxe wrote seven works and a Latin grammar. The first three of these were translations from Latin into English of two sermons and a tract by the German reformers Luther, Oecolampadius and Urbanus Rhegius. They were followed by a Latin tract on the subject of not imposing the death penalty for adultery, a sermon on a complaint of Jesus Christ against the human race surviving only in manuscript, and a second tract on the subject of reviving the ecclesiastical disciplinary measure of excommunication. The final work, dating to 1554, was an 'Address to the Nobles', again surviving only in manuscript, but assumed to have been printed, arguing against the re-introduction of the Act of Six Articles.¹³ The other short pieces of Latin included in the chapter are letters Foxe wrote, in 1551 to William Cecil, who had recently been made a Privy Councillor, and in 1554 to Peter Delaenus, a Dutch minister in the stranger church in London.

Foxe's early works in London consisted of three original Latin compositions, which were two ecclesiastical tracts and a polemical 'sermon', all printed by the committed Protestant, Hugh Singleton, together with a Latin grammar, which, so far as can be ascertained, had its explanatory text written in English. The two tracts were *De non plectendis morte adulteris* (1548)¹⁴ and *De Censura siue Excommunicatione ecclesiastica* (1551).¹⁵ The polemical work was *Expostulatio Iesu Christi cum humano genere* (c. 1550),¹⁶ and the grammar was *Tables of Grammar* (1552).¹⁷ The

¹³ I shall examine this in more detail below in pages 83 – 88.

¹⁴ J. Foxe, *De non plectendis morte adulteris* (London: Singleton, 1548).

¹⁵ J. Foxe, *De Censura siue Excommunicatione ecclesiastica* (London: Singleton, 1551).

¹⁶ J. Foxe, *Expostulatio Iesu Christi cum humano genere* [presumed printed] (London: c. 1550). This work is listed by Mozley in his Appendix B of 'Foxe's Minor Works' as being dedicated to Nicholas Ridley and being extant only as a manuscript, BL Harleian MS 423. He says 'No copy exists, but as Holland (1620) gives the title more correctly than Bale (1557), one may perhaps suppose that it was printed.'

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first of these, Luther's *Of the Angels*,¹⁸ was printed at Stepney in c. 1547, and may have been before Foxe entered the Duchess of Richmond's service. The other two translations, Oecolampadius's *To young men and maidens*¹⁹ and Rhegius's *An Instruction of Christian Faith*²⁰ were printed in 1548, with dedications, respectively, to 'Mr. Segrave' and to Richard Melton, Foxe's step-father.²¹ Our interest in these translations centres round the fact that the originals are all by writers from the 'Upper Rhineland biblicist communities'.²² In view of his strong reformist views, it is quite natural that Foxe wanted to associate himself with the descendants of these German reformers and their Swiss and Dutch associates, including Erasmus, and, as we shall see, he was soon involved with fellow scholars who were members of the London stranger churches, showing that his Latin network was continuing to expand and to develop other facets, such as linguistic connections with non-English speaking scholars, as well as the social, theological and political ties which had existed from his time in Oxford.

De non plectendis and De Censura, 1548 – 9

As we shall see in the following discussion Foxe was soon involved with strongly Protestant polemical pamphlet writing, with the encouragement of Nicholas Ridley, the new Bishop of London, and his friend Hugh Latimer, former Bishop of Worcester.

¹⁷ J. Foxe, *Tables of Grammar* [presumed printed] (London: 1552).

¹⁸ J. Foxe, *Of the Angels*, [translation from Latin of a sermon by Martin Luther] (London: Singleton, c. 1547).

¹⁹ J. Foxe, *To young men and maidens* [translation from Latin of a sermon by Oecolampadius] (London: H. Powell for Singleton, c. 1548)

²⁰ J. Foxe, *An Instruction of Christian Faith* [translation from Latin of a tract by Urbanus Rhegius] (London: Singleton, c. 1548).

²¹ Mozley notes that 'there were Segraves in Boston and Swineshead': *Mozley*, p. 243. With Richard Melton in Coningsby, it seems that his Lincolnshire roots were very much on Foxe's mind at this time.

²² See M. Greengrass, 'Theology and liturgy of reformed Christianity' In: Po-chia Hsia, R. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 6 *Reform and Expansion 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 104-124.

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This writing not only emphasises that Foxe was very active in his networking but also foreshadows what I argue in my fourth proposition about his role as a spokesman and protagonist for the Elizabethan regime. These two tracts have received attention from Catharine Davies and Jane Facey. Their paper,²³ which concentrates on *De Censura*, draws a comparison between Foxe's views on discipline in Edward's reign and his views in Elizabeth's reign some fifteen years later as expressed in the *A&M*, and explores a change in his reformist aspirations and the relationship between Church and State.

In *De Censura* Foxe is seen to be lamenting the failure of people to receive the message of the Gospel and advocating repentance and reformation of manners to avoid God's wrath. Davies and Facey make it clear *De Censura* was written partly in response to the hostile reception afforded to *De non plectendis* by George Joye.²⁴ Foxe had in the earlier tract suggested that preachers should not conduct themselves as 'gods on earth' and that magistrates should be permitted to legislate as they saw fit, with regard to the punishment for adultery, rather than insisting on the divine vengeance of Mosaic law and the death penalty that law carried. Joye's response to this was that it was quite right for the preachers to encourage the magistrates to apply the punishment of death and that it was the 'immutable law of God [which was] rightly insisted on by preachers . . .'.²⁵ Joye argued that in order to preserve all Christians from corruption, 'justice [must take] precedence over leniency towards individuals'. He did not accept excommunication as a viable option, since it had

²³ C. Davies & J. Facey, 'A Reformation Dilemma: John Foxe and the Problem of Discipline', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (1988), pp. 37–65.

²⁴ G. Joye, *A contrarye (to a certayne manis) consultacion: That adulterers ought to be punyshed wyth deathe. Wyth the solucions of his argumentes for the contrarye* (London: Mierdman, 1549)

²⁵ C. Davies & J. Facey, 'A Reformation Dilemma', pp. 4–42.

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fallen into disuse, and questioned Foxe's theology and view of charity.²⁶ In *De Censura* Foxe 'salvaged his reputation without abandoning his principles,' by defending himself through working up an expanded version of the short section he had written on excommunication in *De non plectendis* into a substantial paper, making some concessions to Joye's criticisms on the way, but now avoiding the impression he had previously given of naivety. In doing this he made it clear that his concerns about morality did require strict compliance with the scriptures.²⁷

So here, with *De Censura*, we have the first polemical exchange which Foxe has had in Latin with another scholar, although he does not raise the level of controversy, as he is putting the tract forward, with the support of Latimer, in the general context of a reform of church discipline and not as a direct response to Joye.²⁸ With regard to Foxe's Latinity in *De Censura*, Davies and Facey make no comment on how well written the tract is, although they note that it 'echoed the better known productions of Crowley, Latimer or Lever.'²⁹ I have not quoted any passages in *Appendix I* for detailed comment from these two tracts, but they are both good examples of Foxe's early polemical writing, filled with classical allusions³⁰ and

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁹ *ibid.* We have already seen from his Magdalen correspondence that Foxe was on close terms with Latimer and Crowley. While he was to lose Latimer in the Marian burnings, he retained a close friendship with Crowley to the end of his life and exchanged with Thomas Lever during his exile a number of letters which indicate a warm relationship. Foxe mentions staying with Latimer during his job-seeking as he prepared to leave Magdalen; see *Appendix I*, Letter 13 (BL Lansdowne 388, fol. 119r-v). No correspondence with Crowley survives. Foxe's correspondence with Lever can be found in BL Harleian MS 417, foll. 99r and 121r. See Chapter Three for one of his letters to Lever.

³⁰ E.g. *passim* references to Phrygians, the Spartan ephors, the Areopagus in Athens, Cleon, the Parthians and many others

rhetorical devices such as alliteration,³¹ assonance,³² repetition of identical interrogative pronouns in a succession of rhetorical questions.³³

Expostulatio 1550 (See Appendix I, No. 15.)

However, it is at this point that we should consider the significance of the hitherto neglected *Expostulatio*, a Latin manuscript work of Foxe's which has hitherto received no attention whatsoever from scholars.³⁴ It is significant in regard to *De Censura* because it was written in c. 1550, between the two tracts just discussed (1548 and 1551), but after Joye's work in 1549. Foxe re-issued *De non plectendis* in 1549, but with a different title, *De lapsis in ecclesiam recipiendis*,³⁵ and a preface to the reader replacing the dedication to Thomas Picton, gentleman.³⁶ Joye maintained that Foxe had attempted to conceal the dangerous contents of the first edition.³⁷ When we look at the dedication to Nicholas Ridley at the start of *Expostulatio*, and see *Sed nimis improbe a quibusdam exagitatus non bonis geniis mihi negotium exhibentibus partim protrudor in harenam nolentissimus* ('But I am rudely provoked by certain persons who out of no kindly disposition make trouble for me, and . . . I am thrust out into the arena very much against my will'), we realise that someone has clearly upset Foxe, and that someone is very likely to have been Joye in his 1549 response. It must surely be the case that we cannot properly assess the exchanges between Foxe and

³¹ E.g. at sig. A.6r: *propugnandam puritatem*.

³² E.g. at sig. A.4r: *omnium minimum, plurimum*; at sig. A.5v: *dectores, scortatores, adulteros, faeneratores, epicuros, oppressores*.

³³ E.g. at sig. B.4v: *cur uos qui pastores . . . , cur non exterminio . . . , cur non Satanae traditis?*

³⁴ It is simply listed, with no references in his text, by Mozley in Appendix B, 'Minor Works'. Cf. Mozley, p. 243.

³⁵ J. Foxe, *De lapsis in ecclesiam recipiendis consultatio cum pastoribus* (London: Singleton, 1549). Only the title and first page were altered in this re-issue.

³⁶ Of whom nothing is known. He may have requested the removal of the dedication to him, in view of the criticism the pamphlet attracted from George Joye, but this is purely speculation.

³⁷ C. Davies & J. Facey, 'A Reformation Dilemma', p. 40, n. 14.

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Joye, unless we take account of the *Expostulatio*. Davies and Facey would seem to have been unaware of its existence.

The *Expostulatio* is a sermon of a most unusual form, in that the whole of the piece is delivered in the form of *prosopopoeia* ('putting on a mask'), in this instance a personified Christ addressing the reader. The technique of *prosopopoeia* was one which Foxe used on a number of occasions in his writing.³⁸ The technique had certainly been employed by other writers during the Tudor period such as Sir Thomas More in 1529, when he wrote *Supplication of Souls* in response to Simon Fish's *A Supplication for the Beggars*,³⁹ in which he pretended to speak on behalf of the souls in purgatory,⁴⁰ and Erasmus in 1517 in his *Querela Pacis*, where he takes Peace as his *persona* in the treatise.⁴¹ These last mentioned were typically humanist dialogic modes, but in the *Expostulatio*, where Foxe has actually 'put on the mask' of Christ, there really must have been the potential for contentious controversy in what we should class as a bold move, but there is no evidence at all for any reaction to it or even for whether it was ever circulated. Another significant point to make here is that Foxe portrayed, this time in a staged play in Basel, Christ and his mother Mary, in his 'apocalyptic comedy', *Christus Triumphans* (1556) and later in his Paul's Cross sermon, *De Christo Crucifixo* (1571),⁴² during Elizabeth's reign he had Christ

³⁸ Notably in the *Gratulatio* (1559), when England is addressed by Germany in congratulatory terms at the accession of Elizabeth, in the *De Christo Crucifixo* (1571), when Foxe addresses the congregation in the person of Christ speaking from the cross and in *Papa Confutatus* (1580) when Foxe addresses the papal Antichrist in the *persona* of the True Church. See Chapter Five for further discussion on these examples.

³⁹ Sir T. More, *The supplycacyon of soulys. Made by syr Thomas More knyght . . . Agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars* (London: William Rastell, 1529). S. Fish, *A supplicacyon for the Beggars* (Antwerp? : J. Grapheus?, 1529?).

⁴⁰ P. Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 45.

⁴¹ D. Erasmus, *Querela pacis undi gentium ejectae profligatae* (?Cologne: ?1517).

⁴² J. Foxe, *De Christo Crucifixo* (London: John Day, 1571). The sermon was initially delivered in English in 1570 at Paul's Cross in London and printed in Latin in the following year.

addressing the opponents he had overcome, namely Sin and Death.⁴³ Foxe cannot have been unmindful of the *Expostulatio* when he wrote these two later works.

An examination of some of Foxe's Latin in the *Expostulatio* reveals strongly polemical language that is full of rhetorical devices, such as, for example, the effective use of repetition in the following passage taken from Section 3. Here Christ remonstrates with the people over their impiety (note the six-fold repetition of *dolebat*):

Dolebat tam Insignem creaturam turpissimis Dæmoniis mancipatam. Dolebat sic morti sic peccatis succumbere. Dolebat sic opprimi egenos a potentioribus, dolebat tot malis affligi tenues sine spe auxilii dolebat ita indefensam causam impotentium; dolebat sic perire iustos; derideri miseros, spoliari inualidos, dum nemo opem ostenderet.

It grieved me that so noble a creature [i.e. piety] should be enslaved to most shameful demons. It grieved me that it had so succumbed to death and to sin. It grieved me that the needy were oppressed by the more powerful, it grieved me that the weak were afflicted by so many misfortunes without hope of help, it grieved me that the cause of the powerless was undefended, it grieved me that the just thus perished, that the wretched were mocked, the weak despoiled, while no one offered assistance.

A very strong rhetorical passage is also to be found in the penultimate paragraph in the sermon, as we have it, in Section 44. Here Christ addresses a bishop directly, is highly critical of appellations such as 'my lord' and 'your grace', and complains about the vestments, silks, attendants, estates and palaces that go with a bishop's office. The singular *tu* ('you') used in the address to the bishop will be generic, as will the many plural examples of *uos* ('you') applied to members of the human race, so it must have been a question of 'if the cap fits', rather than an attack on a particular bishop, least of all Ridley, to whom the sermon is dedicated. If Foxe had a bishop in mind, he does not tell us who it was.

⁴³ See W.W. Wooden, *John Foxe* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), pp. 83–87, and especially p. 85, for a discussion of this sermon and this passage in which Christ speaks.

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The abrupt ending of the *Expostulatio* in Section 45, where ‘Christ’ says *ut neque quem potissimum insector e singulis . . . satis constat* (‘it is not certain which individual I should single out in particular for censure’), strongly suggests that the sermon was never completed. It reads as if Foxe suddenly decided that he was going to stop at that point, but we do not know the reason. The presumption, that this ‘sermon’ was printed,⁴⁴ is likely to be wrong. I suggest that it simply exists in manuscript as a draft of a piece that Foxe decided not to print, for whatever reason. Nevertheless, it is an important piece of Foxean Latin, rich in rhetorical polemic, which merits further study, now that it has been transcribed and partly translated.⁴⁵ The main significance of the *Expostulatio* for the purposes of this thesis is that, with its assumed date of 1550, it is one of the earliest examples of Foxe’s polemical writing. It dates from a time when he was deeply involved in meeting fellow reformists in his London network, including Latimer and Ridley, the latter being the dedicatee of *Expostulatio* and both of whom Foxe names as encouraging him in the writing of *De Censura*.

Tables of Grammar 1552 (See Appendix II)

Added to Foxe’s theological and ecclesiastical writing was his *Tables of Grammar* (1552), which was an attempt to present in a much briefer format an alternative to Lily’s *Latin Grammar*, re-issued in 1545 with royal approval as the standard grammar that Foxe considered to be badly arranged and too long.⁴⁶ This attempt, despite backing from William Cecil and the Privy Council, failed because Foxe’s *Tables of*

⁴⁴ Mozley, p. 243.

⁴⁵ The transcription was made by W.J. Hitchens of the University of Sheffield (see Bibliography for details) and the partial translation in *Appendix I* is by Professor J.B. Hall. It is my intention to produce a full edition of the *Expostulatio* with a translation and commentary.

⁴⁶ See Chapter One, p. 21.

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Grammar was then regarded as too short.⁴⁷ Only one page, which is probably a leaf from that work in manuscript, survives, showing Foxe's definitions in English of the term 'grammar' and the parts of speech, followed by a table of the case endings of Latin nouns for the five declensions.⁴⁸ I have transcribed this page and printed it with the heading 'Single page from John Foxe's *Tables of Latin Grammar* (?1552)' as *Appendix III* in the volume of texts accompanying this thesis. This work is a clear indication of Foxe's deep interest in the structure of the Latin language and a desire, built on his experience of teaching Latin grammar during the previous six years, to pass on the benefit of his skills to others.⁴⁹ There is, moreover, a Latin letter written by Foxe to Cecil in May 1551 (*Appendix I*, No. 16), which gives some insight into the way in which he was prepared to use the influential connections he made after his arrival in London. Not only did he send a copy of *Tables of Grammar* to receive judgement and criticism from one of the leading classics teachers (*cum aliis doctissimis*) Leonard Cox,⁵⁰ but he enlisted William Cecil – who had recently been appointed to the Privy Council – for *tuum hic suffragium* ('your support here') in getting *Tables of Grammar* printed. The letter was written *raptim* ('in haste') from the printer's workshop.⁵¹ Since this book does not survive, there can be no comment on Foxe's Latin skills in its execution, in support of my first proposition, but the patronage and guidance he sought from Cox, Cecil and members of the Council to get it printed shows the strength of the connections he had now established in London.

⁴⁷ A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I., pp. 321, 531

⁴⁸ BL Lansdowne MS 819, fol. 90r.

⁴⁹ Note Foxe's interest in a similar venture with his commonplace book in Basel. See Chapter Four.

⁵⁰ Cf. Chapter 1, *ibid.* It is in the letter to Cecil that Foxe mentions writing to Leonard Cox.

⁵¹ BL Additional MS 34727, West Papers Vol. I, fol. 2. We cannot be sure who this printer was, but it is quite possible that it was either Hugh Singleton or S. Mierdman, who had published Foxe's works between 1547 and 1551.

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I have thus demonstrated Foxe's early involvement with Protestant polemical pamphlet writing, encouraged by senior clerical friends such as Ridley and Latimer. This highlights Foxe's energetic networking and looking forward nearly twenty years to the time when, as I argue as my fourth proposition (largely in Chapter Six), he was used as a spokesman and protagonist for the Elizabethan regime. This chapter has so far shown that Foxe was very much part of the reformist scene in London and quickly linked up with scholars with whom he was already on familiar terms, as well as meeting new contacts with similar views. Much of this was facilitated by the patronage of two noblewomen, Mary Fitzroy, the Duchess of Richmond, who employed Foxe as tutor to the Howard children, and Katherine Brandon, the widowed Duchess of Suffolk, who was associated with a circle of reformers at court, including Queen Katherine Parr, Hugh Latimer, Thomas Lever and William Cecil. It was from Katherine Brandon's house that Foxe was ordained deacon by Ridley in 1550.⁵² Another link in Foxe's network came full circle when his old friend and contemporary from Magdalen days, Richard Bertie, whose assistance he had sought in job seeking back in 1545, married Katherine Brandon in 1552.⁵³ Foxe was already sufficiently well-known among some of the more influential members of the clergy,⁵⁴ including Latimer and Ridley.⁵⁵ As we have seen (page 69), he was encouraged by both of these bishops to write *De Censura*,⁵⁶ which was dedicated to Thomas Cranmer and is addressed to bishops and other ministers; most of these, being university educated (and thus having good Latin), would have been quite at ease with the fact that it was in Latin, although his advice was ultimately not heeded. But it was not only patronage from the clergy that Foxe sought. In the case of the *Tables of Grammar*, he

⁵² Cf. Mozley, p. 30; T.S. Freeman, 'John Foxe (1516/17–1587)', *ODNB*.

⁵³ Charles Brandon, first Duke of Suffolk, had died in 1545.

⁵⁴ Mozley, pp. 33 – 34; C. Davies & J. Facey, 'Reformation Dilemma', pp. 39 – 40.

⁵⁵ Foxe stayed with the Duchess of Suffolk, a committed Lutheran, prior to the ceremony. Cf. Mozley, p. 30; T.S. Freeman, 'John Foxe (1516/17–1587)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁶ C. Davies & J. Facey, 'A Reformation Dilemma', p. 39.

had consulted a prominent educationalist and schoolmaster in Leonard Cox and also politicians in the persons of Sir William Cecil and members of the Privy Council. So we see that Foxe's writing was not done in isolation in the hope of eventual publication, but that for each project he looked for patronage and support. For this he turned to the contacts he had been making ever since his arrival in London, as well as maintaining links with the contacts he had made in Oxford and Warwickshire. Indeed we can see that his networking influenced his writing, as in the case of his work on issues of church discipline, which received the influential support of both Ridley and Latimer. Already at this early stage of his career Foxe was making statements on issues at the heart of the Protestant reformation, thus showing that even before the exile he was foreshadowing the role he would eventually play in the Elizabethan regime, that of a spokesman or protagonist for the Protestant reformation.

Foxe the unemployed and his network

The career possibilities for someone with the qualifications and experience of Foxe at the start of the new reign, with the accession of Edward VI in 1547, must have been quite promising. It is evident that there was great respect for humanist learning at Edward's Court.⁵⁷ Although a minority of distinguished humanists regretted supporting Henry VIII's Royal Supremacy and went into exile after his death, a majority of them found that they could live with the moderate humanistic Protestantism which characterised Edward's reign.⁵⁸ It was definitely to Foxe's advantage to be associated with Court circles at this time when Protestants were returning from exile and looking for employment and patronage from evangelical

⁵⁷ For Edward's own education, in the hands of Richard Coxe and John Cheke, see J. Loach, *Edward VI* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 11ff.

⁵⁸ J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 280.

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sympathisers, such as the Duchess of Richmond. Many of these scholars found employment as chaplains, tutors or secretaries in noble households, or received their support for benefices for which they held patronage.⁵⁹ Foxe had by 1553 assembled impressive academic credentials and publications. Moreover, through the patronage of the Duchess of Richmond, he had at Mountjoy House met many of the leading reformist ‘movers and shakers’: those already mentioned above together with others such as John Hooper, William Turner and John Rogers, all now associated with Foxe in his network of contacts. Everything seemed set for a re-launched career as a Latin scholar, now in holy orders, with a promising niche among the Protestant humanists with their close connections to Court, when Edward died in July 1553.

Following the death of Edward VI, Foxe was potentially at risk of being persecuted as a ‘heretic’. Now more than ever he needed his network to work for him and to be effective. At the time of the king’s death, we must presume that Foxe was in residence at Reigate Castle and fulfilling his tutoring duties. Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, was released from imprisonment in the Tower of London in August 1553, probably at the same time as Stephen Gardiner, and on 27 August, by order of the Privy Council, his attainder was reversed and he immediately assumed responsibility for the guardianship of his grandchildren.⁶⁰ Foxe now lost his post at Reigate. According to Mozley, the two eldest sons, Thomas and Henry were placed in the houses of bishops, the former with Gardiner, now restored to the see of Winchester, the latter with John White, the newly appointed Bishop of Lincoln.⁶¹ However, there are confusing and contradictory accounts in our sources about where

⁵⁹ C. Davies, *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

⁶⁰ J.R. Dasent, (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council, New Series*, Vol. 4. A.D. 1552-1554 (London: Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury and the Master of the Rolls, 1892), p. 334.

⁶¹ *Mozley*, p. 37.

these two Norfolk boys were housed and tutored.⁶² Nevertheless, it is clear that Thomas continued to see his old tutor, Foxe, and that Stephen Gardiner recognised Foxe on one occasion, wherever this was, and caused him to fear for his own safety.⁶³ We are told quite specifically by Simeon Foxe that his father was ‘at that time sheltered by the protection of the Duke his scholar’. Although this cannot be determined with any accuracy, in my opinion, since Foxe already viewed Thomas as his patron,⁶⁴ it is more than likely that he continued to have practical support from Thomas in the form of accommodation and facilities to continue his scholarly career, wherever that may have been. As we shall see in the next chapter, Foxe must have had ready for his journey to the Continent virtually a complete draft of his first Latin martyrology, the *Commentarii* (published in Strassburg in September 1554),⁶⁵ and thus was almost certainly putting all his energy into writing this after losing his official teaching duties. Foxe had now widened his network significantly with the inclusion of a very influential young nobleman, now old enough to take on the role of a patron, and shortly (in August 1554) to become the premier peer of England as the fourth Duke of Norfolk. Nevertheless, Foxe can have been *persona grata* to Thomas alone. He was known to Gardiner, but the sole evidence of correspondence between the two is a Latin letter, written by Foxe to the bishop (*Appendix I, No. 2*), while Foxe was still at Magdalen.⁶⁶ Foxe’s sojourn at or visits to the Winchester household and the reaction of the bishop to his presence are recorded in a note, written on the reverse

⁶² See, for example, J.A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (London: SPCK, 1926), p. 379, n. 49. Cf. *A&M 1870*, p. 11; N. Williams, *Thomas Howard Fourth Duke of Norfolk* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1964), pp. 29–30.

⁶³ S. Foxe, ‘*The Life of Maister John Fox*’ In: *A&M 1641* in the preface to Volume II both in Latin and in English. The pages are not numbered, but the account of the visits by Gardiner to Norfolk’s house appears on page 5 of the English section. Pratt and Muller have Winchester’s palace as the venue for the encounter.

⁶⁴ The unnamed recipient of the original dedication of the 1554 martyrology, the *Commentarii*, was almost certainly Thomas.

⁶⁵ See Chapter Three, pp. 103–132.

⁶⁶ Foxe was complaining about the salary offered for new posts at the re-foundation of Christ Church College in 1544.

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of the title page of a copy of the 1563 *A&M*,⁶⁷ which confirms that Thomas did meet his former tutor, but that these meetings were largely, though not entirely, concealed from Gardiner.⁶⁸

Following the accession of Mary, a royal proclamation affirmed her Catholic faith and encouraged this in her subjects. The terms 'heretic' and 'papist' were forbidden to be used and the new Queen was crowned by Gardiner on 1 October 1553. Mary's first parliament, commencing on 5 October, saw in its two sessions the introduction of three bills. One, of a purely disciplinary nature, dealt with treason and *praemunire* which, despite meeting with some considerable resistance from Protestant laymen in the Commons, was passed on 19 October. A second important measure, repealing much of the Protestant legislation of Edward's reign, was passed on 8 November. A third, which promised imprisonment for those who disrupted sermons and services, was passed on 30 November.⁶⁹ However, it was the rumours circulating before the second parliament, to be convened on 2 April, which really alarmed Foxe and other reformers with whom he was undoubtedly in constant communication. These rumours concerned the re-introduction of the Act of Six Articles. But before the sequence of events occasioned by this threat and Foxe's literary response to it, we need to put into context his single surviving Latin letter between the time he wrote to Cecil in 1551 and the 'Address to the Nobles' he composed in about March 1554. This letter is very important for our examination of Foxe's intellectual links in London with the continental reformers.

⁶⁷ Mozley, p. 38.

⁶⁸ See S. Foxe, 'The Life of Maister John Fox' In: *A&M 1641*.

⁶⁹ See J. Loach, *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 76ff. for a detailed discussion of the bills in this first parliament.

The Letter to Peter Delaenus, 1554: the London stranger churches

The only item of Latin correspondence surviving from the pre-exile period of Foxe's residence in London – apart from the letter he wrote to William Cecil concerning his *Latin Grammar*, dated May 1551 and discussed earlier⁷⁰ – is a letter, dated 31 January 1554, to Peter Delaenus, a minister at the Dutch stranger church in London, who had remained behind as a leader of those foreign Protestants who had not fled the capital on the accession of Mary. It would seem that Delaenus had written to Foxe in order to consult him about whether he should continue to remain in London.⁷¹ The London congregation led by John à Lasco and also another foreign congregation in Glastonbury led by Valerand Poullain had been under the patronage of the Lord Protector Somerset, William Cecil, John Cheke and Thomas Cranmer.⁷² Also very involved with the members of the stranger churches was John Hooper, an outspoken radical reformer, who was particularly interested in their model for a reformed church and their dislike of clerical vestments (see below). In view of the fact that the proclamation against foreigners was made on 17 February 1554,⁷³ the timing of this exchange of letters, only two weeks earlier, illustrates the urgency of the advice being sought by Delaenus, and the fact that this advice is being asked of Foxe underlines the closeness of Foxe's links with the Dutch reformist community in London.

⁷⁰ BL Additional MS 34727, West Papers Vol. I, fol. 2. See above, p. 70.

⁷¹ C.H. Garrett, *Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 45. cf. J.H. Hessels, (ed.), *Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archivum* Vol. II. 'Epistulae et tractatus cum Reformationis tum Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae historiam illustrantes, 1544–1622', p. 38 (See *Appendix I*, No. 16.)

⁷² J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer, Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ... Collected Chiefly from Records, Registers, Authentic Letters, and Other Original Manuscripts*. 3 Vols. (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1848). *Archbishop of Canterbury ... Collected Chiefly from Records, Registers, Authentic Letters, and Other*, ii, pp. 286ff. cf. C.H. Garrett, *ibid.* The congregation were very puritan in outlook, remaining seated to receive communion, which was a source of annoyance to Cranmer, whose prayer book required the communicants to receive the elements 'kneeling humbly upon their knees'.

⁷³ Tyler, R., *Calendar of letters, despatches, and state papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives at Vienna, Simancas, Besançon and Brussels*. Vol.12, *Mary 1554* (London: H.M.S.O., 1949), pp. 31, 39.

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Walter Delaenus and Martin Micron were the first ministers of the Dutch Stranger church, founded in London in 1550. Delaenus, a scholar who had formerly been Professor of Hebrew in Amsterdam, arrived in England soon after 1535. By 1539 Walter was in service to Henry VIII, publishing in 1540 a preface to the Latin New Testament.⁷⁴ He also shared with John à Lasco the preaching of a Latin sermon each week. Since by 1553 Walter was quite old, his son Peter had been appointed to assist Micron in his pastoral duties.⁷⁵ Foxe naturally gravitated towards those individuals in London with whom he could strengthen his contacts with the wider reformed communities, and of course this meant people who knew Greek and Hebrew, that is fellow theological linguists. Here once more Foxe is extending his network, this time with European linguists. Walter Delaenus was such a scholar, and it is therefore easy for us to see how Foxe involved these Dutchmen in his network. John à Lasco had a close friendship with Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich, as well as being associated with other leading continental reformers, such as Martin Bucer, Jean Calvin and Peter Martyr. Bullinger and Martyr were later to be in regular correspondence with Foxe during his exile.

The stranger churches had caused Nicholas Ridley, since his translation to London in 1550, some problems in that they were advocating swift and radical changes in doctrine.⁷⁶ He was particularly concerned that they shared the same views against the wearing of clerical vestments as John Hooper, who was about to be consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, but whose refusal to be consecrated wearing

⁷⁴ A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) p. 50.

⁷⁵ A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 49.

⁷⁶ *ibid.* p. 37ff. He was particularly concerned that they shared the same views against the wearing of clerical vestments as John Hooper, who was about to be consecrated Bishop of Gloucester.

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vestments landed him in the Fleet Prison in January 1551.⁷⁷ The point here is that Foxe also had similar views on vestments, which were to cause him problems much later in the reign of Elizabeth (see Chapter 6), and we can see another reason why the Dutch community should turn to him for assistance, especially in the void caused later by the arrest of Ridley at the start of Mary's reign and the return of the Catholic Bonner to the see of London. Foreign ministers had already been forbidden to preach by August 1553, and on 17 September John à Lasco left for the Continent with 175 followers, including members of the Glastonbury congregation as well as the London community.

Foxe was not among the first of the English reformers to go into exile and was therefore available in London for consultations with his network of reformist contacts, including the members of the stranger churches. As we shall see shortly, Foxe was prepared, on behalf of his reformist group, to deliver an impassioned plea to the House of Lords on behalf of his Protestant colleagues against the re-introduction of the Act of Six Articles (see below). With his known sympathy for their views on clerical vestments and his proficiency in Latin – bearing in mind that the members of the Dutch community may have had a rather limited command of English – it was no doubt felt that he was a good person with whom to correspond for advice. Foxe's reputation as a spokesman for the reformist group must have been well known to the members of the Dutch group from the ecclesiastical tracts he written over the last few years. On the back of Foxe's letter to Delaenus is a series of notes made subsequently by Delaenus, examining the *pros* and *cons* of staying in London: they will have been

⁷⁷ *ibid.* p. 42. Hooper was eventually forced to comply and was consecrated in March 1551.

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to the front of his mind when he wrote in February to John à Lasco about the increasing danger to his community in London.⁷⁸

The tone and content of Foxe's reply to Delaenus's letter, addressed to *Fratrī et Amīco singulari Petro* ('To Peter, an outstanding friend and brother'), points to a certain intimacy in their relationship, and so it may be deduced that he had met Delaenus in person. No doubt the two of them will have conversed in Latin, as Delaenus is unlikely to have had much English, a reminder of this natural language of communication between scholars. It is this connection between Peter Delaenus of the Dutch stranger church and John Foxe that brings together the Rhineland biblicists, the translations made by Foxe in the late 1540s of some of the texts of the writers in the Reformed tradition, such as Oecolampadius, Foxe's espousal of Erasmian teaching techniques and, lastly his networking with the descendants of those same Upper Rhineland biblicists whom he was himself shortly to follow to the Continent.

The letter from Foxe to Delaenus is dated 31 January 1554 (*Appendix I*, No. 17).⁷⁹ Foxe's message is basically encouraging, but at the same time there is a sense of foreboding with the references to *laborum* ('toils') and *periculorum* ('dangers') and *tragicos hos rerum humanarum tumultus* ('these tragic upheavals in human affairs'). The expression *impotens animi dolor* ('uncontrollable pain of heart') near the start of the letter has classical connotations, as, for example, in a passage from Curtius Rufus, referring to the uncontrollable rage into which Alexander the Great flew when, in a

⁷⁸ G. C. Gorham, *Gleanings of a Few Scattered Ears: During the Period of the Reformation in England and of the Times Immediately Succeeding, A.D. 1533 to A.D. 1588*. (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857) pp. 311–13; Hessels, J.H., (ed.), *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum ... ex autographis ... edidit Joannes Henricus Hessels. Vol. 2. Epistulae et tractatus cum reformationis tum Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae historiam illustrantes, 1544-1622. Ex autographis...* (Cambridge: Nederlandse Hervormde Gemeente (London), 1889), pp. 38–44.

⁷⁹ See J. H. Hessels, *ibid.* Cf. Mozley, p. 40.

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furious argument with one of his courtiers, Cleitus, he killed the man with a spear seized from a guard.⁸⁰

A close examination of the Latin in the letter reveals a rather interesting point: the language is somewhat vague, and Foxe does not really give any obvious specific advice. But, in an allusion to Ephesians 6. 12., Foxe tells Delaenus that *ut cum sanguine duntaxat ac carne tibi pugna sit, minimum sane hic esse existimo quod metuas* ('in so far as you have a battle with your flesh and blood, I clearly consider what you have to fear to be very little'). Ephesians 6. 12., in the Great Bible, is translated as follows:

For we wrestle not agaynst bloude and fleshe: but agaynst rule, agaynst power, against worldly even governors of the derckenes of this worlde, agaynst spiritual wickedness in high [places].⁸¹

This must mean that Foxe was warning Delaenus covertly to watch out for Queen Mary, using the verse to indicate a contemporary situation. It does also indicate Foxe's own view in 1554, that he too thought he was fighting against 'spiritual wickedness in high places.' Foxe is telling Delaenus that, as St. Paul made clear to the Ephesians, the struggle with the devil is not necessarily against individuals in the physical sense, but against the dark and amorphous powers of evil, here in the England of 1554 exemplified by the institutions of the monarchy and the government.

Foxe's regret at not being able to be *periculorum tuorum . . . particeps* ('a sharer in your dangers') implies that he has advised Delaenus to flee and is saying that he would rather have joined him in flight. Indeed, within ten days of the expiry of the

⁸⁰ Curtius Rufus, 8. 1. 28 – 29: *Itaque impotens animi procurrat in regiae vestibulum et vigili excubanti hasta ablata constitit in aditu, . . .* 'And so in an uncontrollable rage he ran forward into the entrance hall of the palace, took away the spear from a guard on duty and stood in the doorway . . .'

⁸¹ *The Byble in Englyshe . . .* (London: by [Thomas] Petyt, and [Robert] Redman, for Thomas Berthelet, 1540). STC 104.09.

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24-day deadline given by the 17 February proclamation, i.e. around 23 March, both Walter and Peter Delaenus arrived in Hamburg,⁸² and it must surely be around this time in March that Foxe and his wife left England. This is very much a Christian pastoral letter, which looks beyond the immediate future and its uncertainties to a time when the Lord will bring happiness. In the meantime Foxe, advises Delaenus to be strong and put his trust in the Lord.

Between April 1551, when *De Censura* appeared, and 31 August 1554, when his first Latin martyrology, the *Commentarii*, was published in Strassburg, Foxe, so far as we know, wrote nothing except the 'Address to the Nobles', printed in London probably in March 1554, discussed below in pages 82 – 88. Presumably this is because he was immersed in work on the *Commentarii*. Indeed, with the burning of Joan Boucher on 2 June 1550 and of George van Parris in 1551, and the encouragement from 1548 that Foxe had from John Bale, it is highly likely that from mid-1551 to early 1554 Foxe had virtually completed the *Commentarii* in manuscript, including its original dedication (see below in Chapter 3).

The intellectual climate and exile

The death of Edward VI on 6 July 1553 signalled a significant change in circumstances for the zealous young Foxe in his career as tutor and writer. However, this was more than simply an event in the history of the period and its interface with Foxe's career. It challenged the fledgling Protestant state and its Church to face major decisions which had to be taken by those who now professed the 'new faith', in response to the clear intention of the new monarch to re-introduce the 'old faith'.

⁸² A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 117.

‘Four channels of action were available: conversion to Catholicism, open defiance followed by martyrdom, retirement into hiding, and emigration.’⁸³ Although all four of these options were ultimately taken up by the Protestants, it should be realised that not all four were obvious and immediately available in 1553/4. Indeed, we need to accept that the actions taken by the various groups of Protestants on the accession of Mary were governed by one basic question: ‘What is going to happen?’

The people’s attitude to the action they would be taking was governed by their questioning as to why this situation had arisen in the first place. They were asking what they had done to deserve this persecution and how God had allowed all this to happen. The loss of their young King, Edward, the Josiah the reformers had been waiting for during the latter Henrician years, had been devastating. This was attributed by many, including Foxe, to God’s punishment for the sins of the English. Later, in 1559, in the *Gratulatio*, Foxe has Germany say to England, in referring to the death of Edward: *Quod enim Regem uobis talem eripuerit, iusticiae erat illius, uestris forsan offensis prouocatae* (‘For the fact that he snatched such a King from you was a matter of his justice, perhaps exasperated by your offences’).⁸⁴ The last thing Foxe did before he went into exile was make, on behalf of himself and his reformist network, a plea directly to the House of Lords, since rumours had begun to circulate about the reintroduction of the Act of Six Articles.

⁸³ F.A. Norwood, *Strangers and Exiles* (Nashville & New York: Abingdon Press, 1969), Vol. I. p. 340.

⁸⁴ J. Foxe, *Germaniae ad Angliam, de restituta euangelii luce, gratulatio* [hereafter referred to by its shortened title *Gratulatio*] (Basel: Oporinus, 1559), Section 9. The section divisions are mine. Section 9 can be found on p. 55 of *Appendix I*.

Address to the Nobles

A major factor, that had alarmed the Protestants who were watching for signs of an imposed return to Rome and had been faced with the order against preaching,⁸⁵ was the arrest of clergymen such as Cranmer, Hooper and Ridley in the autumn of 1553. The confirmation of some of these measures in Mary's first parliament in October was the prospect of the revival of the Henrician Act of Six Articles, originally passed in June 1539. These Articles had re-affirmed the doctrines of the seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the withholding of the cup from the laity, clerical celibacy, the observance of vows of chastity, the holding of private Masses, and the importance of oral confession.⁸⁶ Indeed, the Protestants had good reason to be alarmed, as a bill was passed by the Commons on 2 April 1554. However, like many other bills at this time, it did not make it to the Statute Book, being stopped in the House of Lords.⁸⁷

The 'Address to the Nobles' (*Appendix I*, No. 18),⁸⁸ which Foxe wrote immediately before his journey to the Continent, is an appeal to the government not to revive the Act of Six Articles, which had proscribed any person denying transubstantiation to be burned as a heretic. Mozley supposes that Foxe would have taken steps to have the Address printed.⁸⁹ Although the text was transcribed by John Strype,⁹⁰ and reprinted by Josiah Pratt during the nineteenth century in his 1870 edition of the *A&M*, a translation has never been published, apart from a summary of part of its content by Mozley.⁹¹

⁸⁵ G. Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic: The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 292.

⁸⁶ See p. 51. n. 113.

⁸⁷ Mozley, p. 39.

⁸⁸ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 123r-v. (cf. *Appendix I*, No. 17)

⁸⁹ Mozley, p. 39.

⁹⁰ J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, Vol. iii. p. 100 and *Appendix*, pp. 486 – 488.

⁹¹ Mozley, pp. 39 – 40.

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Strype, in mentioning the 'Address', refers to Foxe as 'a learned and pious man, who had an excellent pathetic style'.⁹² It is indeed a sound piece of rhetoric and illustrates many of the features of Foxe's Latin writing, including his use of classical vocabulary and allusions together with his frequent inclusion of proverbial expressions found in Erasmus' *Adagia*. Christina Garrett refers to the address as being 'seditious by its nature' and in Section 5 there is what she describes as 'an offensive reference to Gardiner in which the chancellor was likened (by implication) to certain animals which are "born to create trouble and destruction"'.⁹³ In fact the animals to which Foxe refers as 'born to create trouble and destruction' are the people round Gardiner, rather than Gardiner himself.

The subject of Foxe's Address is stated in his opening sentence: the possible reintroduction of the Act of Six Articles. Foxe makes it clear immediately that he (and others) had thought that these 'bloody laws' had long been 'laid to rest', by Edward VI's first parliament. He sets the tone of his opposition with the use of vocabulary which paints a thoroughly miserable reaction to the news by the English people: *funestum . . . ominosum . . . moeror . . . luctuosa . . . gemitus . . . suspiria . . . doloris . . . lacrymae . . . squalor . . . uulnera . . . horror . . . funera . . . mortes . . . perturbatione . . . calamitates*: all express grief, horror, pain, death and mourning. It was easier for the exiles to create a 'rosy glow' for the England they were leaving and a dark tragic picture of the same country which they now constructed in their minds, justifying their exile rhetorically.

The translation of *reipublicae* from Section 1 onwards has been given as 'commonwealth', which in the context of this 'Address' is more appropriate than

⁹² J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, p. 100.

⁹³ C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 156.

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‘state’.⁹⁴ Later in Section 3 he refers to *reipublicae charitas* (‘love for the commonwealth’), which is part of that ‘rosy glow’ referred to above. This is a good prose usage of *charitas*, which has meanings of ‘regard’, ‘esteem’, ‘affection’ and ‘love’ and is used by Cicero, Livy and Quintilian amongst others, the latter using it in the expression *ingenita erga patriam caritas* – ‘a love for one’s fatherland which is instilled by nature.’⁹⁵ Certainly, in Section 4 with the words *ut quorum uos patria patres conscripti ipsa, eos in filiorum loco ascitos tueamini* (‘that you should protect those whose very country conscripted you as its senators’) Foxe is talking of the great having responsibilities to the not so great, in respect of their common fatherland.

The verb *sopio* in Section 1 in the expression *quondam bene sopitae* referring to the Act of Six Articles having been ‘laid to rest’, while occurring in Livy, Virgil and Pliny, is used only by Cicero in the past participle form found here.⁹⁶ In the next sentence the adjective *funestum*, taken with dative *reipublicae*, has a good Ciceronian precedent in the *Pro Sestio* with the exclamation *o diem illum funestum senatui* (‘What a calamitous day for the Senate!’) and is found elsewhere in Cicero.⁹⁷ However, the adverb *ubertim* (‘copiously’) a few lines later is mostly post-Augustan and not found in Cicero, although a line in one of the poems of Catullus has the expression *ubertim lacrimulas fundere* (‘tears which they shed copiously’).⁹⁸ But Foxe is not totally reliant on classical precedents for his use of vocabulary. The word *squallor* towards the end of Section 1 can refer to a roughness of surface, dirtiness or filth of people with regard to appearance or dress, uncouthness, and desolation of

⁹⁴ Foxe was always very loyal to the monarch. There is no suggestion in using this translation that he was in any way a republican.

⁹⁵ Quintilian, 11. 1. 72.

⁹⁶ Cicero, *De Divinatione ad M. Brutum*, 1. 51. 115; *Pro Caelio*, 17. 41.

⁹⁷ Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 12. 27; *In Catilinam*, 1. 9. 24.

⁹⁸ Catullus, *Carmina*, 66. 17.

land.⁹⁹ But there seems to be no example of the word being used to describe what here must be the commonwealth (the *respublica*). This is a very strong and emotive description of England, and would seem to be entirely of Foxe's own application, although he may well have had in mind John Bale, describing the congregations of the English Church in the 1540s as containing 'false prophetes and dissemblynge hypocrites', who are for ever 'the fylthye dreggess amonge the pure wyne'.¹⁰⁰ So here we have Foxe expressing a positive view in strong rhetorical terms. He is virtually saying, 'this is why I am leaving this place' – it is almost a resignation letter.

An expression is to be found at the end of Section 2 with the words *pro communi salute* ('for the common safety'). There are three exact parallels only, which are found in Cicero.¹⁰¹ Classical allusions are to be found in Section 3 with a reference to the Trojan horse in *age denuo reuocetur Troianus equus in urbem* ('come, let the Trojan horse be recalled afresh into the city') and later in Section 5 with the reference to Ate, who was the Greek goddess of evil, misfortune and delusion, the daughter of Zeus and Eris, goddess of strife. Ate had even at one point trapped Zeus, causing him to hurl her from Olympus.¹⁰² Foxe is using the personification of this goddess to underline the evil and even delusion of those who are directing the mob into violence and also, most importantly for his argument, *mitissimos principum animos . . . uitiant* ('damaging the very gentle minds of our princes'). He is careful (as he is at all times) to criticise Mary's advisors, rather than the Queen herself, especially as she is at this time (whether she wanted it or not) Edward's successor in the royal supremacy. It would be some months before the full

⁹⁹ Cf. *OLD*, p. 1812.

¹⁰⁰ J. Bale, *The Image of Bothe Churches*, p. 96. cf. also L.P. Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1976), p. 155.

¹⁰¹ Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responsis*, 17. 1; *Pro Sulla*, 32. 4. and *Pro Rabirio Perduellonis Reo*, 30. 8.

¹⁰² Homer, *Iliad*, XIX. 91ff.

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restoration of papal supremacy. In the meantime, whatever the fears of Foxe and other Protestants of like thinking, Mary was the godly monarch who had lawfully succeeded to the English throne. Rhetorically effective is the series of conditional clauses: *Si . . . si . . . si . . . Sin . . . si . . . siquid . . . siquid . . . siquid . . . siquid . . .* etc. In addition, there is in Section 3 an expression concerned with ‘clasping the knees’ (*aduolutam genubus uestris*), which has parallels in very similar passages in Velleius Paterculus and Livy.¹⁰³ *Hominis proprium* (‘characteristic of man’) echoes the Golden age Ciceronian phrase in *De Oratore*,¹⁰⁴ yet, interestingly, the word *archetypum* (‘model’) is only found in the Silver writers, Juvenal, Martial (six occurrences), Pliny and Varro.

Foxe is perhaps thinking of a passage in Quintilian, who in discussing Cicero, talks of *rei publicae uomicas* (‘plagues of the state’).¹⁰⁵ This is in Section 5, when he says *nulla respublica . . . suas non habet uomicas et κακοβουλους* (‘There is no commonwealth . . . which does not have its own plagues and ill-advisers’). The Greek word *κακοβουλους* means ‘ill-advised’ or ‘foolish’, but is quite a rare poetic word and is also used as an adjective, for example by Aristophanes.¹⁰⁶

At the end of the address comes one of the proverbial expressions found in Erasmus’s *Adagia*.¹⁰⁷ Foxe’s text *quod non illico alba amussis sit* in Section 5 is clearly taken directly from the *Adagia*, rather than from the original classical source, since this is the Latin form of the proverb given by Erasmus for the original Greek *λευκῆ στάθμη* (‘an unmarked rule’). The *στάθμη* was a measuring line rubbed with

¹⁰³ Velleius Paterculus, 2. 80; Livy, 8. 37.; 28. 34.

¹⁰⁴ Cicero, *De Oratore*, I. 202.

¹⁰⁵ Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, 8. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Aristophanes, *Equites*, 1055.

¹⁰⁷ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. v. 88. See *CWE*, Vol. 31, p. 461.

chalk or red ochre as opposed to the κανών, a ruler or straight edge. Its proverbial usage with the adjective white (λευκῆ) means ‘without selection, making no distinctions’, and these meanings are found in Aulus Gellius¹⁰⁸ and Lucilius¹⁰⁹ where the term used is *alba . . . linea*.

All in all this ‘Address’ conveys a strong message to the new Marian regime. If the Act of Six Articles is to be re-introduced, there will be widespread discontent on all sides and it will be particularly harmful for the state. Foxe’s Latin uses powerful rhetorical images such as *acutissima acies ceruicibus iam incumbit ciuium* (‘the sharp point of the sword lies on the necks of the citizens’), to describe the effect this legislation would have on the people in Section 2, and emotive language in telling the nobles that it lies in their hands to cause ruin to the people: *si tam uilem habeatis ciuium uestrorum sanguinem* (‘if you regard the blood of your citizens to be of so little value) in Section 3. He appeals directly to the nobles *nec quid possit pro imperio autoritas, sed quid aequitas potius ciuibus debeat uestra, uelitis considerare* (‘to consider not what influence your authority has for your power, but rather what your just conduct owes to the citizens’) at the end of Section 3. Finally, in Section 4 Foxe suggests that the *reginam . . . nobilissimam* (‘most noble queen’) and the *cancellarium . . . doctrina praestabili* (‘eminently learned Chancellor’), who is *natura non improbum* (‘not evil by nature’), are being led astray by evil counsellors who have their own agendas. Basically he is using powerful and persuasive language to bring the nobles round to his way of thinking, but refraining from direct criticism of Mary and her Chancellor, Gardiner. Since the measure was halted in the Lords it may be that his rhetoric helped to sway the nobles.

¹⁰⁸ Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, Preface, 11.

¹⁰⁹ Nonius Marcellus quoting Lucilius Book 30: cf. *CWE*, Vol. 31, p. 461

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Patrick Collinson has said that the most basic reason for the flight of the Protestants to the Continent at the start of Mary's reign was 'to avoid the necessity of celebrating, or even attending, Mass'.¹¹⁰ He notes the different interpretations of the event, contrasting the belief of John Strype in the eighteenth century, who attributed it to God's providence,¹¹¹ with the view of Christina Garrett who says that it was 'one of the most astute manoeuvres that has ever carried a defeated political party to ultimate power'.¹¹² Garrett's view was rightly criticised by Mozley, who accused her of trying to make her evidence fit her theory, by considering the exiles to be seditious.¹¹³ In any case, we have tended to take a rather simplistic view of Foxe's own reasons for going into exile. The real issue here is not whether he should or should not go into exile, but rather whether he could sustain his cause by remaining in England. Exile was not the only question. Foxe already knew he was part of a wider cause which was why he was a marked individual. He was identified as being part of a religious movement that was committed to the recovery of the pristine Christian church. And the network, which he had assiduously built up over the previous fifteen years, was now seriously affected by the change in regime. Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer and John Hooper had been arrested and incarcerated in the Tower at the start of Mary's reign in 1553,¹¹⁴ the Duchess of Richmond had moved away from court and was keeping her distance,¹¹⁵ the Berties were being put under increasing pressure to

¹¹⁰ P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 68.

¹¹¹ J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, Vol. iii. p. 155.

¹¹² C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 1.

¹¹³ Mozley, pp. x – xi.

¹¹⁴ D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 545, 553.

¹¹⁵ B Murphy, B. A., 'Fitzroy [*née* Howard], Mary, duchess of Richmond (c.1519–1555?)', [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Jan 2008 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

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support the new regime and were themselves starting to think about exile,¹¹⁶ sometime between September 1553 and September 1554 John Bale arrived in Antwerp,¹¹⁷ Thomas Lever left for the Continent, reaching Strassburg by 24 February 1554,¹¹⁸ and Thomas Bentham reached Zurich in April 1554. Foxe must now, if not earlier, have been seriously contemplating what action he should take. My view is that he will have wanted to maintain his contacts, at least in close enough proximity to continue his correspondence, and that effectively meant leaving England. He may well have known that others of his friends were also either on their way or were contemplating departure. We do not know the arrival dates of many of his friends who went into exile, but whose names just appear at certain intervals on lists in continental towns. In this category are at least Robert Crowley, John Cheke, John Faulkener and Hugh Singleton.

When we look at the analysis of the professions of those involved in the Marian exile made by Norwood, we find that they consisted mainly of preachers, students, and teachers. They represented a significant section of the future Anglican Church, including many of the leading intellectuals of the reformed Church, reformist bishops and those who were to become bishops in Elizabeth's reign, as well as university teachers. Although Norwood agrees to some extent with Garrett's thesis of a planned migration, he suggests that this has been exaggerated and that there was a very real fear of 'the threat of violence from the throne'.¹¹⁹ Foxe had already seen enough evidence of this, with the incarceration of several of his friends in the Tower, to concur with that assessment of the situation. It only remained for him to convince

¹¹⁶ Wabuda, S., 'Bertie [*née* Willoughby; *other married name* Brandon], Katherine, duchess of Suffolk (1519-1580) [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Jan 2008 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>.

¹¹⁷ C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 78.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 219.

¹¹⁹ F.A. Norwood, *Strangers and Exiles*, Vol. 1, p. 340.

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Thomas Howard, (future) duke of Norfolk of the validity of the argument about the threat to his personal safety.

A very important question not examined by Garrett is that of considering the consciences of those involved in flight. To what extent was it the act of a coward to desert his country under these circumstances? An essay by the Bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley, offered advice to persecuted Christians and outlined the options of staying at home, namely 'life' or 'conscience'. Nevertheless Ridley believed that, despite the honour associated with a martyr's death, not all men were called to be martyrs.¹²⁰ In March 1554 Foxe was certainly prepared to stand out as a leader of his reformist colleagues in London and oppose the re-introduction of the Act of Six Articles, yet within a month of that he was en route for the Continent. One passage where he could have said something about his own situation is to be found in the Latin *Eucharisticon* printed in the prefaces to the 1563 *A&M*, reprinted in the 1583 (but not in the two editions of 1570 and 1576), where he says:

Sic Cranmerum uidemus, Ridleum, Latimerum, Iohannem Hoperum, Bradfordum, cæterosque eiusdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto maiore occubuisse cum gloria in acie tua depugnantes, quàm si relicta statione, in qua erant collocati, saluti ipsi suæ causam tuam postposuissent. Quæ enim gens, quæ lingua, quæ natio, quæ temporum uetustas, quæ hominum posteritas eorum non cantabit laudes, non uirtutem agnoscet, non magnitudinem admirabitur?

*In this way we see with how much greater glory Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, John Hooper, Bradford and the rest of the prize fighters in the same company, died fighting in your army, than if they had abandoned the posts in which they had been placed and put your cause after their own safety. For what people, what language, what nation, what old age of time, what posterity will not sing their praises, will not recognise their courage and will not admire their greatness?*¹²¹

In the absence of any comment from Foxe in the *A&M* on his reasons for going into exile - and among his extant letters he argued no case for taking the action he did – we

¹²⁰ N. Ridley, *A piteous lamentation of the miserable state of the Church in England*, In: N. Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley, D.D., Sometime Lord Bishop of London, Martyr, 1555*. ed. by H. Christmas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Parker Society edition, 1843), pp. 47-80. See P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal*, p. 68.

¹²¹ *A&M* 1563, *Ad Iesum Christum . . . Eucharisticon* (Prefaces).

can come to no meaningful conclusions. Jonathan Wright has summarised some of the arguments used to justify flight: it 'at least prevented people from falling into apostasy or conformity; . . . the argument that taking to flight was sometimes precisely what God wanted people to do; . . . it was a good deal better than staying at home and lapsing into Nicodemism.'¹²² It is impossible, though, to say whether or not this applied to Foxe.

How would Foxe's classical education have helped him to understand what exile meant? Biblical concepts would have come to him easily, as they would for many of the exiles. For example, he may well have thought about the early biblical exiles, such as Cain, who fled to the land of Nod, east of Eden,¹²³ and who went on, according to tradition, to become the founder of the city of Enoch,¹²⁴ and consequently the first city builder. Cain had found his punishment 'greater than he could bear',¹²⁵ but had nevertheless developed a positive and practical attitude to his changed circumstances, just as the Marian exiles would do in forming new communities in Germany. Norwood sees the land of Nod as 'a figure for the place of refuge to which a persecuted Jew or Christian flees, the foreign dwelling where he makes a new start in life or from which he plans an eventual return'.¹²⁶ Perhaps Foxe would be thinking of the Deuteronomic exile of the Hebrews and their leader Moses. In this case the trope of a wandering people in the desert with a leader would not apply. His extensive knowledge of classical literature would certainly remind him of some cases of individuals going into exile, such as Alcibiades and Cicero, who were forced to take refuge abroad by political circumstances. He will have thought

¹²² J. Wright, 'Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52 (2001), p. 228.

¹²³ *Genesis*, 4. 16. cf. F.A. Norwood, *Strangers and Exiles*, Vol. II. p. 478.

¹²⁴ *Genesis*, 4. 17.

¹²⁵ *Genesis*, 4.13.

¹²⁶ F.A. Norwood, *Strangers and Exiles*, Vol. I. p. 22.

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particularly about literary figures such as Cicero, who was exiled through the actions of his political enemy Clodius, fell into depression but was recalled,¹²⁷ about Ovid who was fated to be extremely lonely and miserable and never saw his homeland again,¹²⁸ and about Seneca, who spent the eight years of his exile in philosophical and natural study.¹²⁹

We shall never know fully why did Foxe decided to leave England when he did, about March 1554. Even in Latin he remained remarkably silent about it. It seems that he avoids saying anything about it at all, probably because it was such a sensitive subject. Certainly there is no mention of it in the *A&M*, although he does make some reference to the exiles in the fifth part of the 1563 edition:

It were to longe here to recite, how many other good men and women (beside this godly Sherife) in this tyme of Quene Mary, dyd flee ouer the sea, of whom som wer in Frāce, some in Germany, some at Emden, some at Geneua, some at Arowe, some at Zurike, other some at Basil, other at Strausborough, at Wormes, at Wynam castell, at Frankeford, at Dusbrough, at Wesell, in Saxonye, and other places about, the number of whom almost riseth to a thousand Exiles, whereof a great part was of studentes and learned mē, such as nowe be for the most part Byshops, Deanes, Archdeacons, or Ministers, rulynge and instructing the church of England. Such was the prouision of God, so mercyfullye then to prouide for the tymes to follow.¹³⁰

It is most likely that Foxe went into exile because he realised that, as the author of a number of reformist works and translations, he was in danger of arrest. As he had only recently married and his wife was expecting their first child, we can imagine his predominant thoughts were for his family. However, we do not know for certain what was going through his mind, since he tells us very little indeed about either the immediate circumstances or his own views on the merits of staying or leaving. There

¹²⁷ See Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, III, *passim*. Cicero was exiled for executing Roman citizens without trial at the time of the Catilinarian Conspiracy.

¹²⁸ Cf. especially Ovid, *Tristia*, 1. 3. and 4. 6., where he describes his feelings on being banished and his miserable state which could only be relieved by death, although his exile was a clear case of banishment for misdemeanours and falling foul of Augustus.

¹²⁹ Seneca wrote the *Consolationes* during his exile in Corsica between AD 41 and 49.

¹³⁰ *A&M* 1563, p. 1679.

are glimpses of the debate he must have had with himself in the later account by Simeon Foxe of his father's discussions with Thomas Howard and in the advice (admittedly somewhat muted) he offered to Peter Delaenus, who was facing a similar decision. This, however, is concerned with the practicalities of a dangerous situation and does not give an indication of his conscience with regard to the concept of flight. We should also consider to what extent Simeon's account may have been influenced by what his mother Agnes told him about the decision. As was noted above, she was pregnant with her first child, the elder of Simeon's two sisters. (Simeon and his elder brother Samuel were both born in England after the exile in 1568 and 1560 respectively.) Clearly Agnes was prepared to suffer some considerable discomfort and even danger to stay with her husband. It is more than likely that she will have acted as an apologist in recounting this episode in the family's history to her sons. Whatever Foxe's feelings may have been, and whether or not he was troubled by his conscience, there can be no doubt that he will have been profoundly shocked by the news of the burning of John Rogers in January 1555 and the steady stream of reports of similar horrific suffering on the part of many of his friends and acquaintances hundreds of miles away in England. I suggested earlier that it is my view that Foxe preferred to join his reformist colleagues on the continent and maintain their social and intellectual ties with the greater facility afforded by their proximity to each other in Europe. Nevertheless, there was a steady stream of correspondence from England which brought them news from their friends who had remained there. This wider network, involving very long and tiring journeys, did keep the exiles informed of developments back at home, as will be seen in the next three chapters.

Did Foxe feel guilty in making this decision? It certainly troubled the consciences of some of his contemporaries, including Thomas Bentham, who moved

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between Zurich, Frankfurt, Basel, Frankfurt (again) and Geneva before returning to London towards the end of Mary's reign, and who wrote in this vein to Thomas Lever in July 1558,¹³¹ and John Hooper, who had returned from an earlier period of exile in Germany to face martyrdom at the stake in 1555.¹³² Rowland Taylor is one who steadfastly refused to flee from his homeland, despite the fact that following his summons to Gardiner he was urged to do so by his friends, who reminded him of the words in *Matthew*, 10. 23: 'But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another'. Taylor, like others who remained, considered that he must stay with his flock as a good shepherd.¹³³ Foxe pulls no punches in reporting these acts of conscience on the part of martyrs, but again reveals nothing of his own feelings on the subject. One wonders to what extent he had discussed matters with those of his friends with whom he was ultimately to spend so much time in Basel, such as John Bale. Almost certainly, because of the different personal circumstances of Foxe's network of contacts, there was no planning or co-ordination of their journeys into exile. The route Foxe took (via Antwerp, Rotterdam, Frankfurt, Strassburg, back to Frankfurt and then to Basel) occupied some eighteen months and does not suggest a planned destination or the joining of a specific group of friends. However, once he had established himself in a new location, whether it was Strassburg, Frankfurt or Basel, as we shall see in the next chapter, the Latin letters began to be exchanged once more between Foxe and both his old friends, who were now scattered across Germany, Switzerland and the Low Countries, and the new friends he made across a wide area of Europe.

¹³¹ C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 87.

¹³² J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of It, and the Emergencies of the Church of England under K. Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen Mary the First* (Oxford: 1822), Vol. iii/2, p. 133. *A&M* 1877, VII, p. 40. cf. J. Wright, 'Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (2001), pp. 222 – 3.

¹³³ *A&M* 1877, VI, pp. 679 – 81. J. Wright, 'Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52 (2001), p. 224.

Conclusion

Foxe published only one work between the death of Edward VI on 6 July 1553 and his departure to the Continent by March 1554, and that was the *Address to the Nobles*. While it is not a major piece of historical research or a theological tract, such as forms the main thrust of Foxe's output as a Latin writer, the piece does already exhibit some of the characteristic features of his writing, such as has already been noted in his early writing discussed in the previous chapter with its Ciceronian echoes, yet at times un-Ciceronian usages, its rhetorical features and its frequent use of proverbial expressions, especially those to be found in Erasmus' *Adagia*. From the rhetorical language used in this address, we see how Foxe's understanding and use of Latin flows from this. His use of rhetoric was first noticed in the letter to Oglethorpe in Chapter One, then in the *Expostulatio* discussed in the first part of this chapter, and will soon be demonstrated to a far greater degree in the *Ad Inclytos* polemic of Chapter Four. Having finished this, his letter of resignation to England, Foxe and his wife – there may well have been others in his party, but we have no evidence for this – with the help of his patron, Thomas Howard, (future) duke of Norfolk, set sail for the Continent. Here he would find his skill in Latin would be of paramount importance, both in terms of every day life and communication and in terms of the literary contribution he would soon be making in one of the great centres of European humanism, Basel. He would also be entering a new and very different social and intellectual environment, which would bring him many new friends among the wider scholarly community, yet he would still retain contact with what remained of his London network.

CHAPTER THREE

Exile: the first major Latin work, the *Commentarii* of 1554

I wolde wyshe some lerned Englyshe manne, as there are now most excellent fresh wyttes, to set forth the Englyshe chronicles in theyr ryght shappe, as certen other landes hath done afore them, all affeccyons set a part.¹

Introduction

The purpose of Chapters Three, Four and Five is to demonstrate my third proposition, that Foxe's spoken and written Latin was the key to unlocking the distinctiveness of his experience during the exile, how it opened the door for him to a whole European humanist agenda in which he could be a full participant, rather than an observer on the fringe of Europe. The main focus of Chapter Three is upon the *Commentarii* (1554), Foxe's first Latin martyrology, and to show how it was significant in bringing him to the forefront of the Marian writers in exile. Consequently, this and the two succeeding chapters will underline further the first two thesis propositions, that Latin,

¹ J. Bale, *A Breve Chronicle Concerning the Examinacyon and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ Syr Johan Oldecastell the Lorde Cobham* (Antwerp, 1544) ESTC 1276, fol. 5v. This sentence was written by John Bale in 1544 during his first exile in the last years of the reign of Henry VIII, before he met John Foxe about four years later at one of the evangelical gatherings in Mountjoy House, the London residence of the Duchess of Richmond.

in which he was now highly skilled, was Foxe's natural language of thought, and that he built up a significant intellectual network of contacts with the Latin scholars of the day, wherever he lived, with whom he shared and developed his views on a variety of topics, including education, theology and ecclesiastical reform.

Foxe's arrival on the Continent: his first visits and contacts

The narrative of Foxe's departure from Ipswich some time in March 1554 is provided by his son Simeon in his biographical essay about his father appended to the 1641 edition of the *A&M*,² and uncritically reproduced in subsequent biographical notes by Townsend,³ Stoughton,⁴ Mozley⁵ and Wooden.⁶ Thomas Freeman refers to Simeon's version of events as containing 'colourful, if improbable, tales of Foxe narrowly escaping arrest before putting out to sea',⁷ but we have no way of knowing whether the details have been elaborated by Simeon. What is certain is that sometime between 31 January 1554, when Foxe wrote to Peter Delaenus, and 31 August of that year, when he dedicated the *Commentarii* to the Duke of Württemberg, Foxe crossed over to the Continent. This window can be narrowed down to a period between the writing of the 'Address to the Nobles', probably in early March, and the time of the Frankfurt Easter book fair (Easter Sunday was 25 March in 1554).⁸

We should now consider what happened to the circle of Foxe's contacts that he had established from his time in Oxford, and especially over the six years he had

² S. Foxe, 'The Life of Maister John Fox' In: *A&M 1641*.

³ G. Townsend, 'Life of John Foxe' [Revised by Josiah Pratt] in *A&M 1870*, pp. 3 – 96.

⁴ J. Stoughton, 'Life of John Foxe', in *A&M 1877*, pp. 3 – 62.

⁵ *Mozley*, pp. 38ff.

⁶ W.W. Wooden, *John Foxe* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), pp. 1-16.

⁷ T.S. Freeman, 'John Foxe (1516/17–1587)' in the *ODNB*.

⁸ See <http://users.chariot.net.au/~gmarts/eastnet.htm> for ways of calculating the dates of Easter Sunday.

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spent in London, when he arrived on the Continent. The evidence for this comes from his own letters (and they were all in Latin) and the research that has been carried out by historians who have compiled data on the Marian martyrs. It is only chance and good fortune which have preserved Foxe's Latin letters.⁹ The surviving Latin letters written by Foxe during his exile can be found in the Harleian collection in the British Library,¹⁰ as well as in a number of collections in the Parker Society volumes.¹¹ In addition, there are a number of individual letters which have been discovered since the main collections of Foxe's papers were archived.¹² Some of them are in Foxe's own hand (for example the Magdalen correspondence), others are copies in another hand and occasionally containing obvious scribal errors, but none of these is of a serious nature.¹³ These letters emphasise the importance to Foxe of maintaining his communications with fellow continental scholars by means of the written word in Latin. He was quite used to using this medium back in England, as we have seen, so there was no problem for him in continuing this. The difference was that he was now obliged to do this in Latin, since he had command of no other European languages and, no doubt, the majority of his correspondents had the same problem with regard to English. In terms of specialised research on the Marian martyrs, I have relied very much on the work of Christina Garrett, whose 1938 volume,¹⁴ although containing

⁹ The correspondence already examined is made up of the group of letters preserved in BL Lansdowne MS 388, dating to 1545/6 during his time at Magdalen College (including the manuscript of *Titus and Gesippus*), and two letters from his first London residence – that to William Cecil in 1552, also in the British Library (BL Additional MS 34727, West Papers Vol. I, fol. 2.), and the one to Peter Delaenus preserved in a collection of Dutch archives (J.H. Hessels, (ed.) *Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archivum* vol. II, p. 38).

¹⁰ BL Harleian MSS 416 and 417.

¹¹ *Original Letters*, Vols. 1 and 2; *Zurich Letters*.

¹² *Appendix I*, Nos. 16, 17 and 35.

¹³ See *Appendix I*, where, for example, in No. 23 *alios* is written instead of *alias*, in No. 30 *indicare* is written instead of *iudicare* and in No. 36 *sommum* is written instead of *somnum*.

¹⁴ C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938).

many inaccuracies,¹⁵ has been extremely valuable in this respect. The revised on-line version of the *ODNB* has assisted in correcting some of Garrett's details, especially on dates and other biographical details, and other sources are noted separately.

From these sources it has been possible to construct a picture, admittedly distorted by the ephemeral nature of the evidence, of the whereabouts of Foxe's erstwhile English contacts from March 1554. As we have already seen (page 89), back home in England Ridley, Latimer and Hooper had been imprisoned, the Duchess of Richmond had left court (and probably London), the Berties were having to take great care in the face of pressure to acknowledge the new Queen's catholic faith and William Cecil had retired from office, dividing his time between representing his Lincolnshire seat in parliament and looking after his estate in the same county.¹⁶ Andrew Pettegree has shown how William Cecil, Nicholas Bacon and others who had embraced the new reformed religion, did not themselves seek refuge in exile, but chose to remain in England and, in the case of Cecil at least, manage to survive, even if they lost their Edwardian posts in the new administration.¹⁷

The exiles of 1554 – 5 in Foxe's 'address-book' in fact had a variety of destinations. I have prepared a table, printed as *Appendix II*, showing the destinations of all of Foxe's contacts, including both those mentioned by him in his letters or with whom we know he corresponded, or who moved in same Protestant circles as he

¹⁵ Some of these were noted in Mozley's book, which appeared a year later in 1940.

¹⁶ S. Alford, *The Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis: 1558-1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 26.

¹⁷ A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), p. 103.

did.¹⁸ On reaching the coast of Europe, some headed for Frankfurt,¹⁹ some for Strassburg,²⁰ some for Zurich,²¹ and some for Wesel.²² Among those who initially settled in Strassburg were Edmund Grindal, the future Elizabethan Bishop of London and subsequently Archbishop of York and then Canterbury, who was eventually to coordinate the compilation of materials for both the Latin and English martyrologies prepared by Foxe in Basel and the other exiles in Strassburg. Also there was Sir John Cheke, the great classical scholar and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, with whom Foxe had corresponded from university days.

Foxe landed at Newport some time late in March 1554.²³ He then made his way, via Antwerp, to Rotterdam. He had a particular reason for visiting this town: it was the birthplace of Erasmus, whom Foxe greatly admired and, as we have seen, whose educational works, and especially the *Adagia*, he used as a source of Latin and Greek quotations, in both his literary and epistolary work.²⁴ Within a short time Foxe was in Frankfurt, in time for the Easter book fair where he met the printer Hieronymus Froben, who, with his partner Nicolaus Episcopius, had printed much of Erasmus's work. Foxe reminds Froben in September 1555 of this occasion in a letter

¹⁸ There are sections for each of what I have termed 'environmental periods': Oxford; London; Basel; and again London.

¹⁹ John Knox, William Whittingham, Antony Gilby and John Bale.

²⁰ Sir John Cheke, Thomas Lever, Edmund Grindal, James Haddon, and John Aylmer.

²¹ Thomas Bentham, Laurence Humphrey, Edward Frencham and James Pilkington.

²² The Duchess of Suffolk and her retinue, later to be joined by her husband, Richard Bertie, together with up to a hundred others, although this was a relatively short-lived home for them, the Berties moving on to Poland and the majority on to Arrau, where they had joined Thomas Lever by 1557. See C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 50 – 51.

²³ Mozley, p. 41.

²⁴ See Chapter One, pp. 35ff. Foxe had come under the influence of Erasmian ideas from his time at Oxford, which, through the patronage of humanists by Henry VIII, had developed a climate for promoting Christian humanism. The curriculum of the universities, both on the Continent and in England, encouraged its students to delve into literary, historical and philosophical, as well as theological, studies. This is very apparent, as we have seen earlier, in Foxe's many references to the Graeco – Roman world and its literature.

written from Basel,²⁵ in which he tells Froben that, prior to their meeting in Frankfurt, *ex Anglia nuper proficiscens, iter primum per Roterodamum deflexi, aedes cubiculumque in quo natus est* ('on setting out from England recently, I directed my journey first by way of Rotterdam, exploring the building and room in which he was born'). Foxe then refers to the fact that on reaching Frankfurt and discovering Froben was there, *e uestigio avidissime aduolavi, multa tecum (ut scis) sermocinans de Erasmo* ('I very eagerly flew to you at once, conversing a great deal with you (as you know) about Erasmus'). So we may be quite sure that a visit to Erasmus's birthplace, followed by an opportune meeting with the great man's printer, was of enormous importance for Foxe in forging an intellectual link with his scholarship back in England. This is an early demonstration of my third proposition, that his spoken and written Latin was the key to understanding the distinctiveness of his exile. Here in Frankfurt, undoubtedly conversing in Latin, their mutual language of scholarship, it is more than likely that Foxe will have sought advice on getting his manuscript *Commentarii* printed – and who better to consult than the printer of Erasmus.

Obviously this is speculation, but shortly after this meeting with Froben, Foxe arrived in Strassburg, where many of the English exiles had been gathering, including John Cheke (14 April),²⁶ Thomas Lever (on or before 24 February), Edmund Grindal (probably with Cheke on 14 April), James Haddon (9 July) and John Aylmer.²⁷ Foxe will therefore have spent the months from April to August correcting his manuscript and liaising with Wendelin Rihelius, a young Strassburg printer of Protestant

²⁵ Appendix I, No. 24. See pp. 140 – 143 for a discussion of this letter.

²⁶ These and the following dates are taken from Garrett's 'Census of Exiles', in C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 63-349.

²⁷ There is some uncertainty as to whether Haddon or Aylmer published a letter of Lady Jane Grey in Strassburg. It is equally unclear when Aylmer arrived there.

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literature.²⁸ Whether or not Foxe and his colleagues already knew of Rihelius, we cannot be sure, but there are a number of books he printed in the British Library, and recently two were discovered in the library at Belton House in Lincolnshire, including one previously unknown Latin grammar, with no author's name, entitled *Educationis puerilis pars tertia* ('The third part of a boy's education') and would seem to have been a Latin text book for schoolboys, produced in Strassburg in 1550.²⁹ Foxe wrote his own *Tables of Grammar* two years later. It is just conceivable, in view of his interest in Latin grammar for schoolboys, that he may have known of this particular publisher before reaching Strassburg.

The *Commentarii*

Despite the scant notice Foxe and others gave to the *Commentarii* in later years (see Mozley's comment below), it was of great importance at the time for Foxe, because it presented his protestant humanist credentials to a wider European audience and earned him great respect among his fellow exiles. This was also the opening of the door to that wider scholarly community, referred to in my third proposition. The *Commentarii* was printed by in Strassburg by Rihelius, with a dedication to Duke Christopher of Württemberg dated 31 August 1554.³⁰ It consists of 212 octavo folios and probably owes its genesis to the meeting in London about 1548 between John

²⁸ Rihelius published two of John Calvin's Pauline commentaries in Strassburg, *Commentarius in Romanos* in 1540 and on *Commentarii in priorem Corinthios* in 1546. See D.K. McKim, *Calvin and the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 226-8.

²⁹ I am grateful to Peter Hoare, formerly University Librarian at Nottingham, for this information.

³⁰ Its full title is J. Foxe, *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum, maximarumque, per totam Europam persecutionum, a Vuiclevi temporibus ad hanc usque aetatem descriptio. Liber primus* (Strassburg: Rihelius, 1554).

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Bale and John Foxe,³¹ when Bale, the former Carmelite friar, now a polemical preacher, writer of plays and forerunner of the compilers of biographical dictionaries, encouraged his young new friend to write a Latin martyrology. Bale had himself already written accounts of the martyrdoms of both Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) in 1544³² and Anne Askew which he had recently published in Wesel in 1546,³³ but it is very clear from the passage quoted at the start of this chapter that Bale was looking for what Evenden and Freeman call ‘an elegant Latin stylist, who had mastered the devices of classical rhetoric’.³⁴ Bale obviously realised that, although he had a competency in Latin, it was very important that this martyrology should counter the ‘Romyshe lyes and other Italshe beggerye’ of Polydore Vergil,³⁵ the author of the *Anglica historia*,³⁶ which had incurred the hostility of both Leland and Bale. However, despite their hostility to Vergil, Leland and Bale were well aware of his ‘classical learning and elegant Latin style of his work’.³⁷ Foxe later referred to the time that he and Bale were together in the 1570 edition of the *A&M*, when he said, in reference to a book of John Leland entitled *De Catalogo Virorum Illustrium*:³⁸

whyche booke being borrowed of maister Cheke, I my selfe dyd see in the handes of the foresayd Iohn Bale, what tyme we were both together, dwelling in the house of the noble Lady Duches of Rychmond.³⁹

³¹ L.P. Fairfield, *John Bale*, p. 136; W.W. Wooden, *John Foxe*, pp. 4, 18. Cf. E. Evenden & T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: the Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008 forthcoming), p. 8.

³² J. Bale, *A Breve Chronycle Concernynge the Examinacyon and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ Syr Johan Oldecastell the Lorde Cobham* (Antwerp, 1544).

³³ J. Bale, *The first examinatyon of Anne Askewe, latelye martyred in Smythfelde, by the Romyshe popes vpholders, with the Elucydacyon of Johan Bale* (Wesel: van der Straten, 1546).

³⁴ E. Evenden & T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p. 21.

³⁵ P. Parker, ‘Hysteron, proteron: or the preposterous’ In: S. Adamson, G. Alexander & K. Ettenhuber, *Renaissance Figures of Speech* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 143.

³⁶ P. Vergil, *Polydori Vergilii Urbinitis Anglicae Historiae libri viginti septem. Ab ipso amussim, salua tamen historiae autore postremum iam recogniti, ad veritate, expoliti* (Basel: Mich. Isingrinum, 1555).

³⁷ E. Evenden & T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p. 22.

³⁸ I have been unable to trace this title in the British Library, Bodleian Library or Cambridge University Library catalogues. It is also not in EEBO or ESTC. Presumably there are no copies extant.

³⁹ *A&M* 1570, p. 830.

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Bale was using Leland's book for compiling his biographical dictionary, and it has been suggested by Evenden and Freeman that Bale loaned what was in fact the most important of the two main sources for the *Commentarii*, a manuscript known as the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*,⁴⁰ to Foxe, together with other notebooks, and that this manuscript, rather than being lost in Ireland with the rest of Bale's library,⁴¹ either remained in Foxe's hands thereafter, or was passed to him by another scholar to whom Bale may have bequeathed it, such as Matthew Parker.⁴²

Although Foxe had soon moved, perhaps by 1549, to Reigate with the Duchess of Richmond and his young pupils, he was to meet up with Bale again in exile in Basel and indeed to share accommodation with him during 1556 – 9 in the Klarakloster, an old convent converted into lodgings for the English exiles. No doubt this second and longer period of association with Bale influenced Foxe's preparation of what was to become the *Rerum* in 1559, but some of the apocalyptic thought and Millenarianism, no doubt resulting from Bale's influence, are already present in the 1554 volume.⁴³

⁴⁰ See Anon., *Fasciculi Zizaniorum magistri Johannis Wyclif cum tritico* ascribed to Thomas Netter of Walden (c. 1375 – 1430), Shirley, W.W., (ed.), Rolls Series (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858).

⁴¹ For Bale's Irish library see H. McCusker, *John Bale: Dramatist and Antiquary* (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr, 1942), pp. 29 – 54. Bale never had his books and manuscripts returned from Ireland. Cf. J.N. King, 'Bale, John (1495–1563)', [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

⁴² E. Evenden & T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p. 13.

⁴³ E.g. in the opening section of the *Commentarii*, fo. 9v. cf. V.N. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*, p. 22 on the millenarianism of the early protestant reformers, and p. 36 on Foxe's apocalypticism.

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The other main source for the *Commentarii* was Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, covering English history from 1272 to 1422.⁴⁴ From detailed comparisons of the different manuscripts of this work, Foxe clearly used the *College of Arms* MS, Arundel 7, as Evenden and Freeman's detailed note explains.⁴⁵ Other sources used by Foxe were Reginald Peacock's *The Book of Signs* and *Book of Faith*, neither of which was known by Bale (who cites Foxe as the source for Peacock in his *Catalogus*).⁴⁶ Several copies of the *Commentarii* survive.⁴⁷ Mozley is almost dismissive of this volume when he says: 'So slight is it that neither Foxe nor Simeon nor Richard Day reckons it as the first edition, but reserve that honour for the 1559 book'. He goes on to say that 'it can have enjoyed no wide sale; for in 1564 the sheets were reissued by Josias Rihelius with a reprinted dedication and a slightly changed title, *Chronicon ecclesiae*'.⁴⁸

The importance of the *Commentarii* as Foxe's first major work in Latin should not be underestimated. This book was 'incorporated' in the 700+ pages of the *Rerum* of 1559 and to a large degree it has been studied in retrospect from the vantage point of the English first edition of the *A&M*. Its content (as part of the *Rerum*) has been noted and has been related (e.g. by Thomas Freeman) to the much expanded

⁴⁴ Walsingham, T., *Historia Anglicana*, H.T. Riley (ed.) (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1862-1864)

⁴⁵ E. Evenden & T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, pp. 16 – 17.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 19 – 20.

⁴⁷ Copies can be found in the British Library in London, the Bodleian and Brasenose College Libraries in Oxford, Cambridge University Library, St. Andrews University Library, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Communauté d'agglomération de Colmar, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in Europe, and in Harvard, Yale and Ohio University Libraries in the United States. Cf. A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, p. 184.

⁴⁸ Mozley, p. 119. It was common practice to re-package a book that did not sell. We can only speculate on how wide a sale the 1554 book achieved, since we have no idea of the size of the print run, but the fact that it was reissued at all is the important point. Since this was a short time after the printing of the 1563 *A&M* and the simultaneous publication of Heinrich Pantaleon's continuation of the 1559 *Rerum* (see note 44 for its title), it may well be the case that Rihelius saw an opportunity to 'cash in' on Foxe's success by using up the spare sheets for the *Commentarii* in the hope that this reissue of a smaller Latin book on a popular topic would sell well.

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martyrologies published in English from 1563, especially with regard to source material.⁴⁹ But the *Commentarii* should be considered as an integral Latin work, which made Foxe's reputation with continental scholars. It must be realised that, whatever Foxe himself and others may have thought about the *Commentarii* later, in September 1554 it was his first major publication and he lost no time in publicising his efforts within Continental circles, using his new and growing network of contacts.

Foxe had probably started writing the *Commentarii* about 1552, his plan being to produce a work in two volumes, the first detailing the history of the English Lollards from 1375 – 1500, beginning with Wycliffe, and the second to include the period from the appearance of Luther down to the present day.⁵⁰ In the event, only the first volume was published, as after the publication of this Foxe was drawn first into the difficult and time-consuming quarrels in Frankfurt and then into other projects, such as the translation into Latin of Cranmer's second book on the Eucharist.⁵¹

In order to approach the Latinity of the *Commentarii*, we need to understand the circumstances in which it was written. In examining the main text, we have the good fortune to have a preliminary version in manuscript, containing corrections incorporated into the printed version.⁵² The importance of this manuscript for our purposes is evident. It contains numerous revisions which give us an insight into

⁴⁹ E.g. the later editions of Jean Crespin's martyrology, *Histoire des martyrs* (Geneva: ?, 1554–1567). Cf. T.S. Freeman, 'Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)' in *ODNB*. Crespin's first edition was translated from his French original by C. Baduel as *Acta martyrum, eorum videlicet, qui hoc seculo in Gallia, Germania, Anglia, Flandria, Italia, constans dederunt nomen Euangelio, idque sanguine suo obsignarunt: ab Wicleffo & Husso* (Geneva: 1556).

⁵⁰ This second part was eventually published by Heinrich Pantaleon in 1563 as *Martyrum Historia . . . Secunda Pars* (Basel: Brylinger 1563). See the Bibliography for the full title.

⁵¹ See Chapter Four, pages 168 – 173.

⁵² BL Lansdowne MS 335.

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Foxe's method of composition into Latin and particularly his constant inclination to revise initial thoughts in the way he expresses himself in the Latin. A complete study of the manuscript is well beyond the scope of this thesis, but a comparison of the opening paragraph of both versions, will illustrate the point (see also the revisions in the original dedication discussed below), the translation of which appears at the start of the first passage from the *Commentarii*, printed in the *Appendix*, No. 19.

Manuscript version

Etsi ante Wicleui tempora cō [. . .] nonnullos
[extitisse *inserted above*] qui in eadem re[.] fuerunt
in eastigandis seculi errorib[us] qua wicleuus noster
quos continuis temporibus spiritus sanctus excita[re]
in ecclesiis ad traducendos quotidie inualescentes
seculi errores, in qu[o] numero censentur(?) apud
[in *inserted above*] historiam monumentis
Berengarius tempore henrici 3 imperatoris, [. . .] an.
1059 [et I. Scotus *inserted above*] qui [.]
corpus et sanguine christi non nisi figuratiue(?)
inesse(?) sacramento. Bruno Andegauensis Okleus
secund(?) [Valdenses *inserted above*] Marsilius de
padua, Ioann[es?] de Gandino, okhamus cum
quibusdam eius scholae aliis tamen cum hi uel
pauc[i] uel obscuri sunt, nos(?) a wicleiuo histor[ia]e
narrationem deducemus a eius(?) exordiis [quo
inserted above] prima hœe exordia caepisse uidentur
uniuersum hoc persecutio[nis] incendium.

Printed version

Etsi ante Vuicleui tempora nonnullos extitisse
constat qui in eadem, in qua Vuicleuus noster, causa
palaestraque elaborarunt, quos continuis temporibus
spiritus sanctus nunquam excitare destitit in
Ecclesiis, ad traducendos quotidie inualescentes
seculi errores, in qua farragine censentur in
historiarum monumentis Berengarius sub Henrico 3.
imperatore, an. 1051. et I. Scotus qui corporis et
sanguinis ueritatem auferebat Sacramento, Bruno
Andegauensis, Okleus secundus, Valdenses,
Marsilius de Padua. Ioannes de Gandino,
Okchamus, cum quibusdam eius scholae aliis:
tamen cum hi uel non ita multi, uel sane obscuri
sint: nos a Vuicleuo historiae narrationem
deducemus: a quo prima c[o]episse exordia uidetur
uniuersum hoc persecutionis incendium.

As can be seen from a careful analysis of the changes made in the manuscript, Foxe re-read what he had written and frequently 'improved' his word order or choice of language to greater effect. For example, he decided to delay the impersonal verb *constat* in the first sentence until after the indirect statement in *nonnullos extitisse*, which he had now created with the insertion of *extitisse*, and he changed *fuerunt* to the more interesting *elaborarunt*, to emphasise the hard work which had been put in. He then replaced the straightforward phrase *quo numero* 'in which number' with the more rhetorically effective *qua faragine* 'in which hotchpotch/inferior mixed grains', thus casting a disparaging comment on the abilities of the writers before Wyclife. He

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had also deleted the words *castigandis seculi erroribus* earlier in the sentence, where they were associated with the earlier writers, to allow the *seculi errores* to be construed with *ad traducendos* and, more importantly, to have Wycliffe himself as directly responsible for this action, rather than the earlier writers. Finally of note in this paragraph is the change to the reference to Berengarius and Scotus, from saying of Christ's body and blood that *non nisi figuratiue inesse sacramento* ('they are not present in the sacrament except figuratively') to them saying that they [gramatically only Scotus, but in sense both Berengarius and Scotus] *corporis et sanguinis ueritatem auferebat Sacramento* ('took away the truth of the body and blood from the sacrament'). What Foxe is saying here is that the writers he mentions misunderstand the true meaning of the sacrament. They see it as the body and blood, but Foxe spells out the truth of the sacrament by inserting *ueritatem* ('truth') and so strengthening his argument still further in the printed version over what he had originally written in the manuscript version.

A second passage from the early pages of the *Commentarii* can also be compared in the two versions. This is interesting in that, aside from the corrections made to the manuscript which were subsequently incorporated in the printed version, as in the previous extract, there are several places where changes were made in the printed version to what would seem to have been the accepted version of the manuscript.

Manuscript version

Hinc tot uestiendi formae, tot [colorum ac *inserted over* ~~læorum-þ~~] ciborum discrimina, tot locorum peregrinationes, quasi id ~~age~~ [. . .] agere potuit [Iacobus *inserted over* compostellae], quod [. . .] non christus posset cantuariae. aut non idem esset deus ubique efficax, aut nisi pedibus quesitus inueniri haud poterat. Sic totius anni religio fere in

Printed version

Hinc tot uestiendi formae, tot colorum ac ciborum discrimina, tot locorum peregrinationes, quasi id agere Iacobus potuit Compostellae, quod non Christus posset Cantuariae, aut non idem esset Deus ubique efficax, aut nisi pedibus quaesitus inueniri haud poterat. Sic totius anni sanctimonia fere in quadragesimam transferebatur. Nulla terra sancta

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quadragesimam transferebatur. Nulla terra sancta erat nisi palestina quam ~~calcauit christus~~ corporeis uestigiis calcauit christus. Pro cruce lignea Hierosolimitana non [secus *inserted over aliter*] ac pro [. . .] unica [si . . . ti *inserted over 3 deleted words*] [*arca above arce – are both of these alternatives written above materia?*] maximaque nostrae fidei materia pugnabatur ab omnibus. Haec quantas turbas quantas tragedias ciebat apud [*line inserted: operae pretium fuerit – space – difficile d-* . . .] omnes ditiones christianas. Haec omnes [*line inserted: antiqua historiarum monumenta perlegere* . . .] [*deleted line*] tenuit.

erat nisi Palestina, quam corporeis uestigiis calcauit Christus. Pro cruce Hierosolimitana, non secus ac pro unica maximaque fidei nostrae arce pugnabatur ab omnibus. Haec quantas turbas, quantas tragoedias ciebat apud omnes Christianae Reip. ditiones, operae pretium fuerit relicta superiorum temporum monumenta perlegere.

Again, Foxe seemed to be concerned with word order and rhythm while actually writing in manuscript. He changed his mind over the order of the phrases *tot locorum peregrinationes* and *tot colorum ac ciborum discrimina* by switching them round – possibly preferring the correct alphabetical order of the initial letters ‘c’, ‘c’, ‘d’ followed by ‘l’, ‘p’; he decided to add Compostella’s first name, James; he moved the phrase *calcauit Christus* to the end of its sentence, presumably for greater emphasis; he preferred, on second thoughts, *non secus ac* to *non aliter ac*; he appeared to have considered three possible alternatives – *arce*, *arca* and *materia* – without indicating the final choice (*materia*) in the manuscript. The changes in the printed version which do not appear as corrections in the manuscript included the omission of *lignea*, in describing the *cruce Hierosolimitana*, the substitution of *sanctimonia* for *religio* in the phrase *totius anni sanctimonia* and, finally, he seems to have preferred the rhythm and/or the sound of *relicta superiorum temporum monumenta perlegere* over *antiqua historiarum monumenta perlegere*.

These revisions emphasise how Foxe was constantly correcting himself and improving his mode of expression. Also, whereas English prose so often contains ambiguities, Latin prose with its precise inflections does not – hence its use over so many centuries in legal documents, such as wills, deeds and charters. From the two

passages quoted above it is clear that there were two stages in the composition process: Foxe's corrections to his own manuscript and then corrections from this in the printed version. With regard to the former, one can almost hear him saying, 'I can put this better'. He is showing that he is a born corrector, demonstrating how useful he would prove to be in Oporinus's printing business in Basel: this would stand him in good stead in his future proof reading work back in London with John Day.⁵³ In considering the point that the precision of the Latin language means that a Latin text is invariably shorter than its English equivalent, it could be asked whether Foxe had an eye on savings in printing costs. However, the prolix style of his prose composition would suggest that this was not the case. Nevertheless, since precision is a virtue in Latin composition, it is very likely that Foxe was aiming for this and his consciousness of Latin word order shows his epideictic concerns for the style of his Latin writing.

To sample a passage of reasonable length from this work for preliminary examination of Foxe's Latin prose composition, there follow three passages taken from the *Commentarii* in what is intended to be representative of Foxe's narrative: that is his own composition directly into Latin, rather than material borrowed from another Latin writer or copies of official documents, such as letters. The first of these 'case studies' is that which immediately follows the dedication, together with a parallel translation into English – but in today's English language and style, rather than the Tudor English found in the vernacular editions of the *A&M*, to make it more intelligible to the modern reader. The paragraph divisions are the present writer's.

⁵³ Cf. J. Roberts and E. Evenden, *Bibliographical Aspects of the Acts and Monuments* [online] from hriOnline (2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/foxe/apparatus/introessays.html> where there is a detailed analysis of the progress of the *Acts and Monuments* through Day's press and evidence for Foxe's close involvement in the printing process, especially in the case of the extensively revised 1570 edition.

1. *Commentarii*, 1554, Book I (see *Appendix I*, No. 19 for the text)

This passage, taken from the first ten folios of the *Commentarii*, contains some eight or nine classical allusions (or cross references from the *Adagia* of Erasmus), four biblical allusions, eight proverbial sayings (including six from the *Adagia*), a medical allusion, a number of rhetorical tropes, six Latinised Greek words, possibly two words coined by Foxe and one very definite pun.

In the second line of Section 1 the word *palaestra*, used of Wycliffe's 'struggle' against the 'errors of the day', recalls the Roman *palaestra* which had not only the usual everyday meaning of 'exercise ground' for the citizen visiting the baths and about to work out with a little wrestling or discus throwing, but also the meanings of 'school of rhetoric' or 'an art or skill'.⁵⁴ Not only was Wycliffe engaging in a struggle with the church authorities but he was skilled in the art of rhetoric. In the expression *in qua farragine*, also in the same section, meaning 'in this varied collection of people', the word *farrago* has an original meaning of 'mixed fodder for cattle, mash'⁵⁵ and the Roman poet Juvenal used it to describe the mixture of material contained within his *Satires*.⁵⁶ The term is now used by Foxe to describe the motley collection of writers preceding his current time. Section 2 starts by saying that Wycliffe 'leapt on to the arena' (*in harenam prosiliit*) which looks as though it ought to have come from some account of a gladiatorial combat in the *ludi circenses* or a description of a scene from the Roman theatre, but for which a search of Latin literature has revealed nothing – possibly Foxe has coined this most apposite clause.

Another classical allusion can be seen in Section 6, where the word *phalarismum*

⁵⁴ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1. 18. 81; *Ad Atticum*, 5. 13. 1.

⁵⁵ Varro, *De Re Rustica*, 1. 31. 5; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 18. 16. 41. §142.

⁵⁶ Juvenal, *Satires*, 1, 86.

alludes to Phalaris, who was tyrant of Agrigentum, so the word has connotations of tyranny and it is indeed this term which finds its way into the English of the 1563 *A&M*.⁵⁷ The use of the classical *fulmen* ('thunderbolt' – used of Jupiter's weapon of punishment) in Section 16 is interesting: it is a way of referring to decretals that became common in the later sixteenth century.⁵⁸

Section 3 gives us the first of the Biblical allusions in *quasi stella matutina erat in medio nebulae, et quasi luna plena in diebus suis et quasi sol refulgens effulsit in templo Dei* ('Just as the morning star was in the middle of the cloud, just as the moon was full in her days and just as the glittering sun, so he shone in the temple of God') which is a quotation from the *Apocrypha*.⁵⁹ Foxe is comparing his vivid description of Wycliffe with that of Simon son of Onias as given in these two verses by Ecclesiasticus. This is quickly followed at the start of Section 4 with another Biblical allusion, this time from the *Book of Psalms*, in *Deus, semper adiutor in opportunitate, iuxta psalmi uaticinium* which is clearly a reference to *Deus noster refugium et virtus adiutor in tribulationibus*, but with *opportunitate* instead of *tribulationibus*.⁶⁰

Just before the last sentence in Section 4 Foxe alludes to the first of several proverbial sayings from the *Adagia* of Erasmus in this opening passage from the *Commentarii* with *ceu cardine* ('like a hinge') which is almost certainly a reference to

⁵⁷ Cf. Section 6 of the extract from the *Commentarii* on a denunciation of the execution of heretics, quoted below.

⁵⁸ E.g. the famous pamphlet by François Hotman, Professor of Greek at Basel, which deals with the excommunication of Henry of Navarre. See F.P. Hotman, *P. Sixti V. Fulmen Brutum in Henricum sereniss. Regem Navarræ, & illustriss. Henricum Borbonium, principem olim Condæum, evibratum. Cujus multiplex nullitas ex protestatione patet* (Basel, 1585).

⁵⁹ Vulgate, *Ben Sirah* (=Ecclesiasticus) 50. 6–7.

⁶⁰ Vulgate, *Psalms*, 46 (45), v1.

res est in cardine ('the matter is on the hinge').⁶¹ The next allusion is the use of the expression *laqueis . . . pedicis* ('snares . . . fetters') at the start of Section 7. While *laqueus* itself occurs in no fewer than ten entries in the *Adagia*,⁶² it is on none of those occasions used with *pedicus*. However, the two words do appear together in a passage describing hunting with nets in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,⁶³ and it is highly probable that Foxe had this passage in mind. The remaining six quotations from the *Adagia* come close together in the last three sections: in Section 15 the reference to *camerinam* (which appears to have been translated as 'meddling' in the 1563 version of the *A&M*) is interesting. Foxe again uses this word (but this time with a capital letter) in his tract *Ad Inclytos*, discussed in the next chapter, where it is clear that the reference is to the city of Camarina,⁶⁴ which is described as being 'already troubled more than enough'⁶⁵. Although the inhabitants were advised by an oracle of Apollo against draining the nearby lake of the same name, they attempted to do so and this only resulted in a plague. Hence the proverbial saying found in Erasmus' *Adagia*, namely *Camarinam movere* ('to move Camarina') which expresses the idea of bringing trouble on oneself.⁶⁶ Then there is *sicut ille e cauda equina pilos euulsit* ('just as that man pulled out the hairs from the horse's tail'), which refers to Erasmus's *caudae pilos equinae paulatim vellere*⁶⁷ ('gradually to pluck the hairs from a horse's tail') – Foxe even manages to work the *paulatim* into the previous clause. Next comes *hoc ulcus tangi sine magno orbis dolore nequibat* ('this sore could not be touched without great pain to the world') in Section 16. Erasmus has *tangere ulcus*

⁶¹ Erasmus, *Adagia* I. i. 19.

⁶² I. i. 53, I. x. 5, I. x. 16, I. x. 17, I. x. 31, II. iv. 67, II. v. 22, III. iii. 20, IV. ii. 31 and IV. v. 32.

⁶³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15. 473: *retia cum pedicis laqueosque artesque dolosas tollite!*

⁶⁴ Dating from around 552 BC, it was destroyed by the Syracusans and then rebuilt by Hipponous.

⁶⁵ Foxe, *Ad Inclytos*, 1557, 54: *Camarinam, iam plus satis perturbatam*, but not included in the sections discussed in this thesis.

⁶⁶ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. i. 64. cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, iii. 700-1.

⁶⁷ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. viii. 95.

(‘to touch a sore’),⁶⁸ presumably quoting Terence, who has a line *quid minus utibile fuit quam hoc ulcus tangere aut nominare uxorem?* (‘What is less useful than touching this sore or naming a wife?’). Also in Section 16 is *ceu crabrones aculeatis morsibus* (‘like hornets with their stinging bites’) which presumably relates to *irritare crabrones* in the *Adagia*, but particularly relates to a passage about the use of cress as being *efficax adversus aculeata animalia, ut crabrones et similia* (‘efficacious for animal stings, as in hornets and similar creatures’) in the Elder Pliny’s *Natural History*,⁶⁹ which may well have been more in Foxe’s mind. Reference has already been made in Chapter 2 to Foxe’s use of the term *amussis* (‘a carpenter’s rule, line or level’) at the end of the *Address to the Nobles*. He uses it again here in Section 17, where I have this time translated it as ‘yardstick’. Finally in *veritas . . . magnum odium conciliauit* in Section 18 we have an allusion to the *obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit* (‘compliance gains you friends, but the truth gains you hatred’) of Erasmus,⁷⁰ which is taken directly from a passage in Cicero, who is himself quoting the comic playwright Terence.⁷¹

Section 4 provides us with a medical allusion of the kind that was popular in Tudor writings. Foxe’s use of *lethargus* (‘lethargy’) here is reflected in a number of his other works at which we shall be looking, notably the *Gratulatio*.⁷² This term is found in Celsus and Horace,⁷³ but Pliny uses it in conjunction with *uergentes* (‘declining’),⁷⁴ so it is quite likely that Foxe is thinking of this passage.

⁶⁸ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. vi. 79.

⁶⁹ Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 20. 247.

⁷⁰ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. ix. 53.

⁷¹ Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 89. 3. Terence, *Andria*, 68: *obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*.

⁷² See Chapter Five.

⁷³ Celsus, 3. 20; Horace, *Satires*, 2. 3. 145.

⁷⁴ Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 32. 10. 38. §116.

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We can now examine a number of rhetorical tropes. In two passages where Foxe uses repetition for effect, we find first in Section 4 eight instances of the preposition *de* ('about'), referring to a list of important issues for Christians, leading to the highly effective statement at the conclusion of the section: *nulla tradebatur mentio* ('no mention was made'). The second example of repetition comes at the start of Section 15 where three instances of *tot* ('so many') in three short phrases, each containing an ablative plural ending in *-is* emphasise the widespread adulteration of theology in Oxford. Two cases of alliteration and assonance are also to be found in this passage. The first, early in Section 14, *princeps principi, ita pontifex pontifici* has the assonance of the final syllable in *princeps* and *pontifex*, and also in *principi* and *pontifici*, as well as the alliteration of the initial 'p' in all four words. The second instance is to be found within one of the passages already cited for the repetition of *tot*, namely Section 15, where we have the phrase *diu apud se deliberans ac deplorans*, which exhibits assonance in the first and last syllables of *deliberans* and *deplorans*, as well as alliteration in their initial consonants. It may well be that we can include the initial letter of *diu* and the assonance of *se* which immediately precede this phrase.

Turning to rare words or meanings, two Greek words transliterated into Latin occur in Section 2: *diatribis* (from διατριβή, a 'learned discussion') and *antagonistae* (from ἀνταγωνιστής, 'an adversary, opponent or antagonist'). An unusual word *crassitiem* ('mist, fog') occurs in Section 11. It appears only to occur in the

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Metamorphoses of Apuleius,⁷⁵ a philosopher who wrote in the mid-second century A.D.

Two more words call for some comment: *neotericos* ('modern') in Section 17, used to describe the more recent (i.e. post A.D. 1000) as pontifical decrees, is used as an adjective to agree with *decretistas*, a Latinised Greek masculine noun ending in -ιστας, this being used in place of the normal Latin *decreta* ('decrees'). Specifically as an adjective agreeing with *scriptor* ('writer'), *neotericus* is used by the historian Aurelius Victor (fl. A.D. 360) and the Christian writer Claudianus Ecdicius Mamertus (fl. A.D. 470), to refer to 'modern writers'.⁷⁶ The other word is *astruens* (here translated as 'affirming, asserting'), which generally has a meaning in classical literature of 'build near, add to, furnish with.'

Finally in this passage there is in Section 16 an excellent example of a pun. Following his Erasmian allusion to hornet stings in describing the actions of the monks and friars in attacking Wycliffe, Foxe goes on to say that they are *dimicantes aris uel haris potius* ('fighting for their altars or rather pigsties'). Unfortunately the effect of *aris . . . haris* cannot be reproduced in English, which is why the pun does not appear in the 1563 *A&M* version of this passage, which has 'fightyng (as is said) for their altars, paunches and bellies'.⁷⁷ It should further be noted that the comparison of communion tables with altars is a favourite theme with Foxe, as can be seen, for example, in the woodcut at the start of Book IX of the 1570 edition of the *A&M*.

⁷⁵ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 7. 5. 10: *amictum, inter quos pectus et uenter crustata crassitie reluctabant.*

⁷⁶ Aurelius Victor, *Origo Gentis Romanae*, init., Claudianus Ecdicius Mamertus, *De Statu Animimae*, 1.

⁷⁷ *A&M* 1563, p. 88.

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To analyse this extract in a little more detail, we can see that the first eight sections contain the ‘purple passages’, while from Section 9 onwards it becomes a series of points about the process of decay, encapsulating the Crusades, the primacy of Rome and the Wycliffite heresy – the fact that the Church leaders made him into a heretic. A number of key words stand out in the first part of the extract: two of them are *lethargus* (‘lethargy’) and *phalaraismus* (‘tyranny’) in Sections 4 and 6 respectively. The undertone for Sections 4 to 6 is very much a humanist agenda – a period of decay and decline after the Golden Age of the Church. *Postremis huius mundi temporibus* (‘the latest times in this world’) reflects the picture of history that was common in the renaissance – the desire to make things new in renaissance terms. Erasmian phrases were embedded in a humanist agenda: *solum Christi nomen*, etc. Erasmus wanted the *philosophia Christi*, which received its fullest expression in the *Paraclesis*,⁷⁸ rather than the *nomen*, this latter term referring to the ‘nominalism’ of the later schoolmen, especially William of Ockham. Another key word is *arguitae* (‘logic chopping’), which occurs in Section 5. Embedded in this word is all that Foxe wants his Latin *not* to be: this would not be a meaningful piece of writing. In the sentence *Pro Paulo, pro Petro Aquinas ac Scotus successit in manus hominum* (‘Instead of Paul, instead of Peter, Aquinas and Scotus came in turn into the hands of men’), Foxe is contrasting the work of the scholastics, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, with the message of Peter and Paul: the world has abandoned the *philosophia euangelicae*. Foxe is embedding his approach to learning – a Latin learning, not a stylistic ‘gizmo’ (*arguitae*), the means by which we understand our Christian faith.

⁷⁸ D. Erasmus, *Paraclesis, id est, Adhortatio ad sanctissimum ac saluberrimum Christianæ hilosophiæ studium, ut videlicet evangelicis ac apostolicis literis legendis, si non sola, saltem prima cura tribuatur* (Basel: Froben, 1519). Cf. C. Lindberg, *Reformation theologians : an introduction to theology in the early modern period* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 2002), p. 37.

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Foxe sees true Latin (not that subverted by schoolmen, which became the abject slave of the medieval church) as a liberating force. Latin is a way of being freed from the 'din of life' (the *strepitus uitae* in Section 6).

In Sections 7 – 10, the decay of the primitive church leading to the current time is discussed. The outward forms had suppressed the true meaning of Christianity: *hypocrisis* was regarded as one of the ways in which Latin helped to define all that was wrong in the previous age and how the new Latin (not the Latin of the schoolmen) could put it right. Foxe is excited that he is writing in that pure language: *hypocrisis* and *supersitio* take on part of that liberating power. This is the core of what Foxe's writing in Latin must have felt like – a propagandising and liberating force, using the revived Latin to release Christ's truth. The techniques Foxe is using – the classical and biblical allusions, the proverbial tropes, the rhetorical turns of phrase – are all directed to his main purpose. That could be expressed: 'I am on a Crusade here, and Latin is my breastplate in proclaiming this'.

2. *Commentarii* 1554, The Story of Robert Riggs, Vice-Chancellor, Hertford and Philip Repington (see *Appendix I*, No. 20 for the text)

The second passage from the *Commentarii* to be considered is the story of Robert Riggs, Vice-Chancellor, of Hertford and Philip Repington.⁷⁹ This account is largely taken from the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*,⁸⁰ with some material taken from Bale's

⁷⁹ *Commentarii* 1554, fo. 38v – fo. 43r. cf. *Rerum* 1559, p. 18ff. The divisions into paragraphs are again those of the present writer.

⁸⁰ W.W. Shirley, (ed.), *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif Cum Tritico*, Rolls Series, (London: Longman, Brown, Green etc., 1858).

Catalogus,⁸¹ but is included here in examining Foxe's Latin as it gives us some insight of his methods of adapting and editing the Latin of other writers. Although the original prose is not that of Foxe, it is a good illustration of how Foxe used his excellent Latin to 'improve' someone else's composition.

This passage has six classical allusions, one biblical allusion, five proverbial sayings from Erasmus' collection in the *Adagia*, a possible medical allusion and one possibly coined word. The Classical allusions are first in Section 1 with the words *at cucullones isti hoc nomine omnes araneas antecedunt, qui non solum, quod in homine est pessimum uenantur* ('but those hooded ones surpass all spiders with this name, for they hunt and tear out with their teeth whatever is the worst in a man'), the 'hooded' friars being compared with spiders and their poisonous bites. The term *cucullones*, which may have been coined by Foxe – it is certainly not in the classical or medieval dictionaries – is derived from the classical term *cucullus* which means a 'hood' and is found in the *genii cucullati* used of the native cult gods worshipped in Roman Britain among other places in the empire. Then comes a reference to the behaviour of spiders in turning the goodness they suck out of herbs into poison, which does not appear to come from a classical literature source.⁸² In Section 2 comes a mention of the Greek goddess *Nemesis* ('Retribution'), here used to personify the idea of what Nicholas Hertford might have had to face if the movement against him had been successful, and the verb *Pythagorisare*,⁸³ derived from the Greek *πυθαγορίζειν* meaning 'to imitate

⁸¹ See E. Evenden & T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, pp. 21ff.

⁸² Searches in *L&S(Lat.)*, *OLD*, and the Packard Humanities Institute *Latin Texts, Latin literature from its beginnings to 200AD, plus Justinian's Digest, Servius' Commentaries on Virgil, and Porphyry's Commentary on Horace. Several Bible versions in Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and Coptic* [CD-ROM #5.3] (Packard Humanities Institute, 1964) have so far yielded nothing on this subject. There are many references to spiders and their venom, but no reference to converting the goodness of any substance ingested into poison.

⁸³ Spelled *Pythagorisso*, according to *L&S(Lat.)*.

Pythagoras': this verb occurs once in Apuleius' *Florida* where Plato 'deviates little or not at all from the principles of this school, and in most of his utterances is a follower of Pythagoras'⁸⁴. Foxe's love of verbalising new words (neologisms) is highlighted here in the confidence he displays in the language and he demonstrates his playfulness. In Section 3 the Carmelite monk is likened to a *triarius*, who was a soldier in the third rank of the Roman army: he could here be compared with an ordinary common soldier of no individual importance (which I think is more likely) or possibly the point being made is that he was safer than a front rank soldier who would always face the enemy first (see above, where the *triarii* are used in the first *Commentarii* passage in Section 16 to refer to a place of safety for the opponents of Wycliffe, awaiting the support of the Pope). Finally, *si musis placet* in Section 6 brings in the idea of the classical poet who, like Homer for example, turned to the Muses for inspiration.

There is just one biblical allusion in this passage, and that is to be found in the expression *ueluti serpentes semper Christi insidiantes calcaneo* ('like snakes always lying in wait at Christ's heel') in Section 7. This refers to St. Luke, 10. 19: *ecce dedi vobis potestatem calcandi supra serpentes et scorpiones* ('Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions'), which Foxe has worked in cleverly to suit his own context.

Once again this relatively short passage contains several of Erasmus's *Adagia*. The first of these is to be found at the end of Section 3 with *unicus gallinae filius albae* ('the only son of a white hen') which accords directly with *Albae gallinae filius*

⁸⁴ Apuleius, *Florida*, 15: *Porro noster Plato, nihil ab hac secta uel paululum deuius, pythagorissat in plurimis.*

in Erasmus,⁸⁵ a proverb which seems from passages in Juvenal and Suetonius to mean 'a lucky man'. This description of Peter Stokes seems rather strange: the first part of the sentence calls him 'a soldier of the third rank of the false priests' and this is then followed by the Erasmian adage. The second occurrence of one of the *Adagia* is in Section 4, where *sutorio atramento* ('shoemaker's blacking') is obviously the *Sutorium atramentum* of Erasmus,⁸⁶ and presumably implies that those of Philip Repington's enemies, who were making notes on what he said in his sermon, found the declaration that the Lords temporal should be prayed for before the Pope and the bishops so offensive, that they put it down in the equivalent of bold type! The third Erasmian allusion comes at the end of Section 5 in the words *ceu oleo caminum posset* ('like adding oil to the furnace') which no doubt alludes to *oleum camino addere* ('to add oil to the furnace') in the *Adagia*,⁸⁷ in describing the ease with which Peter Stokes could stir up the Archbishop's anger. This proverbial saying also occurs with exactly these words in Horace,⁸⁸ this doubtless being the source of the adage in Erasmus. The fourth, and possible, reference to Erasmus comes with *flexis genibus* ('on bended knees') at the end of Section 6, which may relate to *ne genu quidem flexo* ('not even on bended knee'). Although there are many classical references to clasping knees,⁸⁹ and bowing the knee,⁹⁰ it is with St. Jerome that we find *genu flectere* ('to bend the knee'),⁹¹ so perhaps Erasmus was drawing upon as recent a usage as this. The remaining allusion comes at the end of Section 7 with *palinodiam duplicem* which may refer to the *Palinodiam canere* ('to sing the palinode') of Erasmus.⁹² The

⁸⁵ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. i. 78.

⁸⁶ Erasmus, *Adagia*, III. v. 74.

⁸⁷ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. ii. 9.

⁸⁸ Horace, *Satires*, 2. 3. 321.

⁸⁹ E.g. Plautus, *Rudens*, 1. 5. 16: *nunc tibi amplectimur genua*.

⁹⁰ E.g. Curtius Rufus 4. 6. 28: *genu ponere*.

⁹¹ Jerome, *In Eph.*, 3. 14.

⁹² Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. ix. 59.

palinodia (= παλινωδία), which literally means ‘singing backwards’ or ‘unsinging’, was used by the Greek lyric poet Stesichorus to reverse the vilification he had made of Helen in an earlier poem by praising her in a palinode (thus restoring his sight which he had lost after maligning her in the first poem).⁹³ This anecdote is told by Plato, who has Socrates wanting to take similar action for abusing the god of love.⁹⁴ By the time of the fifth century critic Macrobius, it had come to mean a ‘recantation’.⁹⁵ At any rate in the next passage (not included here) Foxe says that John Purvey *palinodiam cecinit*, which must certainly relate to the Erasmian adage.

3. An example of Foxe’s own composition in Latin from the *Commentarii*, 1554:

A denunciation of the execution of heretics (see *Appendix* No. 21 for the text)

The third and final passage from the *Commentarii* is that giving Foxe’s denunciation of heretics.⁹⁶ This extract appears in the *Rerum*,⁹⁷ is also translated into English in the 1563 *Acts and Monuments*,⁹⁸ and was almost certainly composed entirely by Foxe. It draws on no other sources and is characteristic of his Latin writing in that he uses classical allusions, biblical allusions, proverbial expressions taken from Erasmus’ *Adagia*, puns and rhetorical devices such as alliteration. It is also interesting that Foxe keeps close to the reader, addressing him in the vocative, and indicating that he is talking to him – not lecturing or hectoring him: it is the true sense of the verb *educare* – to lead people on by persuading them, not by bludgeoning them. This leads us towards the discussion of Foxe’s rhetoric which will feature in Chapter Four. Foxe

⁹³ Cf. *CWE*, Vol. 32, pp. 215 – 6.

⁹⁴ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 243b.

⁹⁵ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 7. 5.

⁹⁶ J. Foxe, *Commentarii*, fo. 44v – 55v.

⁹⁷ J. Foxe, *Rerum* pp. 52 – 57

⁹⁸ *A&M* 1563, pp. 130 – 135.

considers that it is important for people to hear the truth, as well as see it. In his apologetic 'do you mind if I say a little more about this' he is using the art of gentle persuasion. From Sections 4/5 onwards, Foxe alludes to whether groups should seek recompense for injustices done by tyrants or whether they have to suffer in silence. There is a distinction made between those who are really heretics and those who are claimed to be heretics by tyrants, but are really after the truth. There is always a category of people who for Foxe live beyond the pale – these are the real heretics – and it should be noted that Foxe is not against civil laws and the commonwealth (*respublica*) maintaining that position, but he did stop short at physical punishments and burnings.⁹⁹

In Section 8 we see Foxe's awareness of the precipitous current situation. His sense of time is worthy of note, as he constantly comes back to this. Also in this section is a reference to 'university schools'. Whether these are the university colleges, or schools attached to them, such as Magdalen College School, Foxe sees a very specific role for the universities: he regards education as a tremendously important vehicle for spreading the truth. He may well have associated his Latinity with a sense of freedom - indeed he does refer to classical tyrants, but they are defeated. The strength of what Foxe sees a university as being for is not only its preservation of the classical heritage but also its use as a medium for the discovery and transmission of truth – truth which does not require repression, but leads people into it. This is the very core of Foxe's humanist education coming out in his writing. In this context it is easy to see why he was so apologetic in writing the dedication note

⁹⁹ For Foxe's opposition to the physical punishment, cf. his attitude to the punishment by burning of two Dutch Anabaptists in June 1575 during the reign of Elizabeth, BL *Harleian MSS* 416, ff. 151, 155; 417, ff. 100v, 110. See also Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), Vol. II, pp. 77ff. on the Anabaptists and the right to resist.

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accompanying his presentation copy of the 1563 *A&M* to his old college, Magdalen.¹⁰⁰

The *Commentarii* was published in the same year as Sebastian Castellio's *De non comburendis hereticis* in which he argued for toleration. Foxe would have become rapidly aware that what he had said in the *Commentarii* about whether you could legitimately prosecute heretics was supporting an argument which had already appeared in Castellio.¹⁰¹ Sixteenth century writers and commentators were ambivalent: the protection of the civil law was needed to deal with manifest atheists and those offending against the moral law, but they also wanted to say that these laws should not be applied to heresy. It was in the hands of the civil authority to define what was and was not God's truth. Foxe is interesting in this respect: he is aware of the ambivalence, so avoids going down that road; he concedes some limited scope for intervention by the civil power, but feels that clemency has a place; he skirts round the area of tension, and looks for safer ground. The 'clemency' advocated by Foxe is *mansuetudo*, a (Christian) 'mildness' rather than the classical neo-stoic/Senecan expression *clementia*, 'clemency'.

Classical allusions can be seen in Section 2, where the word *phalarismum* (alluding to Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, and having connotations of tyranny) occurs for a second time in this work.¹⁰² With the expression *nepharium crudelitatem*

¹⁰⁰ Manuscript letter in Magdalen College, Oxford, accompanying the presentation copy, 2 May 1563, Magdalen College Library, call reference ARCH.B.I.4.3. Cf. *Mozley*, p. 136. See Chapter Six.

¹⁰¹ In 1554 Sebastian Castellio was the newly appointed Professor of Greek at Basel. The full title of the work is: *De haereticis an sint persequendi, omnino quomodo sit cum eis agendum, doctorum virorum tum veterum tum recentiorum sententiae. Liber hoc tam turbulento tempore pernecessarius* (Basel?: 1554). ('Concerning heretics, whether they should be prosecuted, entirely how they should be dealt with, the opinions of learned men, both of old and more recent. A very necessary book in these such troubled times'), dated March 1554 on the title page and probably published in Basel.

¹⁰² See above in Section 6 of the first extract from the *Commentarii*.

(‘wicked cruelty’) in Section 3, Foxe no doubt has in mind the same words used by Caesar in describing the cruelty of Critognatus, chief of the Arverni tribe.¹⁰³ In Section 7 in referring to *pyracmones hi Babylonii* (‘these Babylonian servants of Vulcan’) Foxe is thinking of Πυράκμων, who was a Cyclops and servant of Vulcan, god of the forge and furnaces – very apposite in terms of the flames which consumed the martyrs. Virgil refers to Puracmon when describing the Cyclopes forging iron in the caves beneath Mt. Etna.¹⁰⁴ In Section 9 Foxe uses *camerina* for a second time (the previous occasion was in *Appendix I* No. 19, Section 15, mentioned above) as a word to describe a ‘stench’ and then repeats the use of *phalarismum* (see above) in Section 14. The Greek accusative *pathmon* in Section 16 refers to the Aegean island of Patmos, used by the Romans as a place of banishment.¹⁰⁵ Also in Section 16 is a reference to *Erinnys* (= *Erinys*), an avenging spirit, or Fury.¹⁰⁶ Two more classical allusions complete this group, *orco* (‘death’), a classical (and therefore pagan) word for hell or the Underworld in Section 18, closely followed in Section 19 by *Pluto*, who was the god of the Underworld.

There are three biblical allusions in this passage: in Section 1 the *lupos . . . qui agni se titulo . . . uestiunt* (‘wolves . . . who clothe themselves . . . with the label of ‘lamb’) are no doubt those *falsis prophetis qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces* (‘false prophets who come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves’) mentioned in St. Matthew.¹⁰⁷ A second possible allusion comes in Section 5 where the words *qui uenerat non perdendis, sed seruandis omnibus* (‘who had come not to destroy but to save all men’)

¹⁰³ Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum*, vii. 77.

¹⁰⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii. 425.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, iv. 12. 23. §69.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, vii. 570.

¹⁰⁷ *St. Matthew*, 7. 15.

seem to evoke the passage in St. John, *non enim veni ut iudicem mundum sed ut salvificem mundum* ('for I did not come to judge the world but to save the world').¹⁰⁸

The third allusion is found in Section 12 with *in euellendis zizaneis . . . cum zizaneis triticum eruatur* ('in rooting out the tares . . . be dug up together with the tares') referring to the parable of the wheat and tares in St. Matthew: *ne forte colligentes zizania eradicetis simul cum eis et triticum* ('lest while you gather up the tares, you root up also the wheat with them').¹⁰⁹

Only one proverbial saying, apart from the reference to *phalaris* already mentioned as a commonplace for 'tyrant', can be positively identified in this passage and it comes, as is usual in Foxe, from the *Adagia* of Erasmus. This is the expression *homo homini lupus* ('man is a wolf to man') in Section 1.¹¹⁰ This is derived from Plautus' *lupus est homo homini, non homo, quom qualis sit non nouit* ('Man is no man, but a wolf, to a stranger'),¹¹¹ which warns people not to trust someone they do not know, but to beware of him as they would a wolf. As with *lycaones* discussed in the next paragraph, Foxe is always keen to liken the Catholic clergy to 'wolves'.

Among the rare words and meanings is a Greek word used towards the end of Section 3, τοῖς μαρτυροφονταῖς 'slayers of martyrs'. This is derived from the Greek for 'martyr' and a normal classical Greek suffix for 'killer of'. Foxe seems to have coined this term, again illustrating his inventiveness in composition and showing that he was not only capable of quoting in Greek, but felt sufficiently at home with the language to develop his own lexical items – a desire to encapsulate or stereotype,

¹⁰⁸ *St. John*, 12. 47.

¹⁰⁹ *St. Matthew*, 13. 29.

¹¹⁰ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. i. 70.

¹¹¹ Plautus, *Asinaria*, 495.

using his classical vocabulary (cf. *lycaones* below). Foxe is using his classical knowledge to form an acceptable term for what for him is deeply unacceptable.¹¹² Moving on to Section 17, the verb *incrudescere* is very rare (only a single example given *L&S (Lat.)* in the *Notae Tironianae*, p. 81), meaning ‘to become very raw’. It is not found in the *OLD*, and in the *RMLWL* it is given the meaning ‘to rage after’, occurring in 1327 – this is the meaning adopted here. Perhaps Foxe was familiar with its use in contemporary Latin composition.¹¹³ The term *lycaones* in Section 18 has a double significance in that it is used as a synonym for tyrant, being derived from King Lycaon, a savage and tyrannical king of Arcadia, the father of Callisto, but has an added significance in this Reformation context in that Lycaon was turned by Jupiter into a wolf because of his cruelty¹¹⁴ – the Romish wolf cannot have been far from Foxe’s mind. When Foxe refers at the start of Section 20 to *symmistis orthodoxis* (‘orthodox colleagues’) in the priesthood he uses in *symmistes* (= συμύστης) a word meaning in the classical languages ‘fellow initiate in the sacred mysteries.’ This is an interesting choice of expression to describe an ordained clergyman in the English church: Foxe shows no discomfort in readily adapting classicisms to the central verities of the Christian religion.

Finally, in Section 1 there is an excellent example of a witty Latin pun which does not work in the English translation: *ad ferream aetatem uel ferinam potius immanitatem* ‘to the Iron Age, or rather to the Beastly Age’ plays on the initial syllable *fer* . . . of each adjective, as well as the final . . . *tatem* of each noun. A

¹¹² Cf. the word ‘massacre’ in the sixteenth century: originally meaning a ‘chopping block’, it was first coined for the killing of people in 1554, when it was used of the Vaudois (Waldenses). See M. Greengrass, ‘Massacres during the French Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century’ In: M. Levene and P. Roberts, (eds.), *The Massacre in History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999).

¹¹³ More work will need to be done on compiling Tudor word lists.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, i. 138; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1. 198.

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second pun: *pharisaismus in phalarismum* ‘pharisaic into phalarisaic’ does travel rather better, as in both Latin and the English translation the punning is actually in the transliteration of the Greek words used.

The Manuscript and Printed dedications of the *Commentarii*

The manuscript version of the *Commentarii* contains a dedication¹¹⁵ to *domino charo amico et patrono* (‘to my lord, dear friend and patron’), who is not named. Possible candidates as the recipient of the dedication would include Thomas Howard (Foxe’s former pupil, who succeeded his father as the fourth Duke of Norfolk in August 1554),¹¹⁶ William Cecil, John Bale and even the Duchess of Richmond. Whoever it is, what this manuscript could show is that the work was actually complete when Foxe left England in March 1554, since the *amico et patrono* is almost certainly an Englishman who was close to Foxe, rather than the dedicatee in the printed book, Duke Christopher of Württemberg, whom Foxe had never met.¹¹⁷ It could be argued that Thomas Howard was still a minor and, while he could be regarded as a ‘dear friend’, could hardly have been in a position to be a *patronus*, although the swift decision by Thomas to facilitate Foxe’s journey to the continent would indicate some influence over Foxe’s movements by the future duke.

¹¹⁵ foll. 2v – 9r.

¹¹⁶ Cf. BL Lansdowne Catalogue entry in H. Ellis and F. Douce, *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum*, which gives the following entry under MS 335: ‘An account, drawn up in Latin by John Fox, the martyrologist, and in his own handwriting, of John Wicliffe and his followers. Prefixed is a dedication to some unnamed person whom he calls his friend and patron, probably the Duke of Norfolk.’

¹¹⁷ A possible reason for Foxe choosing Württemberg for the dedication is the fact that a legacy of 5,000 florins from the estate of Erasmus had been invested with the duke and the city of Geneva to provide support, amongst others, for students. As a devotee of Erasmus, it is more than likely that Foxe knew this. Certainly his close links subsequently with Froben (in whose house Erasmus had died in 1536) and Amerbach (Erasmus’ heir and executor) are hardly coincidences. M. Greengrass & T.S. Freeman. *The ‘Actes and Monuments’ and the Protestant Continental Martyrologies* [online], from hriOnline, (2004), last accessed on 27 October at: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/apparatus/greengrassessay.html>

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We are on safer ground to suggest William Cecil, since there is a letter, admittedly a late one, from Foxe to Cecil in which he refers to him as an *indigno clientulo tuo* ('your unworthy little client'),¹¹⁸ though maybe not yet as a 'dear friend'. As early as 1551, Foxe had sought Cecil's help in getting official sanction for his *Tables of Latin Grammar*, which was 'subscribed in print by eight lords of the privy council' but was not a success.¹¹⁹ There are plenty of grounds for Foxe's gratitude to Cecil in the post exile period: first, the introduction to John Day, the printer, and the resultant very successful publication partnership;¹²⁰ secondly, the re-instatement of Foxe's son Samuel following his expulsion from Magdalen College, Oxford, through Cecil's intervention; thirdly, the granting of the prebend at Salisbury by the Queen, again through the agency of Cecil. However, there does not appear to be any clear evidence for Cecil's patronage during the exile period. John Bale had been closely associated with Foxe when he was in London in the early days of his service to the Howard household;¹²¹ he was sharing lodgings with him in Basel and could have been regarded as a dear friend, and maybe even as a *patronus*, in view of Foxe's indebtedness for his encouragement to him as a writer: Bale had loaned Foxe 'valuable manuscripts', and may well have guided him in preparing the *Commentarii*.¹²² Nevertheless, it is unlikely that he would have had sufficient status in society to be a patron – and certainly not the necessary wealth.

One other possible candidate as a recipient of the original dedication could have been the Duchess of Richmond, for whose late brother's children including

¹¹⁸ BL Lansdowne MS 819, fol. 3r.

¹¹⁹ Mozley, pp. 34 – 5; A. Wood, *Athenae* I, pp. 321 and 531. See Chapter Two, pp. 69-71.

¹²⁰ One short work in English by Foxe was published by Day after the former had returned from exile in the autumn of 1559, but before the 1563 *A&M*, namely Ridley's *Friendly Farewell* in November 1559.

¹²¹ During the spring or summer of 1548. Cf. Mozley, p. 29.

¹²² Cf. T.S. Freeman, 'Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)', *ODNB*.

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Thomas Norfolk, mentioned above Foxe had been employed as tutor, as we have seen, from 1547 to the time of his flight. She certainly had the status and wealth and was still alive at the time Foxe was getting the *Commentarii* through the press in Frankfurt in 1554, although she died in about December 1555. The *ODNB* entry for her notes that ‘as a Howard, a member of a staunchly Catholic family, her enthusiasm for the protestant faith was sometimes regarded with caution, but her patronage of John Foxe and John Bale suggests she was a willing convert.’¹²³ The Duchess would therefore seem to be a perfectly plausible patroness for a book originally to be published in England.

The text of the manuscript dedication, which is stated by the Lansdowne catalogue entry as being ‘in his own handwriting’ is not especially easy to read, as it contains many crossings out and insertions, and it is certainly nothing like the polished final printed version to Christopher, Duke of Württemberg, but it is important to look at this document and compare, not only the manuscript and printed versions of both the dedications, but also the draft and final copies – as far as this is possible where the crossed out words are barely legible – in order to see the author working virtually at first hand. For the purposes of this thesis, it is practicable only to examine the first paragraph of each of the two dedications, which are tabulated with translations of each at the start of *Appendix I*, No. 19, prior to the three case studies.

It is interesting to see that, just as in the last few words (and therefore in a significant rhetorical position)¹²⁴ of his *Address to the Nobles* cited above, so Foxe, in the very first sentence of the dedication to Duke Christopher, incorporated one of the

¹²³ B.A. Murphy, ‘Fitzroy [*né* Howard], Mary, duchess of Richmond (c.1519–1555?)’, *ODNB*.

¹²⁴ Just as the sentences at the very beginning or end of a passage always had the most impact on the listener, so the first word or two and the last word or two of a sentence had the same effect.

Adagia of Erasmus. In this case it is the *Mus picem gustans* (Μῦς ἄρτι πίσης γεύμενος), meaning ‘a mouse newly tasting pitch’.¹²⁵ The quotation is not exact – Foxe makes no mention of ‘tasting’ – but the context is entirely suitable: ‘. . . an inexperienced mouse, if it has fallen into some pitch, either perishes or gets out with great difficulty; and thereafter it remembers the danger it was in and is afraid to touch the stuff.’¹²⁶ Foxe was well aware that writers during this period of religious intolerance needed to be mindful of the dangers involved in publishing their views on controversial matters. Nevertheless he had succeeded in producing a harbinger of what would prove to be one of the seminal works of the Reformation, a book which was not just ‘a compilation of documents interwoven with occasional passages of polished rhetoric’, but was ‘carefully and cleverly edited to attain a desired polemical effect’.¹²⁷ Foxe had taken the first opportunity open to him to gain admission to the scholarly community in Strassburg and of course over the wider area of Protestant Germany and its neighbours.

From Frankfurt to Basel: a journey in search of liturgical peace

Following the completion of what had occupied his literary talents for many months, both before and after his journey to the Continent, Foxe now turned his attention to Frankfurt, where many of his friends, including John Bale, Thomas Lever, Antony Gilby and James Haddon were now assembling. His arrival is first documented by a letter dated 12 October 1554, in which he wrote privately to the Italian theologian Peter Martyr (1499 – 1562) in Strassburg, encouraging him to accept an offer from the

¹²⁵ Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. iii. 68.

¹²⁶ See *CWE*, vol. 33, p. 172.

¹²⁷ E. Evenden & T.S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, Chapter 2, p. 25.

exiles to come to Frankfurt as lecturer in Divinity (which he ultimately declined),¹²⁸ but almost immediately ran into what has become known as ‘The Troubles in Frankfurt’.

The part played by Foxe in this long-running and acrimonious dispute among the members of the English congregation in Frankfurt, who were sharing a church building with the group of exiled weavers,¹²⁹ was of a minor nature. The dispute was over which version of the Edwardian Prayer Book was to be used for the liturgy, that of a modified version which would be more acceptable to the German reformers, or the full 1552 version. In the end the 1552 version was adopted, with some amendments, against the wishes of Whittington, Foxe, Bale and others. John Knox, who had originally, along with Thomas Lever, been elected pastor, despite his efforts to intercede ‘with fairness and even magnanimity throughout’ was reported to the Frankfurt authorities for having written a tract regarded as treason. He was summarily expelled from the city on 26 March 1555, to the disapproval of Foxe, who at the time was lodging with his friend Antony Gilby and wrote about this matter to Edmund Grindal two years later.¹³⁰ The earliest of Foxe’s extant letters from the Continent refer to these attempts to establish a church for the exiles in Frankfurt. Dating to April and June 1555 respectively,¹³¹ they well illustrate Foxe’s eirenic attitude towards the disputes on the liturgy and show the extent to which he was already involved in ecclesiastical matters as well as academic concerns.

¹²⁸ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 116r; *Mozley*, p. 46. The letter is wrongly assigned by Pratt to the time after the departure of Whittingham and others to Geneva in September 1555. This letter is simple and direct, with no unusual words or expressions save perhaps for a single Biblical reference to Tychicus, a disciple and companion of St. Paul (*Acts*. 20. 4). It is clear from the opening paragraph of the letter that Foxe feels that he will be unsuccessful in persuading Peter Martyr to take up the offer from Frankfurt, and indeed that is what happened (cf. *Mozley*, p. 44).

¹²⁹ See *Mozley*, p. 43.

¹³⁰ *Mozley*, p. 46. Cf. BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 113v.

¹³¹ The letter to Martyr is BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 115r, and that to Lever BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 99r-v.

The Letter to Peter Martyr, April 1555 (See Appendix No. 22 for the text)

The letter to Peter Martyr is representative of the opening up to Foxe of the cosmopolitan European world. Foxe's Latinity illustrates his engagement with the wide world of Latin and, in particular, this letter, with its several expressions in Greek, once again shows him to be a capable scholar and writer and that his Greek is as good as his Latin.¹³²

The Latin of Foxe's letter to Martyr contains classical, proverbial and medical allusions, as in other examples of Foxe's writing already examined. The first of these are the words *Sibilla* and *delius* in Section 1. The context is formed from some remarks made by Foxe on the difficulties he was experiencing in translating Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's second book on the eucharist in response to Bishop Stephen Gardiner's answer to his first book on the same subject in 1551 (see below for a discussion on the need for this translation).¹³³ The Sibyl was the name of a prophetess, or a number of prophetesses, most famously exemplified by the Sibyl of Cumae in Virgil's *Aeneid* VI,¹³⁴ while *delius* refers to the god Apollo, the god of prophecy, who was born on the island of Delos. Between these two words is *aenigmatistes*, transliterated from the Greek αἰνιγματιστής ('someone who proposes riddles or speaks in riddles'), which when taken with *uaticinator* ('soothsayer, or

¹³² Peter Martyr, who was born in Florence, had been ordained into the Augustinian Order and held appointments as abbot and prior in Spoleto and Naples. A public preacher, he was influenced in his biblical studies by the views of Martin Bucer and in the early 1540s fell under suspicion for his views in his native country. He left Italy and on his arrival in Strassburg with the help of Bucer he was appointed professor of theology, married and then in 1547 was invited to England by Thomas Cranmer. Martyr was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, but on the accession of Mary was allowed to return to Strassburg in 1554.

¹³³ T. Cranmer, *A defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the eucharist* (London: Reynold Wolfe, 1550) and *An Answer ...unto a crafty and sophisticated cavillation* (London: Reynold Wolfe, 1551). See the Bibliography for the full titles of these works.

¹³⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi. 44ff.

prophet') on the next line and the very rare post-classical word *griphos* ('riddles', 'enigmas') at the start of Section 2, all strongly emphasise the difficulties Foxe was encountering in following the complexities of Winchester's arguments in particular. This is closely followed within a couple of lines by an allusion to one of Erasmus's *Adagia* with the words *ubi aquam ex pumice citius, quam sententiae lucem inuenias* ('where you would find water in a pumice stone more quickly than the light of meaning') being drawn from Erasmus's *Aquam e pumice postulas* ('you are asking for water from a pumice stone'),¹³⁵ again stressing the difficulty of the literary task facing Foxe in his translation work, but with an added dimension to this adage. The meaning is to seek without success to gain something from someone who is himself in real need of the same. The adage is taken by Erasmus from a passage of Plautus,¹³⁶ and R.A.B. Mynors notes further that 'nothing is dryer than a pumice-stone, or more thirsty for water; it is just as if we were to ask for teaching from the most untaught, to expect advice from the most ill-advised, or a present from a pauper, protection from the helpless, money from a close-fisted miser.'¹³⁷ Foxe is surely adding here his own poor opinion of Winchester's views on the Eucharist, as well as his difficulties with rendering the text into Latin. But before we consider the next Erasmian adage in section 4, there is a very strong echo of Erasmus with Foxe's word describing himself as a preacher in Frankfurt: the term *ecclesiastes*, which he uses in Section 3, is uncommon, except in the writings of Erasmus.¹³⁸ With *cicatricem queam uulneri inducere* ('I can draw a scar over the wound') in Section 4, Foxe makes use of a medical allusion from Celsus.

¹³⁵ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. iv. 75.

¹³⁶ Plautus, *Persa*, 41 – 2.

¹³⁷ *CWE*, Vol. 31, p. 369.

¹³⁸ B.R. Jenny, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, X Bd., 'Briefe aus den Jahren 1556–1558' (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1991).

Foxe was naturally well aware of Peter Martyr's Greek scholarship, so it is hardly surprising that in the course of this short letter there are at least half a dozen Greek words or transliterations of Greek words. An interesting word at the start of Section 3 is Θεολογομαχία, which Foxe seems to have coined from the Latin prefix *theo* 'god' (derived from the Greek for 'god', θεός) and the Greek λογομαχία 'war about word, disputation'¹³⁹. The expression means 'a theological warfare of words'. Two more Greek expressions are found in Section 5: φρατριαζειν ('to belong to the same phratry/brotherhood, to conspire')¹⁴⁰ and συγκαταστασις ('an agreed settlement').¹⁴¹ It is in my third proposition for this thesis that we may perceive the reason for this time-consuming and difficult project for Foxe. Cranmer's original book had been published in English, but, as far as the wider European scholarly community was concerned, they had no access to what was regarded as a very important work. Once again we see Foxe now in a wider humanistic environment, with his European Latinate Protestant readers eager for him to employ his talents and skills by unlocking this important tract from a martyred Archbishop of Canterbury. The fact that its very sensitivity prevented this from being printed in no way detracts from this argument (see Chapter Four for a full discussion of this project). As I shall argue in the next chapter, the Cranmer translation provided Foxe with an opportunity to demonstrate his skills with a very important commission from one of the leading European reformers.

¹³⁹ Cf. the title of a Menippean satire by Varro, *Nonius*, p. 268 L: ΛΟΓΟΜΑΧΙΑ haec lánigeras detónderi docuit tunicareque homúllum λογομαχίαν, Fr. 242 verse t. (Packard Humanities Institute *Latin Texts, Latin literature from its beginnings to 200 AD, plus Justinian's Digest, Servius' Commentaries on Virgil, and Porphyry's Coptic Commentary on Horace. Several Bible versions in Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and Coptic* [CD-ROM #5.3] (Packard Humanities Institute, 1991).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Aeschines, 2. 77, 189. The phratries were hereditary groups of citizens, linked to one locale or more in Attica, played a crucial role in regulating access to Athenian citizenship: see S.D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993).

¹⁴¹ This form does not occur in *L&S(Grk.)*, although καταστασις does.

The Letter to Thomas lever, 18 June 1555 (See Appendix I, No. 23 for the text)

The letter to Thomas Lever was written after Lever had left Frankfurt and settled in Geneva.¹⁴² Unfortunately, he had immediately become involved in further disputes, as Foxe's letter makes clear. Prior to his arrival in Frankfurt, Lever had been one of the most prominent Edwardian reformers and preachers, an outspoken critic of both the Catholic Church on issues such as the Mass and the government on issues such as poverty and education. He was appointed Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1551, but on death of Edward in 1553 and after his support for Lady Jane Grey in the abortive attempt to continue a Protestant succession, he resigned his mastership and departed to Strassburg with a group of students from Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁴³ From there he travelled to Geneva and then on to Frankfurt by February 1555, where he quickly became embroiled in the *Prayer Book* controversy. As the end of the period of the 'Troubles in Frankfurt' drew near in the summer of 1555, by 18 June Thomas Lever had already left the exile community, ahead of the main groups, and had apparently run straight into further disputes, this time back in Geneva, where he received a letter from Foxe.¹⁴⁴

This letter contains three classical allusions, two biblical citations and one word rare in the classical period but which is found in the Vulgate. The first classical allusion is to be found in section 1 with τὸ νοῦμα *Catonis*, which could well refer to a

¹⁴² Lever was still in Frankfurt on 5 April. Cf. W. Whittingham, *A brief discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort in the year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies* (London: Elliot Stock, 1575), p. 78.

¹⁴³ Ben Lowe, 'Lever, [Leaver], Thomas (1521–1577)', [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

¹⁴⁴ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 99r-v.

passage of Plutarch,¹⁴⁵ in which the biographer tells how Cato the Younger refused to allow Lucius Caesar, a relative of Julius Caesar to pay Cato's respects to the dictator, since he did not agree with the legality of Caesar's acts, even though he agreed with the purpose of Lucius's approach to Caesar. Here Foxe is emphasising the reverse situation, that he is most willing to pay his respects to Lever, despite being extremely busy. In Section 3, a second classical reference is to a passage in Sallust's *Jugurtha*¹⁴⁶ with Foxe's words *paruae res concordia crescunt* referring directly to Sallust's *nam concordia paruae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur* ('for concord turns weakness into strength, whereas by discord the greatest resources are dissipated'¹⁴⁷). The third allusion is to a verse of the poet Phocylides: πάντων μετρον ἄριστον ὑπερβασίαι δ' ἄλεαναι. ('moderation in all things is the best way: but excesses are troublesome').¹⁴⁸ The first biblical allusion occurs in Section 4, with the words *exemplum . . . diui Pauli castigantis corpus suum* ('the example of the divine Paul punishing his own body'), which is a citation from Paul's first letter to the Corinthians: *sed castigo corpus meum et in seruitutem redigo* ('But I keep under my body, and bring [it] into subjection').¹⁴⁹ The second passage is a citation in Section 6 from the patristic writer Hugh of Saint Victor in the words: *qui carnem suam supra modum affligit ciuem suum occidit. Si plus quam oportet alimentis reficit, hostem nutrit. Sic ergo nutrienda est ut seruiat, sic subigenda ut non ferociat* ('He says that the man who weakens his own flesh beyond the limit kills his own citizen. If he

¹⁴⁵ Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Younger*, 66.

¹⁴⁶ Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 10.6.

¹⁴⁷ Translated by S.A. Handford, *Sallust: The Jugurthine War/The Conspiracy of Catiline* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963. This is preferable to J.C. Rolfe's *Sallust* Loeb Classical Library No. 116 (London: Heinemann, 1931) translation where he renders *paruae res* as 'small states' rather than 'weakness'.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Pseudo-Phocylides, *Sententiae*, line 69b for this exact quotation. I am indebted to Professor Mike Edwards at the Institute of Classical Studies for the identification of this citation. Phocylides was either a poet or a fictitious sage and has been credited with composing a gnomic hexameter poem containing maxims dating to the sixth century B.C. or a late moralizing hexameter poem.

¹⁴⁹ *I Corinthians*, 9. 27. (King James translation).

restores it with nourishment more than is expedient, he nourishes his enemy. In this way, therefore, it must be nourished that it serve and so be disciplined that it be not ungovernable.’) This is taken word for word from Hugh of Saint Victor, except the last clause which in the original is *sic domanda ut non superbiat*. The meaning of *ferociat* (‘be ungovernable, be furious’) is perhaps more in tune with the tone of anger which Foxe is trying to allay in Lever’s disposition than with the arrogance of Hugh’s original *superbiat*. A rare word in this letter is *scaturire* in Section 5, a word not found before the Augustan period and very rare in classical literature. It is, however, found in the Vulgate in the graphical description *ita ut de corpore impii uermes scaturirent* (‘And so the ungodly man’s body swarmed with worms’).¹⁵⁰

In this letter Foxe is trying to tell Lever what he should do in religious disputes such as the current one. The question at issue is how you preserve your sense of being in communion with people when you find that you have fallen out with those you thought were on your own side. Behind the theological quarrel there is a Latinate community who share a commonwealth, a free participative democracy of learning, through which the truth is discerned. Foxe is convinced that if they lose that, they will lose all the authority and discernment of the truth from the Reformation – which is why he includes the reference to Sallust mentioned above. It is also interesting to note that Foxe does not start his argument by talking about Pauline charity – he finishes with this. He starts with classical allusions and then goes on to accept the Pauline charity line on being prepared to die in a good cause.

¹⁵⁰ 2 Macabees, 9. 9.

Foxe was therefore determined to keep in touch with his fellow exiles, even when they moved to other locations, and, as so often, he is concerned about their welfare. However, in Frankfurt matters were coming to a head and on 27 August 1555, Whittington, Foxe and some twenty other members of the church informed its leaders that they intended to leave the city. Following an ill-tempered meeting on 31 August, they did just that, some going to Geneva, others, including Foxe, to Basel. From this we can see that Foxe was now clearly an established figure in an overseas network, which, from what had occurred both in Oxford and London, was bound to grow, as indeed happened in the more settled conditions he encountered in Basel.

Foxe's journey from Frankfurt may well have included a diversion to Strassburg to stay with friends, but his arrival in Basel has a *terminus ante quem* of 22 September, which is the date of the baptism there at St. Theodore's Church of his daughter Christiana, with whom Agnes had been pregnant at the time of the sailing from Ipswich.¹⁵¹ The name given by the Foxes to their first child, Christiana, perhaps emphasises the depth of their Christian faith – certainly the other four children have biblical names (Dorcas, Samuel and Simeon). Christiana's godfather was Thomas Bentham, the future Bishop of Lichfield.¹⁵² Their second daughter, Dorcas, was born in Basel some three years later, the godfather on this occasion being Boniface Amerbach,¹⁵³ with whom Foxe had established a friendship soon after his arrival in Switzerland. He seems to have had a propensity for seeking out the company of the greatest intellects, but in view of the length and closeness of these friendships, he can hardly be accused of simply collecting up a list of distinguished individuals for his own self promotion or advancement. We must accept that many of these leading

¹⁵¹ See *Mozley*, p. 50.

¹⁵² *ibid.*

¹⁵³ *ibid.* p. 58.

intellectuals, both continental and English, clearly enjoyed Foxe's company and respected his intellect.

The Letter to Froben, c. September 1555 (See Appendix I, No. 24, for the full text)

Soon after arriving in Basel Foxe started to make contacts with the scholarly community. One of the first things he did was to write to the printer Hieronymus Froben, son of Johann Froben who had published much of Erasmus's work, including a new edition of his *Adagia* in 1513.¹⁵⁴ The younger Froben had gone straight into the family printing business after graduating from the University of Basel, showing himself to be both very adept in the business and a scholar in his own right (e.g. in his collation of manuscripts of Chrysostom).¹⁵⁵ Foxe had already met Froben in Frankfurt, but he now needed to build on that acquaintance, remind the printer of their meeting in Frankfurt soon after his arrival on the Continent, and his great attachment to Erasmus and his work, and no doubt hope that his arrival in Basel would lead to either work with Froben and/or publishing via his printing house.

The relationship between Hieronymus Froben and Erasmus seems to have been closer than that of his father Johann Froben and Erasmus. After Johann's death Erasmus continued to take great interest in the press, even after his move to Freiburg, working closely with Froben on investing in a larger Greek type for the press and producing the Greek *Basil* of 1532. No doubt largely through the persuasion of Froben, Erasmus returned to Basel for the last thirteen years of his life, during which Froben and his brother in law Nicolaus Episcopus, another family member in the

¹⁵⁴ See P.G. Bietenholz, (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), Vol. 2. p. 61.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 58 – 60.

firm, visited Erasmus frequently and were with him when he died. Froben and Episcopi were executors of Erasmus's will.¹⁵⁶

Foxe wrote this letter to Froben around September 1555,¹⁵⁷ and therefore very soon after his arrival in Basel. Its main subject is Erasmus and Foxe heaps praise upon him. However, Froben is also being praised through his association with Erasmus and Foxe goes so far as to say that Erasmus lives on in Froben! This is a charming personal letter, written to a man who would be in a position as a printer to assist Foxe in his aim to write and publish, just as in fact happened in his subsequent working association with another Basel printer, Johannes Oporinus. Foxe also 'drops' the name of Boniface Amerbach, who was to become the Rector of the University in Basel. He is clearly trying to involve himself at the heart of the Basel literary society, no doubt feeling that this is where he really belongs. With its obligatory reference to Erasmus – a sort of 'password' or 'handshake' – the letter is really in effect a calling card. Even in this short epistle Foxe cannot resist slipping in yet another expression to be found in Erasmus' *Adagia*, namely *e uestigio*¹⁵⁸ (literally 'from where I was standing'), in line 22, which highlights the eager haste with which Foxe rushed off to find Froben the moment he discovered he was in Frankfurt, the usage, by authors such as Cicero and Caesar, making it clear that moving from where one stands actually means 'at once', or 'immediately'.¹⁵⁹

The letter starts with a magnificent *ut* clause, building up Foxe's admiration for Erasmus, punctuated with a series of accusatives giving his excellent qualities in a

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁷ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 118v.

¹⁵⁸ *e uestigio* occurs in Erasmus, *Adagia*, IV. vi. 22.

¹⁵⁹ Cicero, *Divinatio in Caeciliam*, 57; Caesar, *Bellum Civile*, 2. 25. 6.

three-word phrase (*eximiam et incomparabilem eruditionem*) two two-word phrases (*ingenii uim, iudicium exquisitum*), two single word characteristics (*facundiam, candorem*) with a summing up in *caeteras raras . . . uirtutes*, which is then balanced by an *ita* clause climaxing in Foxe's admiration now also extending to Erasmus' friends (i.e. in this case Froben). There are also pleasing examples of rhythm and assonance here: the Virgilian style hexameter ending to the words *incomparabilem eruditionem* would no doubt be appreciated by both reader and listener if the letter were read aloud. A late Latin term, *catalogus*, is found in the first sentence of this letter: this word is used by Jerome, Macrobius and Ausonius in the late fourth – early fifth centuries AD, meaning 'a list of names, a catalogue'.¹⁶⁰ Here in the phrase *hominum litteratorum catalogo* we are reminded of John Bale's use of this word in the title of his 1557 – 9 *Catalogus*. It is used in an encyclopaedic sense 'embracing all elements', 'systematic enumeration'. Although 'encyclopaedic' is also to be found among sixteenth-century humanists,¹⁶¹ it is interesting that Foxe prefers to use Bale's term, *catalogus*.

While it is evident that Foxe's Latin is not exclusively classical in its vocabulary, it is heavily dominated by it. Cicero is very much in evidence once more, with *exquisitum iudicium, eruditionem, facundiam* and *candorem* in lines 3 – 4:¹⁶² also Quintilian, with the comparatively rare adjective *incomparabilem* in line 3.¹⁶³ *Quorum in numero* at the start of line 9 may be an echo of Pliny's *quorum in numero sunt eruditi*,¹⁶⁴ especially in the context of a discussion about scholars, but there can

¹⁶⁰ Jerome, *Epistulae*, 83; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 5. 15; Ausonius, *Periochae*, Iliad. 2.

¹⁶¹ First used in the 1530s, e.g. by Postel. cf., W.J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 1957.

¹⁶² Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis*, I. 133. 6 for *exquisitum iudicium*; the other words are frequent in Cicero.

¹⁶³ Cf. Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, 1. 2. 11: *doctissimum atque incomparabilem magistrum*.

¹⁶⁴ Pliny, *Epistulae*, IX. 36. 4.

be little doubt that Foxe has very much in mind passages of Cicero¹⁶⁵ using the term *ornamenta* in referring to rhetorical or literary ornaments in writing when he talks of writers becoming more famous through *uestris ornamentis* in line 12, when he is clearly alluding to Froben's professional publishing skills.

Foxe appears to have coined a new noun with *petacitatis* in line 25. The adjective *petax*¹⁶⁶, *petacis* is a post-classical word meaning 'catching at' or 'striving after something' and thus 'greedy for something'. *Petacitas* is a perfectly plausible development as a noun meaning 'greed', but is not found in either classical or medieval literature – further evidence for Foxe's rhetorical *inventio*. Once again Foxe is 'knocking on the door' of someone at the heart of the European book trade in one of the great university cities. As we shall see in the next two chapters he was to become heavily involved with three of the Basel printers, including Froben.

Conclusion

It had been a long and difficult journey from the stormy seas outside Ipswich harbour to the studious surroundings of the cloisters in the Klarcloster convent in Basel. Foxe had in the meantime published a major work in Strassburg, which had put him at the forefront of the English exiles in the eyes of the German scholars. His involvement in the 'Troubles at Frankfurt' had caused him great distress, since he hated conflict, but his commitment to the more radical members of his network meant that he would have to leave Frankfurt. That he travelled to Basel rather than Geneva may well be

¹⁶⁵ E.g. Cicero, *De Inuentione Rhetorica*, 1. 32: *non uerbis neque extraneis ornamentis animus auditoris tenendus est.*

¹⁶⁶ Cf. the same word used in the Oporinus letter below.

connected with the Erasmian heritage which was still very much a part of the Basel intellectual scene.

The manuscripts examined in this and the last chapter demonstrate the facility with which Foxe either addressed a short piece of rhetoric to the rulers of his country or wrote with affection and enthusiasm to fellow academics in his newly adopted refuge overseas, yet they also exhibit his attention to literary detail and, where appropriate, incorporate recognisable tropes and allusions. They also show us how important his Latin training had been for facing the difficult situation he was now encountering in a foreign country where his only means of communication with the local people was in that language. This was fine with matters academic and spiritual, but no doubt caused major problems in dealing with the necessities of everyday life. Perhaps he was able to negotiate the purchase of bread, even if he regarded himself as a non-speaker in the local vernacular!

So, from his arrival on the Continent, carrying the manuscript copy of the *Commentarii* in his baggage, Foxe energetically pursued ways of publishing in Latin. In so doing he developed a fresh network of contacts from his arrival, initially in Strassburg and Frankfurt and then, after reaching his more permanent location in exile, in the internationally famous seat of learning, in the university town of Basel. Because of the changed conditions to his location and circle of scholarly friends and patrons, he altered the dedication of the *Commentarii* from his first choice of (probably) Thomas Howard (future) duke of Norfolk in England to a potential new patron, in the person of Christopher, Duke of Württemberg. Foxe then integrated himself into the scholarly community, where he stayed. The only surviving

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correspondence from this period is contained in the Latin letters he wrote to Froben, Peter Martyr and Thomas Lever, all of which, together with the extracts examined from the *Commentarii*, show a high standard of Latinity. All of this exhibits Foxe's ability to communicate his forthright views on the immediate issues of concern for his country and his firmly held religious convictions, yet at the same time reveals a deep concern for the individuals with whom he came into contact and a constant eirenic attitude towards the many disputes he found to be distracting his compatriots from what was really important, namely the true Christian faith. In Basel it can really be said that he was already unlocking the distinctiveness of his experience in exile and moving on to a higher plane of intellectual exchange with the newly found scholarly community in that city. The diversity of what he was about to produce in his Latin writings will be followed further in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

Foxe's Latin works in Basel, 1556 – 1557

Introduction

This chapter further explores the third thesis proposition that in order to properly understand the exilic period we must also understand that in his spoken and written Latin Foxe found a linguistic key which unlocked for him the entry to a wider world of humanist scholarship in the congenial surroundings of the town of Basel with its university, still dominated by the recent memory of Erasmus and his seminal influence on education, and a vibrant printing industry ready and willing to publish Protestant reformist literature. In doing this the chapter examines what we can learn from Foxe's deployment of his Latin skills: how he used his Latinity, the type of materials he produced and the direction his Latin writing took from the time that he settled in Basel. His concern with education is particularly to be seen in the *Locorum Communium Tituli* and the rhetorical skills to be gained from using a manual such as this are very evident in the polemical treatise *Ad Inclytos*. This deployment also incorporated use of a new literary style in his published work, namely that of Latin

verse.¹ Foxe was clearly very much engaged with scholars in Basel who gave him encouragement in his literary efforts. To this end I shall be examining in some detail the Latin texts not only of the three works already mentioned, but also Foxe's Latin correspondence during this time.

An essay by Mark Greengrass and Thomas Freeman has provided valuable help to those trying to assess the range of contacts that Foxe made, both English and continental, who were scholars.² From this essay, taken in conjunction with Christina Garrett's work on the Marian exiles, I have constructed a table giving an analysis of Foxe's network of correspondents and friends while in exile.³ From his arrival in Basel, Foxe had come into contact with a number of local scholars, including Boniface Amerbach, professor of Roman Law and on five occasions vice-chancellor at the University of Basel.⁴ Another friend was Celio Secundo Curione, professor of Rhetoric at the university.⁵ Foxe cites Curione in the *A&M* and clearly knew him well.⁶ It could be that Foxe was able to add to his rhetorical skills through this association, but this is impossible to prove. Another important friend was Heinrich Pantaleon, who wrote only in Latin – Foxe was not alone in this respect during his exile – and was ultimately to produce the second volume of Foxe's Latin martyrology,

¹ He had, of course, as we saw in Chapter One, written a Latin comedy, *Titus et Gesippus*, while still at Magdalen College in the 1540s, but this remained in manuscript.

² M. Greengrass and T.S. Freeman, *The 'Acts and Monuments' and the Protestant Continental Martyrologies* [online] from hriOnline, (2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/apparatus/greengrassessay.html>

³ See *Appendix III* in the accompanying volume, Section C.

⁴ P.G. Bietenholz, ed., *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, pp. 42–46. Amerbach held the position as professor of Roman Law from 1530 – 1548.

⁵ Curio held this post at the university from 1546 until his death in 1569. See A. Biondi, 'Celio Secondo Curione', In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* Vol. XXXI, (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985), pp. 443-449

⁶ Curione is referred to when Foxe mentions the martyrdom of Galeazius Trecius in the discussion of the Italian martyrs (*A&M* 1583, pp. 934-42). He refers in a marginal note to material gleaned *ex Caelio artis oratoriae in Acadmia Basiliensi professore doctorissimo*.

published in Basel on the same day in 1563 as the first edition of the *A&M*.⁷ In addition, we know from his own correspondence that Foxe was well acquainted with Johannes Sleidan, a historian and philosopher and professor of Law at the University of Strassburg.⁸

Foxe obtains employment in Basel

Once Foxe had settled in Basel in September 1555, following the disputes in Frankfurt, he lost no time in forging these links with the local intellectual community. As we have seen in the previous chapter, within a very short time of his arrival in Basel he had corresponded with the printer Froben, showering praise on Erasmus and referring to his own 'pilgrimage' to the great humanist's house in Rotterdam.⁹ Since this did not lead to employment with Froben, in November Foxe wrote to another Basel printer, Johannes Oporinus, having arranged with Rihelius in Strassburg to send him a copy of the *Commentarii*, and seeking his opinion on his work.¹⁰ This time he was offered employment by Oporinus in his printing house as a proof reader alongside other English exiles, including his close friends John Bale and Laurence Humphrey.¹¹ It was also at this time that Foxe was asked to assist in the preparation of a new edition of Chrysostom, for which he wrote a preface.¹² This opportunity to work on the publication of an edition in Latin of a fourth-century A.D. Christian Greek patristic writer is something that would not have come Foxe's way in London and can

⁷ See *Mozley*, p. 123.

⁸ See BL Harleian MS, 417, fol. 115r-v.

⁹ *ibid.*, fol. 118v. See Chapter Three, pp. 141–3, for an analysis of this letter.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, fol. 98r-v.

¹¹ *Mozley*, p. 50. It is also clear that Foxe, Bale and Humphrey corrected proofs for the Basel firm of Froben and Episcopius. *ibid.*, p. 51.

¹² *Mozley*, pp. 50 – 51. The preface to the Chrysostom edition survives in BL Harleian MS 416, foll. 148r-149r.

be seen as another example of his scholarship finding expression within a European context during his exile. In the course of the next year Foxe was permitted to matriculate at the University of Basel without paying a fee. According to the town archives, from 1557 the English exiles were housed in a former convent in Basel called the Klarakloster.¹³ We cannot be certain where Foxe lived initially from September 1555, although there is an unsupported statement from Strype that Foxe and Bale lodged with Oporinus.¹⁴

Letter to Oporinus, November 1555 (See Appendix I, No. 25 for the full text)

Foxe was now in need of employment and, as we have seen, he wrote to one of his new contacts in Basel,¹⁵ the printer Johannes Oporinus, to ask him for employment either in his firm or in another Basel firm, or, indeed to advise on such an opening in another town or university.¹⁶ Foxe had asked Rihelius, his Strassburg printer, to send a copy of the *Commentarii* to Oporinus as a specimen of what Foxe was capable of producing as a writer. In Section 1 of this letter to Oporinus, with the proverbial *ex unguibus ueluti leonem aestimans* ('knowing the lion as it were from its claws'),¹⁷ Foxe infers that one can formulate an opinion of a whole subject from a single point of reference, obtain much from little evidence and gain extensive results from small indications, as the sculptor Phidias had done in reproducing a whole lion based on the evidence of one claw.¹⁸ Foxe then says that the printer (presumably Rihelius) has passed some unfavourable comment about him or his work to Oporinus; this was

¹³ Mozley, p. 51.

¹⁴ T.S. Freeman, 'John Foxe (1516/17–1587)', *ODNB*.

¹⁵ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 98r-v.

¹⁶ He in fact says *quod malim* ('which I would prefer') after *Achademia aliqua* (some university).

¹⁷ See D. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. ix. 34: *Leonem ex unguibus aestimare* (ἐκ τῶν ὀνύχων λέοντα γινώσκειν), 'to know a lion by his claws'.

¹⁸ Cf. *CWE*, vol. 31, p. 200.

probably contained in a letter accompanying the copy of the *Commentarii*. Foxe appeals to Oporinus to judge for himself the quality of his literary efforts, rather than *ex calchographi illius histerna praedicatione, quam parum aequam de me fuisse comperi* ('in accordance with yesterday's statement from the printer which I understand was not fair to me'). It is significant that in such a short letter to Oporinus Foxe manages to get in an Erasmian adage, no doubt adding his own contribution to the continuing posthumous reputation of the great Dutch humanist, especially among the Basel printers, whose success Erasmus had done so much to enhance with his publications while he lived in the town, from 1514 – 16, 1521 – 29 and the last year of his life, 1535, including the complete works of St. Jerome, editions of Irenaeus and Augustine and, most importantly, the first edition of the Greek New Testament. The conventional *captatio benevolentiae* follows (see Introduction, page 12 for an explanation of this phrase), whereby Foxe refers to his book as *primitias . . . ingenioli και πρωτογενη μετα τα θερισμου nostri* ('the first fruits of my humble ability and the first-born together with our harvest'), although cleverly introducing here as well as at the end of Section 3 with *και περι μεν τουτων ταυτα* ('so much for that') the fact that he was also proficient in Greek. There is no doubt that Foxe is putting everything into submitting this 'job application' to Oporinus.

There is a significant section in the middle of the letter in which Foxe steps back to look at the wider picture of his martyrological writing and of what he sees ahead for him, especially with regard to his time commitments. He repeats what he had said in the *Commentarii* here in Section 3 with the words *iam ad primum hunc librum expectatur et altera historiae pars ab exordio Luteri, ad hanc usque tempestatem* ('now in addition to this first book a second part of the history is also

awaited, beginning with Luther and extending up to the present time'). But now, as early as September 1555, when news was coming through from England that *quotidie nouam materiam cruenta haec tempora hinc inde subministrant* ('every day these bloody times are supplying new material from all directions'), Foxe has realised that his planned second part to the *Commentarii* is going to be much longer than he had originally thought. This point, together with the time-consuming task imposed on him by Peter Martyr to translate Cranmer's second treatise on the Eucharist, the *De tota Sacramenti Eucharistiae causa*, which survives only in manuscript,¹⁹ means that *plusculum idcirco attentionis omnium maiori cunctatione postulabit* ('for that reason it will demand a little more attention with greater delay for everybody'). However, Foxe finishes section 3 with a powerful statement of intent, which shows how important he regarded the Cranmer translation: *in qua uidebit spero propediem uniuersa Germania, quicquid de causa eucharistica uel dici uel obicij uel excogitari a quoquam poterit* ('in this before long I hope that the whole of Germany will see whatever can be said or objected or thought out by anyone on the subject of the Eucharist'). Foxe is well aware of the wider European notice which will be given to his translation of the Cranmer book and he fully intends to be at the heart of that communication to his Latinate audience.

Foxe and the Print Shop of Oporinus

In May 1556 Foxe published, using the printing house of Oporinus, his apocalyptic comedy *Christus Triumphans*, with the prose *Panegyricon* attached. During the

¹⁹ BL Harleian MS 418. The Cranmer volume had been causing him tremendous difficulties with the English text which was 'crabbed and obscure and the quotations inaccurate': this we learn from his lengthy correspondence on its progress and problems encountered with Peter Martyr (BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 115r), Edmund Grindal (*Mozley*, p. 56) and Heinrich Bullinger, (*Zurich Letters* Vol. I, pp. 42–3; BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 114r; BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 123r). See below, pp. 172–176.

course of the next few months he also corresponded with Edmund Grindal about the Cranmer translation project.²⁰ Following this, in January 1557 Foxe wrote to Boniface Amerbach, Rector of the University of Basel, to seek his patronage, enclosing a pre-publication copy of *Locorum Communium Tituli*.²¹ Then two months later in March he published this commonplace book, together with a polemical tract entitled *Ad Inclytos ac Praepotentes Angliae Proceres Supplicatio*, both of which were printed by Oporinus.²² The significance of all this activity is twofold: on the one hand Foxe is pursuing his deep interest in education and, as we have just seen, bringing his work to the attention of influential figures in the university, such as Amerbach; secondly, Foxe's concerns about the situation in England are never far from his mind, and here in the play of 1556 and the address of 1557 he was able to express his feelings in Latin – the language of his exile – and get the message across to his European colleagues, whether students at the University of Basel or scholars further afield. At this point it will be appropriate to examine the background of the man who had opened the door to Foxe and his fellow exiles and provided them with what must have seemed a providential opportunity to use their talents to his and their mutual advantage, following the traumatic experiences of the 'Troubles at Frankfurt' during the previous year (see Chapter Three, p. 132f.)

Johannes Oporinus (in German Herbster or Herbst) was the most significant of all of Foxe's literary contacts in Basel.²³ Not only did he give Foxe employment, but

²⁰ Mozley, pp. 56, 120f.

²¹ *Original Letters*, II. 767.

²² Mozley, pp. 53 – 54.

²³ There is an abundance of literature on Oporinus, mainly in German, including the 1967 study of the printer by Martin Steinmann, *Johannes Oporinus: Ein Basler Buchdrucker Um Die Mitte Des 16. Jahrhunderts* E. Bonjour and W. Kaegi (eds.), Vol. 105 Basler Beitrage Zur Geschichtswissenschaft. (Basel and Stuttgart: Verlag von Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1967). I am grateful to Robert Wilkinson, formerly lecturer in German at the Sheffield College, for his assistance with the German text.

he also supported his publishing ventures in Basel with his own presses and, very importantly, he was prepared to print overtly Protestant material, as we shall see below, at a time when it was not always safe to do so. Born in Basel in 1507, Oporinus was an ardent supporter of the Reformation and his publishing house had a large output of Protestant literature, as well as producing editions of classical texts.²⁴ After a short period of studying medicine, Oporinus returned to his main interest in classical literature, becoming professor of Latin and then of Greek in the University of Basel. Owing to changes in the qualification requirements in the university's regulations – with which he refused to comply – from 1536 he was back in the printing profession. Two temporary partnerships, which did not work out, finally led to his setting up as an independent Basel printer in 1539.²⁵ While we need not concern ourselves with the details of Oporinus's publishing career before the arrival of the English exiles in 1555, it is nevertheless important to realise that he had built up a reputation as one who was prepared to clash with the Basel Council over questions of censorship, as for example in the case of the Spanish humanist writer Francisco de Enzinas (Dryander).²⁶ In another example Oporinus published a book by the Viennese bishop, Nausea, about the Council of Trent,²⁷ for which he was denounced from Strassburg and arrested, but with the help of his friends was subsequently released, but with the requirement that all the books printed had to be recalled.

²⁴ Oporinus was the son of an impoverished artist. He studied the Latin and Greek in Strassburg, from where the family had originated, and returned to work initially as a manuscript copyist and corrector for the printer Froben. See J.B. Saunders and C.D. O'Malley, *The Illustrations from the Works of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels* (New York: Courier Dover Publications, 1973).

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ In 1549 Dryander, after publishing a New Testament in Castilian in the Netherlands (for which he was imprisoned by Charles V), escaped to Basel, lived in the house of Oporinus and became involved in publishing decrees from the Council of Trent and other Catholic texts together with disapproving commentaries, which were printed anonymously by Oporinus. Cf. M. Steinmann, *Johannes Oporinus*, p. 82.

²⁷ Although this work rejected the Protestant arguments against the authority of that meeting, it was boring and did not contain well supported theological arguments. This would nevertheless have been exploited for the Protestant cause, except that the bishop died a few months later. *ibid.* pp. 85 ff.

Oporinus in no way regretted his action and was indeed praised by many scholars and other citizens.²⁸ It is quite evident from the foregoing that Oporinus was himself a most zealous member of the protestant humanist community in Basel and was quite prepared to take risks on behalf of the writers with whom he was associating.

A list of the works published by Oporinus between 1554 and 1559 shows that his output was split between editions of authors including Cicero, Aristotle, Lycophron and Hippocrates, historical, philosophical and theological works such as Baudouin on Constantine the Great, Joachim Périon's volume on ethics and Sebastian Castellio on *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*. I have compiled a table of books published by Oporinus from Bietenholz's list,²⁹ and checked them against those of Shaaber³⁰ and Pettegree.³¹ This is printed in the accompanying volume to the thesis as *Appendix IV*. Out of some forty-eight works, fifteen (31%) were by English writers. In the context of Basel's publication over a longer period, this is a significant proportion, and one has to consider the possibility that Foxe had some sort of working brief in connection with publishing by the English exiles, and, indeed, that his presence as a proof-reader for Oporinus may have been responsible for attracting some of them to Basel.

Foxe was certainly kept very busy in Basel, for not only was he working as a proof reader for Oporinus,³² whose output between 1555 and 1559 (i.e. during the

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁹ P.G. Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century: The Basle Humanists and Printers in their Contacts with Francophone Culture*, Travaux D' Humanisme Et Renaissance. Vol. CXII. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1971).

³⁰ M.A. Shaaber, *Check-List of Works of British Authors Published Abroad, in Languages Other Than English, to 1641* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1975).

³¹ A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, pp. 183 – 199.

³² J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, 3 Vols. (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1848), pp. 173f.; T.E. Waddington in *Notes and Queries* 3 3rd Series. 72 (May 16, 1863), pp. 385-6; Stoughton's

years Foxe was working in his print house) was at least 37 books covering a wide range of titles,³³ but, as we have seen, he was also continuing work on the translation into Latin of the Cranmer treatise on the Eucharist. Moreover, Foxe was preparing three new works for publication, in addition to the long term project of expanding the *Commentarii* into what was to become the huge *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum* of 1559. In the absence of further evidence, we must take it that the three works of 1556 – 7 (*Christus Triumphans*, *Ad Inclytos* and *Locorum Communium Tituli*) were composed over a relatively short period. There are no references to any of them until Foxe was living in Basel.

One particular project undertaken by Oporinus involved both Foxe and Bale, but, as we shall see, this responsibility went rather further than basic proof-reading. A letter to John Bale by Johan Wigand, the *de facto* leader of the Magdeburg Centuriators,³⁴ dated 2 March 1559, contains two references to Foxe working alongside Bale in Basel at Oporinus's printing shop (see *Appendix I*, No. 26). Wigand requests that both Bale and Foxe should complete:

eiusmodi charte talibus titulis insignite, quales iam exhibemus . . . Annota igitur nobis quaeso breuibus, sub illis titulis historiam tuam, ubi necesse est chartas plures insere: et Roga nostro nomine d. foxum, clarissimum uirum, ne grauetur idem prestare.

*sheets of this kind marked with such headings as we are now producing [presumably some sort of template] . . . please mark for us briefly under those headings your history, [and] where it is necessary insert more paper: and in our name ask Master Foxe, a most renowned man, not to be reluctant to perform the same task.*³⁵

'Life of John Foxe' In: Pratt, J. (ed.), *Acts and Monuments* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1877) Vol. I, 24; *Mozley*, pp. 50f. See below for a discussion on what his duties as a 'proof reader' may have entailed.

³³ See the table above.

³⁴ While Matthias Flacius Illyricus had initiated this project in collaboration with Caspar von Nidbruck in 1552 and was involved up to the difficult period in 1556, he subsequently handed over much of the executive direction to Wigand, who was the Superintendent of the Magdeburg Ministerium, and Matthias Iudex, a deacon in Wigand's parish. See R.E Diener, *The Magdeburg Centuries: A Bibliothecal and Historiographical Study* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Harvard University, 1979), pp. 91, 140.

³⁵ BL Cotton MS Titus D. X. fol. 180v. The Latin text is printed in H. McCusker, *John Bale, Dramatist and Antiquary* (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College, 1942), p. 70.

These sheets were for information for the Centuriators' great work, *The Magdeburg Centuries*,³⁶ a monumental ecclesiastical history, which was compiled in fourteen volumes containing thirteen 'Centuries' between 1559 and 1574.³⁷ It is clear from this letter that Lycosthenes (i.e. Wolfhardt), referred to in the middle of the letter, was also involved in the same way as Bale and Foxe in contributing historical information to the Centuriators – they had already written to him in this vein – and now Wigand wanted Bale to complete the proforma sheets mentioned above, and involve Foxe in the same task.³⁸ The 'headings' (*titulis*) probably refer to the template which the Centuriators had prepared for their contributors, but which was obviously flexible enough to allow for the addition of extra material – hence the reference to 'more paper'. Towards the end of the letter Wigand says: 'We hope that Master Oporinus will now produce several Centuries of the work that has been started, and we affectionately beg you and Master Foxe to communicate your judgement and corrections (*iudicium et correctiones*) freely to us'. This does suggest that not only was Oporinus involved in the project to print some of the Magdeburg Centuries, but also that Foxe and Bale held some sort of editorial brief within Oporinus's business and were not just occupied with routine copy editing. In any case, both Foxe and Bale were producing works themselves. Foxe wrote the two works we are about to

³⁶ While it is possible that Wigand could be referring to Bale's own *Catalogus* which was also prepared in 'centuries', it is more likely that the Magdeburg work is meant, since Wigand would not be asking for corrections to Bale's book.

³⁷ The work had the title 'Centuries' because of its century-by-century approach, but the first volume contained two centuries. Cf. G.B. Lyon. 'Baudouin, Flacius, and the Plan for the Magdeburg Centuries', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64. 2 (2003), p. 258. The first volume, containing Centuries I-III, was published by Oporinus in Basel in the autumn of 1559, in time for the Frankfurt Fair, with a reprinting in both 1560 and 1562 and a second edition in 1564. The second volume, containing Century IV (or IV and V) appeared in the spring of 1560; V and VI in 1562; VII and VIII in 1564; IX in 1566; X and XI in 1567; XII in 1569; and XIII in 1574. See R.E. Diener. 'Johann Wigand 1523–1587' in Jill Raitt, (ed.), *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland, 1560-1600* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 19-38; R.E. Diener, *Magdeburg Centuries*, pp. 189, 220; N.L. Jones, 'Matthew Parker, John Bale, and the Magdeburg Centuriators', *Sixteenth Century Journal*. 12 3 (1981), pp. 35–49.

³⁸ BL Cotton MS Titus D. X. fol. 180v. See the Appendix No. 25, where the complete text of the letter is given, together with a translation.

examine in the next section, the *Christus Triumphans* and *Panegyricon*, in 1556, and Bale in 1557 produced the first part of his *Catalogus*, all three of which went through their employer's press.³⁹ The following year Bale was working on a polemical church history, which was again printed by Oporinus.⁴⁰ All of this goes to show that Oporinus made full use of the talents of his English exile staff which, as we have seen already, were very considerable in the cases of Foxe, Bale and Humphrey. He not only employed them for specific projects within his business, such as the printing of the Magdeburg Centuries, but also supported them in their own publishing projects and their reformist agendas within those projects. Foxe was now to take his literary skills with his first venture in the printing house of Oporinus into a genre he had not used since his university days, that of Latin drama.

Christus Triumphans and *Panegyricon*, March 1556

Foxe's previous involvement in the composition of Latin drama was eleven years earlier at Magdalen College, when he wrote the comedy *Titus et Gesippus* (1545).⁴¹ His new play, *Christus Triumphans* (1556),⁴² was a very different Foxean work from those already discussed from the start of his career in London from 1547, in that, while it dealt with theological and ecclesiastical issues, sometimes in a polemical style, it was presented in Latin verse which was delivered from the stage in an oral presentation, for Foxe certainly intended the play to be acted rather than read. In any

³⁹ J. Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium* (Basel: Oporinus, 1557). See the bibliography for its full title.

⁴⁰ J. Bale, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum, à dispersione discipulorum Christi, usque tempora Pauli quarti, qui nunc in Ecclesia tyrannizat: Ex Ioannis Balei Sudouolgij Angli maiore Catalogo Anglicorum Scriptorum desumpta, & in tres Classes, Libros verò septem [sic], diuisa ... Adiectus est ... Index* (Basel: Oporinus, 1558).

⁴¹ J. Foxe, *Titus et Gesippus*, BL Lansdowne MS 388, foll. 2r-51v. c.1544. See Chapter One for some discussion and analysis of this play.

⁴² J. Foxe, *Christus triumphans, comoedia Apocalyptica: Accessit, In Christum triumphantem, autoris eiusdem panegyricon* (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1556).

case, it was an opportunity for Foxe himself, in the tradition of the parabasis of a Greek comedy, to express through his characters his own views on the issues involved, as if he were directly addressing his audience.⁴³ *Christus Triumphans* is a Latin verse play of some 1500 lines, which he referred to as an 'apocalyptic comedy'. Whether Foxe wrote this 'from scratch' while on the continent, or whether he had made preliminary sketches some years before, it is impossible to say. What is clear is that both the surviving draft manuscript and the final printed version indicate that, despite some changes between the two, the play in its existing form was written just before March 1556.⁴⁴

The work has been mostly damned with faint praise by modern commentators since the late nineteenth century,⁴⁵ but it should be noted that Jean Bienvenu considered it worth translating into French in 1561,⁴⁶ and Laurence Humphrey asked Foxe if he might produce the play at Magdalen in 1562 soon after he was elected President of the college.⁴⁷ The prose panegyric appended to the play by Foxe was translated by Richard Day in 1579 and reprinted several times; there was an edition published in Nuremberg in 1590, and there was a school text edition produced in Cambridge in 1672 and then reissued in 1676. The editor of the last mentioned edition, possibly Thomas Comber of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (who was to

⁴³ See K. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 51.

⁴⁴ J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies*, p. 33.

⁴⁵ C.H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1886), pp. 139, 145; J. Stoughton, 'Life of John Foxe' in *A&M 1877*; Sidney Lee, 'John Foxe' in *Dictionary of National Biography* Vol. VII (London: Oxford University Press, 1917-); M.T. Herrick, *Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development in Italy, France, and England* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955); J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies*, p. 37; Mozley, p. 53.

⁴⁶ J. Bienvenu, *Le Triomphe de Jesus Christ: Comédie Apocalyptique* (Geneva, 1562). See J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies*, p. 34, n. 75.

⁴⁷ A reply to Humphrey's request late in 1561 is contained in BL Harleian MS 416, fol. 140v, but we have no evidence as to whether the play was actually performed in Oxford at Magdalen, although it was performed at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1562 – 3.

become the Dean of Durham), praised the play ‘for the singular elegance of its style, worthy of scholastic emulation, and for its morality and recommended it as an instrument for teaching pupils to be grammarians, poets, and Christians’.⁴⁸

Although J.H. Smith considered *Christus Triumphans* to be ‘seriously flawed’ and that praise was heaped upon the play by Jean Bienvenu, Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Comber because of their political outlook,⁴⁹ it must be the case that, whether or not these distinguished academics shared the same political views as Foxe, they would not risk their scholarly reputations by heaping praise on work which was of inferior scholarship. In fact, Smith goes on to show that Foxe was very much aware of the mixture of styles he was using in his ‘apocalyptic comedy’, drawing on both tragic and comic traditions and non-classical models. He was, for example, influenced by Thomas Kirchmeyer’s *Pammachius*, as has been noted by many commentators.⁵⁰ Foxe knew that *Christus Triumphans* was neither a classical comedy nor a Christian Terence comedy:⁵¹ in the prologue he calls himself a *poeta nouus*, offering the audience a *nouam rem*. Foxe had broken new ground with regard to the usual rules of comedy, being influenced by such plays as the *Asotus* of Macropedius (1487 – 1558), which he mentions in his dedicatory epistle.⁵² The *Asotus* was based on the Biblical theme of the prodigal son and was performed by the students of Trinity

⁴⁸ J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies*, p. 37.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵² M.T. Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, p. 59. Macropedius (1487 – 1558), who was the headmaster of St. Jerome’s school in Utrecht from c. 1531, was a celebrated neo-Latin playwright, who published 12 plays (including five comedies) and also a number of text books, including *Epistolica* (1543) on writing letters and the art of logic and rhetoric: editions of this were published in many other European cities, including Basel. He was very familiar with Greek and Roman literature, with the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers. The many reprints of his textbooks both in his lifetime and subsequently in the Netherlands, Germany, France and England attest to the respect felt for Macropedius. He was also energetic in promoting the study of Greek, not only the reading of the New Testament but also the study of the works of the classic Greek authors. For an excellent website with references to his life and literature see the article by H. Giebels. *Macropedius (1487 – 1558)* [online] last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: http://www.members.tripod.com/commanderijcollege/giebels/macro_eng.html

College in Cambridge, and at the University of Prague.⁵³ Thus it can be argued that *Christus Triumphans* is really an example of tragicomedy and that it is precisely the environment of the exile which leads Foxe to write in this genre.⁵⁴ Here, through the medium of drama, Foxe was able to speak in his natural language of thought, the language of his exile, directly to an audience of German students and staff at one of the major European academic institutions.

Despite Smith's general comments referred to above, he acknowledges that *Christus Triumphans* has echoes of Horace and references to Plautus, that it makes 'even more effective use of the language of Roman comedy than *Titus et Gesippus*', and that it has effective speeches and scenes.⁵⁵ However, Smith goes on to excuse himself from commenting on Foxe's borrowing from classical writers, e.g. Plautus, Terence and Cicero, noting that this would have been done had his text 'been constructed on the great principles of classical editing.'⁵⁶ It is therefore still the case that we have no Latin text composed by Foxe which has been properly edited as a work of literature. Smith's real interest in these plays is, understandably in view of his particular specialism, in their place in the development of Renaissance Drama. In any case, the vast majority of Foxe's Latin writing was in prose, which has received very little attention indeed.

⁵³ See the website cited in the previous note.

⁵⁴ Cf. A. Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). In discussing the subject of exile in her account of literature during the Tudor and Stuart periods of catholic recusancy, Shell refers to Jesuit tragicomedy and, in particular, to two early seventeenth century allegorical tragicomedies, *Captiua Religio* and *Psyche et Filii Eius*. While these plays are catholic, rather than protestant, and are nearly sixty years later than that of Foxe, it is interesting to note that there are parallels in the subjects of exile and the apocalypse.

⁵⁵ J.H. Smith, *Two Latin comedies*, p. 37.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 45.

Christus Triumphans has been seen by some as artistically inferior to *Titus et Gesipus*, suggesting that Foxe was attempting more than his dramatic ability could sustain, an excessive number of characters, inconsistencies in his allegorical portrayals and a reliance on messengers to convey off-stage action to the audience.⁵⁷ While this criticism may be valid artistically, we should bear in mind Foxe's stated aim *ea duntaxat e literis sacris in theatrum transferre quae ad res potissimum ecclesiasticas pertinebant* ('to transfer as far as possible from the sacred writings into the theater those things which pertain primarily to ecclesiastical affairs'),⁵⁸ and accept that 'as far as possible' he did just that. With regard to his apocalyptic thought, Foxe's metahistoric narrative is influenced by this: the periodisation of history is determined by where it is going, God's providence and the Book of Revelation. There are various periods of rule, of which the end period is when Christ and his saints will return to earth. Foxe thinks that it should be possible to 'map' this from the previous and current periods to 'where we are now'. The Protestant reformers thought they were living in the last age – Bale and Foxe were not unique, but Bale was very advanced in his thinking.⁵⁹ It is no coincidence that *Christus Triumphans* was written in the exile period. There were high stakes and there was no identity abroad for the exiles. The reformers wrote works such as these ostensibly for religious motivation: they had to believe that God had a plan for them all; they needed a purpose in life. Foxe's play is for the students – they are going to be a part of that future. This is a pedagogical way in which God's Word can be used.

⁵⁷ For example, W.W. Wooden, *John Foxe*, p. 81.

⁵⁸ Quoted from the 'Dedicatory Epistle' prefaced to *Christus Triumphans*, translated by J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies*, p. 209.

⁵⁹ Cf. V.N. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973), p. 83 on the apocalyptic views of both Bale and Foxe. See also R. Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation: From John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman* The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics (Abingdon: Sutton Courtney Press, 1978), pp. 21–36.

Foxe's purposes were didactic, of a piece with the *Tables of Grammar* (1552) and *Locorum Communium Tituli* (1557), for use in an educational context. The play may have been read or even performed by students in the University of Basel. That was certainly the milieu in which it would later be performed in England.⁶⁰ It is also clear from his commonplace book of the following year that Foxe regarded the use of Latin for oral delivery as important for developing rhetorical skills: no doubt a play to be memorised and declaimed would continue the long-established tradition of oral Latin in Renaissance education, which used the classroom disputation.⁶¹

What has been neglected in all of this is any detailed comment on Foxe's Latin. Mozley's 'no poetic merit', Herford's 'pedantic in style' and Smith's 'Foxe's prosody, deficient even in the best of circumstances' (*Titus et Gesippus*) and 'seriously flawed' (*Christus Triumphans*) are assessments which need reconsideration. These critics were not contemporaries of Foxe and are not therefore in a position to judge how the play was received during the 1550s and 1560s, nor to judge whether the criticisms of his versification would have meant anything at all to a Tudor audience. We have already seen in the discussion of *Titus et Gesippus* in Chapter One that, owing to a lack of understanding of the principles of versification before the early eighteenth century, it is perhaps unfair to be too critical of attempts by good Latinists, such as Foxe, to imitate Roman comedy.⁶²

⁶⁰ See J.H. Smith, *Two Latin Comedies*, p. 34. It was performed at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1562–3, and is likely to have been performed at Magdalen College, though no record survives for the latter.

⁶¹ Cf. J.G. Rechten, 'John Foxe's Comprehensive Collection of Commonplaces: A Renaissance Memory System for Students and Theologians' in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9 1 (April, 1978), p 86.

⁶² See Chapter One, p. 38.

To illustrate some of Foxe's verse composition, I have made two selections from *Christus Triumphans* (which naturally cannot be representative of the play as a whole, but will perhaps serve to give something of the flavour of the Latin text). These can be found as Nos. 27 and 28 in *Appendix I*. The first selection from comes at the start of the play (i.e. after the dedicatory epistle and prefatory verses) with the Prologue, the Periocha (*Argument*) and the first scene. There are many classical allusions and vocabulary items right from the start of the play. In the fourth line of the Prologue comes the theatrical term *proscenium*. Although this is a post-classical word for 'theatre', it is used here by Foxe in its original classical sense of 'stage' as used by Plautus in three of his prologues.⁶³ Line 11 sees the first of many Plautian references: *transennam* ('a net, snare, trap') is found in at least three Plautian comedies,⁶⁴ but it is also used by Cicero with the meaning 'netting'.⁶⁵ Among Foxe's slightly unusual, yet still classical, usages, in lines 21 and 22 are *meretricula*, a diminutive for 'prostitute' used by Cicero, Horace and Quintilian,⁶⁶ and *chirographo*, a legal term meaning a 'writ'.⁶⁷ The expression *fauete linguis* was used in the classical world in religious language (as it is here) by Cicero, Horace and Tibullus,⁶⁸ while Foxe adapts the word *sycophanticus* from the Greek συκοφαντικός,⁶⁹ and there is a direct reference in line 28 to a passage in one of Horace's satires with the words *Nigrae et loliginis succus* ('the moisture of the black cuttle-fish').⁷⁰

⁶³ Plautus, *Amphitruo*, prol. 91; *Truculentus* prol. 10; *Poenulus*, prol. 17.

⁶⁴ E.g. at *Persa*, 480, *Bacchides*, 792, *Rudens*, 1236 and 1239.

⁶⁵ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1. 35. 162.

⁶⁶ Cicero, *De Deorum Natura*, 1. 33. 93; Horace, *Satires*, 2. 7. 46; Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, 11. 3. 74.

⁶⁷ Cf. Gaius, *Institutiones Juris Civilis*, 3. 134. *Digesta*, 20. 1. 26; 49. 14. 3. Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 17; *Gaius Caligula*, 12; *Domitianus*, 1. Aulus Gellius, 14. 2. 7.

⁶⁸ Cf. Horace, *Odes*, 3. 1. 2; Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 2. 40. 83; Tibullus, 2. 2. 2.

⁶⁹ J.H. Smith notes that Plautus uses a noun *sycophantia*, meaning 'deceit': Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 1. 5. 70; *Poenulus*, 3. 3. 41; *Miles Gloriosus*, 3. 1. 172 etc.

⁷⁰ Cf. Horace, *Satires*, 1. 4. 100: *hic nigrae succus loliginis*.

The names of Greek and Roman individuals come in lines 29 – 32, with references to Aristarchus,⁷¹ a distinguished but severe critic from Alexandria, who questioned the authenticity of Homer, Gaius Memmius, who was mentioned positively by Sallust,⁷² but was regarded as a bit of a 'moaner' by Cicero,⁷³ and the Muses and Graces: the nine Muses of ancient Greece inspired poets, playwrights, dancers, actors, musicians, and scientists, while the three Graces were the daughters of Zeus and companions to the Muses in bestowing their gifts upon humanity. These four lines conclude with mention of Quintus Roscius Gallus, a very famous actor friend of Cicero's and of Momus the Greek god of mockery, and criticism. The last two are also found in the *Adagia* of Erasmus.⁷⁴

In the *Periocha* at line 47 (and again at line 82) come words meaning 'hell' and 'death' personified, with *Orcus* and *Thanatos*. It is perhaps significant that in a play with a Christian theme the terms used for the realm and person of the devil should be expressed in the pagan vocabulary of the classical world. A *lictor*, mentioned on line 52, was a very specific Roman attendant, who accompanied a magistrate (consul or praetor) in carrying out his official duties. The *fasces* (a bundle of rods containing an axe) carried by each *lictor* symbolised the magistrate's power to inflict both corporal and capital punishment, thus emphasising the power of *Thanatos* in the play. In Scene 1 Eve is 'destitute of a remedy' (*expers medelae*): while *medela* is a post-classical word meaning 'healing', 'cure', or 'remedy', it is also found as a trope with a specific legal connotation of 'means of redress'.⁷⁵ The 'everlasting'

⁷¹ Cf. Cicero, *Epistulae Ad Familiares*, 3. 11; *Ad Atticum*, 1.14; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 450; Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 9. 1. 8.

⁷² Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 27; 30.

⁷³ Cf. Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 13. 1.

⁷⁴ Roscius: cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, IV. vii. 69. Momus: cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. v. 74.

⁷⁵ Cf. Aulus Gellius, 20. 1. 22; Ausonius, *Professores*, 15; Justin, 11. 1. 7.

ergastulis ('bondage' – derived from the Greek ἐργάζομαι 'I work') in which Orcus is holding her daughter Psyche, is a term meaning a workhouse for offenders, a house of correction or a penitentiary, again emphasising Eve's total isolation from her daughter, even in death.

The second extract from *Christus Triumphans* (Act IV, Scene 4, *Appendix I*, No. 28) again sees Satan using in line 817 a pagan word *augurare* ('to predict, prophesy'), derived from the pagan ritual of an priest known as an *augur* taking the auguries for the future, usually by observing the flight of birds, rather than the more usual *praedicere*. An Erasmian adage is found in line 820 with the expression *Ad unguem* ('To the finger nail'), which suggests the thoroughness with which Satan plans his evil.⁷⁶ Two classical allusions follow in lines 822 – 3 with descriptions from mythology of Satan's 'cunning devices' (*Daedalias . . . machinas*) leading to the 'capture of Troy by means of the [wooden] horse' (*equo hoc . . . fient Pergama*) – i.e. a successful outcome for his plans. Psychephonus, his henchman, and Satan continue this classical theme with an exchange about being freed from being 'trapped in the labyrinths' (*labyrinthis tenemur*) by means of a 'Thesean thread' (*Theseo . . . filo*) in allusion to the way in which the Athenian hero Theseus rescued himself and his comrades from King Minos's labyrinth and the Minotaur, using a thread and sword provided by the king's daughter, Ariadne.

In lines 844 – 5 Foxe demonstrates his knowledge of Greek and Roman technology with *saepe etenim machinis facilius tolluntur pondera* ('great weights often are lifted quite easily with engines'), referring to the use of cranes in the ancient

⁷⁶ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. v. 91. See Chapter 1, p. 48, where this adage is also used.

world (such as the Roman *polyspaston* used by the Haterii family of builders) for lifting very heavy blocks of stone.⁷⁷ An unusual word for a trick or artifice to be used by Satan is *strophā* in line 855. This word, coming from the Greek στροφή (strophe),⁷⁸ when used as here is usually found in the plural (as in Greek) but it is used in the singular in two examples, by Pliny and Martial.⁷⁹ Another Erasmian adage comes two lines later with *Circaea pocula* ('Circean cups'), referring to the cup from which the enchantress Circe induced Odysseus's sailors to drink, thus turning them into swine.⁸⁰ A rare word occurs in line 862 with *saccharum* (translated by Smith as 'sugar'). The classical Latin word *saccharon* (from the Greek σάκχαρον, a sweet juice distilling from the joints of the bamboo, a kind of sugar, according to *L&S Lat.*) occurs only in the Elder Pliny and Lucan.⁸¹ The passage here in Satan's speech has the meaning 'whatever entices with lechery . . . like those who sprinke poison over sugar' in reference to the fact that even though poison may be (temporarily) concealed by (the taste of) sugar, it will nevertheless be fatal, again illustrating Satan's intention of stopping at nothing to achieve his evil ends.

Yet again a number of diminutives are found in Foxe's Latin text: *meretricula* ('little whore') in line 843 (also in line 21 of the first extract) and *gazula* ('purse', or 'little treasure') in line 872. A Terentian allusion occurs at line 901 with *auremque utranque arrige* ('prick up both ears'), which must surely be taken from *arrige aures*

⁷⁷ Cf. Vitruvius, 10. 5, 16.

⁷⁸ The strophe or stanza used in the chorus of Greek and Roman dramas, corresponding metrically with the antistrophe which followed.

⁷⁹ Pliny, *Letters*, I. 18. 6; Martial, XI. 7. 4.

⁸⁰ Homer, *Odyssey*, X, 229ff. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, IV. ix. 43: *Circeo poculo*.

⁸¹ Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 12. 8. 17; Lucan, 3. 237. Although sugar was known from the sixth century in India and in Persia, it was only following the Crusades that it became widely known in the west. Despite the number of refineries in Britain having reached 120 by the 1750s it was still regarded as a luxury item.

Pamphile ('prick up your ears, Pamphilus').⁸² Naturally, there are many biblical references in this particular work, as one would expect in a play on a biblical theme. There are two which occur in this selection. The first is in line 843, where Satan suggests that they will 'shave the head of this Samson with the help of a whore'⁸³ (*Sampsoni huic erademus per meretriculam*), the latter referring to Delilah, a courtesan who betrayed Samson to the Philistines by cutting off the hair which gave him his strength. The second example is in line 925 with *clauem qui habet* ('he who has the key'), referring to a passage in Revelation, *qui habet clauem David* ('he who has the key of David').⁸⁴

Christus Triumphans is, then, an example of a Christian humanist tragicomedy. It presents us with the tragedy of human suffering and ends optimistically with the ultimate victory of Christ – a positive outcome at which we can be pleased. This play was a Protestant propaganda play, influenced, as we have seen earlier, by Kirchmayer, and described as 'a combination of chronicles and morality'.⁸⁵ The outcome would be expressed very clearly on a public stage and would therefore be exposed to a large audience (although we cannot be sure how large), rather than to an individual reader, had it been published as a tract.

⁸² Terence, *Andria*, V. 4. 30.

⁸³ Comment has already been made on this diminutive a few lines above.

⁸⁴ *Judges*, 16. 19. *Revelation*, 3. 7.

⁸⁵ M. Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, p. 59.

Panegyricon (see Appendix I, No. 29 for an extract from the full text) (P1)

An integral part of the *Christus Triumphans* publication of 1556 was the Latin prose *Panegyricon*, which was printed immediately after the text of the play.⁸⁶ The function of a classical panegyric was that of a formal speech delivered in praise of a person, or persons, or thing. The Greek πανηγυρικός means 'of or for a public assembly or festival' and on the occasion of Greek festivals a πανηγυρικός λόγος ('panegyric') was used to rouse the citizens to emulate their ancestors; exponents of these panegyrics were Gorgias, Lysias and Isocrates. By the Hellenistic period the term had come to mean a 'eulogy', delivered in a flattering and generally uncritical manner. Well known examples of this were Pliny's panegyric, on the occasion of entering upon his consulship, to the emperor Trajan.⁸⁷ Pliny referred to the speech as a *gratiarum actio* – the written version (three times the length of the original version delivered to the senate) is divided into 95 chapters and is generally regarded as being too long and over elaborate in its rhetoric (it could have taken up to three days to deliver) but it remains 'the solitary specimen of Latin eloquence from the century and a half that had elapsed since the death of Cicero'.⁸⁸ Christian epideictic oratory had developed from the time of Gregory Thaumaturgus's farewell speech c. A.D. 238 on his departure from Origen's school of Christian studies at Caesarea.⁸⁹ From the panegyric sermons of the Byzantine period, through the revival of rhetoric in the

⁸⁶ Richard Day's 1579 translation of the work supplies a much longer title: *Christ Jesus triumphant. A fruitful treatise, wherein is described the most glorious triumph, and conquest of Christ Iesus our sauour, ouer sinne, death, the law, the strength and pride of Sathan, and the world, with all other enemyes whatsoever agaynst the poore soule of man: made too be read for spirituall comfort, by Iohn Foxe, and from Latin translated intoo English by the printer. See ESTC 11231. 638. 21.*

⁸⁷ Pliny, *Panegyricus*. See M. Durry (ed. & trans.), *Pline le Jeune. T.4, Lettres : livres VII-IX; Panegyrique de Trajan* (Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1957).

⁸⁸ R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 94. See B. Radice, 'Pliny and the *Panegyricus*', *Greece & Rome*, 2nd Series, 15 2. (October, 1968), pp. 166 – 72.

⁸⁹ See G.A. Kennedy, *Rhetoric & Its Christian & Secular Traditions from Ancient to Modern Times* 2nd ed (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p. 160.

Renaissance, and the teaching of rhetoric by Erasmus and Melanchthon,⁹⁰ Foxe continues this tradition of epideictic oratory. Rhetoric in the sixteenth century was treated much more seriously by the elite and nobles, especially in the lower Rhineland, notably in Flanders and the Netherlands, where ‘chambers of rhetoric’ were established during the 15th and 16th centuries, rather like drinking clubs, where they put on plays and wrote material for reciting at meetings.⁹¹ For example, in 1551 and 1552 Cornelis van Ghistele produced two versions of *Enius en Dido* in Antwerp: apparently he ‘regarded it as his duty to translate Latin classics into the vernacular for the instruction of those not learned in Latin, thereby bring Renaissance humanism’s love of the classics to the masses.’⁹² It was in that very year, 1556, that Philip II visited Antwerp to strengthen his claim to govern the Low Countries following his father’s abdication: the rhetoricians were very much involved in the cultural preparations for his visit.⁹³

Foxe does not tell us explicitly about the function or purpose of the *Panegyricon*. It is likely that it was delivered orally, probably from the stage either before or after the performance of *Christus Triumphans*, to ensure that the audience was in no doubt of the author’s didactic intentions in the play. I suggest that in this way it would fulfil the function of the parabasis of a Greek play, mentioned on page 159, but in a much more extended form and not within the structure of the play itself. It would thus be manifestly a declaration of the playwright’s views, rather than the chorus or a character apparently conveying his views in the middle of the play, as in the classical precedents. The message of the play had been that Christ’s life was one

⁹⁰ Foxe had a copy of Melanchthon on Virgil’s *Georgics*. See BL Lansdowne MS 819, fol. 96r.

⁹¹ See R.P. Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries* 2nd ed. (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1978), pp. 49ff.

⁹² See G.K. Waite, *Reformers on Stage: Popular Drama and Religious Propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles V, 1515–1556* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), especially p. 61.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 62.

of travail but ultimately of victory. The form of the play corresponded to the message and the *Panegyricon* underscores this with a more direct message, telling the audience what the play was about.

Early in the piece Foxe demonstrates the power of his rhetoric in a series of negative statements, emphasising the tyranny of death by naming the people who have not been able to conquer or subdue it. In Section 5 there are twenty-one instances of *non* at the start of a phrase or clause, together with a *nec quisquam* and a *non . . . ulla*. The examples of prominent men cited as having failed to cheat death are: Alexander the Great, Hercules, Xerxes, Marius, Pompey, Julius Caesar and the Roman soldiers, each with some descriptive phrase linked. These classical examples are summed up in *non Regum, non Caesarum formidabilis maiestas* ('not the dreadful majesty of Kings or Caesars'). Then come the abstract concepts of law and wealth, followed by a long list of phrases all consisting of the negative *non*, a genitive of the concept/group in society and a nominative of the skills or means by which they could have tried to avoid death: *non legum cautiones . . . non diuitum opulentia . . . non philosophorum sophos . . . non Rhetorum eloquentia . . . non Dialecticorum strophae . . . non Stoicorum libertas* etc. The long list of genitives is twice interrupted towards the end by two (not consecutive) phrases of an adjective and noun in the nominative: *non pharisaica sanctimonia . . . non monastica austeritas*, before the long list is concluded with *denique non hominum aut naturae ulla uis aut ratio huic obsistere unquam potuit* ('finally no strength or reason of either man or nature has ever been able to resist [death]'), the last two words emphasising the finality of a long and powerful statement.

Another effective rhetorical device occurs in section 7 where Foxe has the Preacher (*Ecclesiastes* – note again the use of this Erasmian term which we saw used in the letter to Peter Martyr in Chapter Two), discussing the indiscriminate occurrence of death. A list of opposite pairs emphasises the lack of discrimination: *moritur sapiens ac stultus, doctus ac illiteratus, diues ac tenuis, Rex et plebeius* ('death comes to the wise and the foolish, the learned and the unlearned, the rich and the poor, the King and the commoner'). Another classical image comes in the phrase *cui longissime fluit huius uitae clepsydra* ('the man for whom the water-clock of this life flows the furthest', i.e. 'the man who lives the longest life'). This word of Greek origin (κλεψύδρα) is mentioned by both Cicero and the younger Pliny in commenting on how orators measured the length of their speeches.⁹⁴ The section is completed with the Erasmian adage *Homo bulla* ('Man is a bubble'),⁹⁵ meaning that there is nothing as fragile or fleeting and empty as the life of a man.⁹⁶ Thus the Panegyricon, with its direct message, delivered orally in the style of a classical declamatio, is an effective piece of Latin prose and will have resonated with the university audience.

De tota Sacramenti Eucharistiae causa: Foxe's translation of Cranmer's second volume on the Eucharist

An important role had been assigned to Foxe by Peter Martyr back in 1555 (when Foxe was still in Frankfurt) in the commission entrusted to him to translate Cranmer's second book on the Eucharist into Latin. Although we have so far been examining Foxe's interest in education and the improvement of techniques for Latin writing in this chapter, the second and all-consuming interest he had was in the Reformation

⁹⁴ Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 2. 27. 67; Pliny, *Epistulae*, II. 11. 14; 6. 2. 5; 1. 23. 2.

⁹⁵ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. iii. 48.

⁹⁶ *CWE*, Vol. 33, p. 156.

itself: both the theological issues such as the Eucharist and the martyrdoms of those involved in its progress. Within two months of bringing out *Christus Triumphans*, we find Foxe on 4 May 1556 writing to Grindal about the recently martyred Cranmer. No doubt Foxe would need details of this martyrdom for his long term project, the Latin martyrology, which Grindal had encouraged him to write, but he would also need to refer to this event in the preface he would be writing for his translation into Latin of Cranmer's *Eucharist* which was concurrently occupying so much of his time. This letter of Foxe on 4 May, which is mentioned by Mozley who is really discussing Grindal's reply, does not survive.⁹⁷

Cranmer's *Eucharist* was a work which had a complicated and controversial background, spilling over into the public domain. Foxe could not fail to have been aware of this. In order to follow the sequence of the exchanges between Gardiner and Cranmer, I have compiled a table, illustrating the written exchanges between Cranmer and Gardiner, and this is printed in the accompanying volume as *Appendix V*. John Strype raises some very interesting points in his assessment of this project of Foxe's and the connection with Cheke.⁹⁸ He says that Cranmer 'intended to have his vindication of his book [*Confutatio*, 1552] put into Latin also; but lived not to see that done'. Then he tells us that both Cheke and Foxe were working on this Latin translation, but that by his death Cheke 'left the whole work to Foxe, then at Frankfort, after he had finished the first part.' Strype also informs us that John à Lasco was involved and it is clear from what he says that Foxe's role was greater than we had previously thought – rescuing a project that Cheke had struggled with.

⁹⁷ Mozley, p. 120. Grindal's reply can be found in BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 113r.

⁹⁸ J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, Vol. II. p. 335.

By the mid summer of 1557 the translation of the Cranmer text was completed, but not printed, and it was to take a great deal of letter writing, especially to Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich, before Foxe accepted that, because of its controversial nature,⁹⁹ he was unlikely at the present time to find a printer for what had occupied so much of his time and had caused him such difficulties. Certainly, Foxe was well aware of the sensitivity of what he was trying to do in September 1557,¹⁰⁰ but he was still writing on this subject to Bullinger (two more letters), John Cheke and John Faulkener during the latter part of the year. While the letters to Bullinger are devoted to the practical difficulties of finding a publisher, the Latin letter to Sir John Cheke is a more studied piece.¹⁰¹

Letter to John Cheke about the Cranmer translation (*Appendix I*, No. 30)

In Section 1 Foxe refers to a certain trustworthy person from Strassburg, using the Greek term ἀξιόπιστου to describe him as such. This would naturally cause the former Professor of Greek to smile, as, no doubt, would the Homeric reference to Cheke as being ἔξοχος ἄλλων ('eminent above others')¹⁰² to tackle the Cranmer translation. Further classical allusions follow of a Homeric nature, with *Vlisseis tuis itineribus* ('your Ulyssean journeys'), a literary reference to the 'long lasting' and 'remote' journeys of Odysseus (= Ulysses), as recounted by Homer in the *Odyssey*,

⁹⁹ Cranmer's first book, *A Defence*, had been in the form of a polemical attack on the nature of the sacraments in the mass, dealing specifically with what he called the errors of transubstantiation, misunderstandings about the Eucharistic presence, metaphor and sacrament. In his *Explication* Gardiner had been in favour of certain aspects of the 1549 prayer book that could be interpreted in a traditional manner. This meant that what the reformers had intended to do in the way of liturgical revision was now a matter of some urgency, but Cranmer clearly felt that he should refute Gardiner's answer to the *Defence* without delay.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. his letter to Bullinger, dated 26th September 1557, *Zurich Letters Vol. I*, pp. 42 – 3.

¹⁰¹ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 96b.

¹⁰² cf. Homer, *Iliad* 6. 194: ἔξοχον ἄλλων.

and the epic hero's πολομητην¹⁰³ ('cunning'). When Foxe makes a self-deprecating reference to the feebleness of his health with words *pro ualetudinis nostrae imbecillitate*, we see an immediate allusion to a phrase in one of Cicero's letters: *istam imbecillitatem ualetudinis tuae*.¹⁰⁴

It is when we reach Section 2 of Foxe's letter to Cheke that Strype's observation that John à Lasco 'put in the Latin school-terms, instead of more pure good Latin which Cheke had used, and it was judged fit that such words should be used where the archbishop in his English had used them'¹⁰⁵ becomes clear. My interpretation of the situation is as follows: it would appear that Cranmer had used some simple 'Latin schoolboy' terms in the preface of the 1553 Latin book on the Eucharist, but that Cheke had 'improved' these with more scholarly terms. John à Lasco evidently thought that Cranmer's original Latin terms should be retained. Cheke must have had second thoughts and agreed with him: this must be the *censura* ('criticism') referred to by Foxe, and it may also have applied with regard to the earlier volume translated by Cheke. Perhaps then they both decided that Foxe should complete the project of translating Cranmer's second book. This interpretation is quite consistent with both Foxe's letter to Cheke and the account by Strype quoted above, although it must of course remain a matter of conjecture. In Section 3 Foxe flatters Cheke by saying that à Lasco's 'scholasticisms' do not prevent the volume from being *totum adhuc Chicum redolet* ('totally redolent of Cheke'), and then he emphasises the point with a proverbial reference from Erasmus' *Adagia* that *neque enim difficile est leonem ex unguibus . . . indicare* ('it is not difficult to make a lion

¹⁰³ This should be πολομητην – presumably a copyist's mistake, as the hand is not Foxe's.

¹⁰⁴ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 7. 1. 5.

¹⁰⁵ J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, Vol. II, p. 335.

known by his claws’).¹⁰⁶ Clearly Cheke had sent an encouraging letter to Foxe, but it would seem that he had increased his difficulties, because Foxe would now have to re-think some of what had already been completed by using simpler language. In view of the problems he was having with the rather more obscure passages, we can well imagine the headaches that would produce, even for a skilled Latinist. Nevertheless Foxe received praise from Grindal on completion of the project around January 1557, so those difficulties must eventually have been surmounted.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Strype refers to Foxe’s manuscript as being ‘in very cleanly elegant Latin’. While this was written just over a hundred years after Foxe’s death, it is much closer to Foxe’s lifetime than other comments on his Latin style – there are no contemporary assessments: we can only make assumptions based on, for example, the fact that he was asked to translate the Cranmer book and that he was asked during Elizabeth’s reign to write a foreword to the *Reformatio Legum* in 1571 and to complete Walter Haddon’s response to the Portuguese bishop Osorio in 1577. The success Foxe ultimately had in completing the Cranmer translation (confirmed by the comments from Grindal and Strype) is further evidence of his skill in Latin composition, especially when the material was of a complex and difficult nature. Even though the translation remained unpublished, Foxe’s circle of friends knew what he had done and it will have earned him great respect.

¹⁰⁶ D. Erasmus, *Adagia* I. ix. 34, though with a slight variation, using the verb *iudicare* rather than *aestimare*. Foxe had already made use of this adage in the letter to Oporinus. See p. 146.

¹⁰⁷ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 114v.

Locorum Communium Tituli, March 1557

Foxe's interest in education continued with the writing of a commonplace book, published in March 1557 under the title of *Locorum Communium Tituli*, and specifically targeted at the undergraduate students at the University of Basel.¹⁰⁸ This work is a significant teaching text which, after analysing the current state of commonplace methodology in its preface, encouraged students to compile their own excerpted texts under printed headings on otherwise blank pages. This was innovative in the history of commonplace books, as the student was usually presented with a ready printed list of metaphors, proverbs and *sententiae*, which he was then expected to memorise and use to good effect in his Latin composition. Foxe was deeply interested in the grammar and style of the Latin language, together with the learning processes involved, and this no doubt linked up with his experience as a teacher in the two pedagogical posts he held after leaving Oxford, in the Lucy household at Charlecote in Warwickshire and in the Norfolk establishments in London and Reigate in Surrey.¹⁰⁹ With this book he is providing a contextual framework as an *aide memoire* for adages or commonplaces – the blank pages are for this task.¹¹⁰ This concern for teaching methods can be linked to Foxe's *Tables of Grammar*, published in London some five years earlier in 1552.¹¹¹ What we are not told anywhere is whether or not Foxe did any further teaching of Latin after his tutoring job came to an end in London in 1553. The full Latin title of the *Locorum Communium Tituli* in my translation is:

¹⁰⁸ Foxe makes this clear in the dedication from the preface. See *Appendix I*, No. 31.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapters One and Two.

¹¹⁰ M.E. Welti, *Der Basler Buchdruck Und Britannien: Die Rezeption Britischen Gedankengut in Den Basler Pressen Von Den Anfängen Bis Zum Beginn Des 17. Jahrhunderts...*, Basler Beiträge Zur Geschichtswissenschaft (Basel: Verlag von Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1964).

¹¹¹ See Chapter Two, pp. 69 – 72.

‘One hundred and fifty Commonplace Headings and orders, described for the list of ten Predicaments, for which, as fixed nests and satchels, studious readers should assemble whatever must be gathered from Authors anywhere’¹¹²

Foxe was well aware that his students needed mnemonic devices for memorising: he is here displaying his skill as a teacher in devising appropriate materials for his method of teaching. In January of that year he had written to Boniface Amerbach, Rector of the University in Basel, enclosing a pre-publication copy of the work and asking for his patronage.¹¹³ This is a very short letter and so is quoted here in full, together with my translation.

Salutem cum multa pace in Christo. Librum Locorum communium academicae iuventuti uestrae in scriptum quoniam illis nequibam uniuersis, ad te publico illorum nomine mitto et depono (suspiciende d(omine) rector simul ac decus academiae), non quod hic quicquam te dignum aut usibus accommodum inesset, sed ut nostrae erga illos obseruantiae extaret testificatio. Eum ut comiter benigneque recipias, rogare non ausim, minus etiam, ut fauore tuo subleues, si res ipsa non promereatur. Caeterum quum nihil est ferme in humanis rebus huiusmodi, quantumuis per se utile aut laboratum, quod non aliquo inter homines patrono egeat, quanto magis mihi hac in re patrocini tui adminiculo est opus. Quod si praestiteris, rem si non laboribus nostris, tua certe humanitate dignam feceris. Basileae. Tuus in Christo I. Foxus.

Greetings with much peace in Christ. The book of Commonplaces written for the youth of your university, since I was unable to send it to all of them, I am sending to you publicly in their name and depositing it with you (esteemed Lord Rector and distinguished member of the University), not because there is in it anything worthy of you or suited to your use, but so that it may be a sign of my regard for them. I would not dare to ask that you receive it in a polite and kindly manner, even less that you should promote it with your support, if the situation itself did not merit that. But since there is almost nothing in human affairs of this sort, however much it is useful in itself or has had time spent on it, that does not need some patron among men, how much the more do I need the support of your patronage in this matter. If you provide this, you will have done a deed, if not appropriate to my labours, at least worthy of your humanity.

It is a good example of Foxe’s ability to put over in a few well chosen Latin sentences his reasons for sending the book, just as he had done in November 1555 with a copy of the *Commentarii* sent to Oporinus.¹¹⁴ Foxe appears to be very unassuming about his work when he writes *non quod hic quicquam te dignum aut usibus accommodum inesset* (‘not that there is in it anything worthy of you or suited to your use’), but he had also been very self-deprecating in what he said in the letter to Oporinus about his first attempts at writing. Although this is clearly another example of *captatio*

¹¹² J. Foxe, *Locorum communium tituli & ordines centum quinquaginta, ad seriem praedicamentorum decem descripti: in quos, ceu certos nidos & capsulas, quaecunque sunt usquam ex autoribus colligenda, lectores congerant studiosi* (Basel: Oporinus, 1557).

¹¹³ Mozley, p. 56. Cf. *Original Letters*, Vol. II p. 767.

¹¹⁴ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 98r-v. See the start of this chapter for the discussion of this letter.

benevolentiae,¹¹⁵ which was intended to gain patronage from two people in positions of influence, there was no doubt an acceptable level of diffidence on the part of a confident writer, who knew the rules of the game. It is in any case a risky procedure to try to establish character traits from an individual's writing, certainly when looking back some four and a half centuries.

Of the two published assessments of Foxe's work on commonplaces, the earlier is a paper by John Rechtien in 1978,¹¹⁶ in which, surprisingly, he seems unaware of the 1557 book under discussion here, but comments only on a second, and larger edition, of the work under a much longer title.¹¹⁷ Rechtien sets Foxe's Commonplace book in its context of the advancement in the printed book form in the Tudor period of the Renaissance tradition of providing collections of 'excerpts, variously classified or organized',¹¹⁸ but in his case providing the somewhat unusual feature of mostly blank pages, but with headings, so that the student could insert the results of his own reading.

From the time of Erasmus's *De ratione studii*, published in 1512, commonplace books had developed as collections of extracts from classical sources which were organised by the compiler, drawing on various models. The object of the

¹¹⁵ G.A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, p. 214. See Introduction, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ J. Rechtien, 'John Foxe's Comprehensive Collection of Commonplaces', pp. 82–89.

¹¹⁷ J. Foxe, *Pandectae locorum communium, praecipua rerum capita et titulos, iuxta ordinem elementorum complectentes. Cum adiunctis locorum ac paginarum numeris, tum charta insuper ad manum parata, quanta cuique loco sufficere uisa est. In quam uelut in proprias sedes ac nidos, quicquid usquam ex omni authorum lectione, memoria dignum occurrerit, studioso lectori, pro suo cuiusque delectu, reponere, rursusque indidem tanquam ex memoriae penuario expromere, quae libeat, licebit* (London: John Day, 1572). The English translation of this title is: 'A Comprehensive Collection of Commonplaces, containing the principal heads and titles of subject matter, arranged in alphabetical order, With numbers of the places and pages added, and in addition with a useful chart prepared in as much detail as seemed adequate for each place. The studious reader will be able to record here according to his own choice, as in their very own seats and nests, whatever should occur anywhere worthy of remembering in every reading of any author, and to exhibit here afresh, as it were, whatever he may want from the storehouse of the memory'.

¹¹⁸ J. Rechtien, 'John Foxe's Comprehensive Collection of Commonplaces', p. 82.

exercise was to arrange a visibly clear connection between things and to construct arguments with their help. Foxe laid out his system in the preface of *Locorum Communium Tituli* using Aristotle's ten predicaments for his categories: substance, quantity, quality, relationship, mode of activity, mode of passivity, time, place, situation, appearance.¹¹⁹ Foxe seems to have been influenced by the humanist teacher in Strassburg, Johann Sturm (1507 – 1589), and the writer Jodocus Willichius (1502 – 1552) in Frankfurt. Ann Moss has shown how Foxe assembled his 'manual' by subdividing the categories to provide the reader with 'the ability to read analytically, to argue effectively on controversial issues, and to teach others to do so.'¹²⁰ So who were Foxe's readers? The dedication to the book makes this absolutely clear and once again underline's Foxe's deep interest in education, and here particularly in the art of rhetoric. The book was dedicated *Inclytæ Academiae Basiliensis tyronibus et iuventuti literariae* ('to the undergraduates and literary youth of the noble University of Basel'). While Foxe's skill in networking no doubt saw a further opportunity to link him with the local university – and he had been allowed to matriculate there as we have already seen – there is no mistaking his deep pedagogical concern for maintaining the rhetorical standards set by Erasmus and Melanchthon. In fact, Moss suggests that 'Foxe's book is a manual for Melanchthon's fourth kind of rhetoric, his genus didascalium.' She goes on to show how Foxe 'stresses the dialectical foundations of a form of argumentation which tests opinions in controversy.'¹²¹

An example of the practical use of Foxe's books of commonplaces can be found in a copy now in the British Library but which was formerly owned by the

¹¹⁹ A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 192.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 193.

¹²¹ *ibid.*

lawyer Sir Julius Caesar (1558 – 1636).¹²² This is in fact the 1572 second edition, the *Pandectae Locorum Communium*, which ran to 1200 pages and contained a printed index of 768 topics which Caesar nearly doubled by adding 682 manuscript additions to the alphabetical index. Some of these additions were written alongside Foxe's lists in their columns, others were placed in a new alphabetical list of Caesar's own. Caesar used this book by extending in certain places Foxe's categories with his own headings and filling in detailed comments on many of the topics.

In the dedication from the Preface to the *Locorum Communium Tituli* (*Appendix I*, No. 30), Foxe makes clear the great debt of gratitude he and the other English exiles owe to the Basel and its university in particular. At the end of Section 1, in discussing the importance of literature among men, we find: *Quid enim in rebus fere humanis coniunctius, quam Musarum cum Gratiis contubernium, ac copula indiuidua?* ('For what is more pertinent in human affairs generally than the accompaniment of the Muses with the Graces and an individual bond?'). An exchange in Erasmus's *Dialogus Ciceronianus* could well be what Foxe had in mind, viz:

- No. Musae nesciunt invidiam, multo minus Gratiæ Musarum sodales. Studiorum socio, nihil negandum est, et amicorum oportet esse communia omnia.
- Bu. Plane bearis me, si id feceris.
- Hy. Quid si me quoque in vestrum contubernium recipiatis? Sum enim iampridem eodem oestro percitus.¹²³
- No. *The Muses do not know about jealousy, much less do the Graces, who are the companions of the Muses. Nothing should be denied to the partner of one's studies, and it is necessary for everything belonging to friends to be in common.*
- Bu. *Clearly you are making me happy, if you have done that.*
- Hy. *But if you also receive me into your group of friends? For I was long ago stung by the same gadfly.*

¹²² See W.H. Sherman, *Used Books: marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), *Remarkable Reader* Chapter 7: 'Sir Julius Caesar's Search Engine' pp. 127–148.

¹²³ D. Erasmus, *Dialogus cui titulus Ciceronianus ; sive, De optimo dicendi genere. Adagiorum chiliades (Adagia selecta)*. Theresia Payr, ed. Darmstadt, 1972.

The expression *pietatis et gratitudinis monumenta* in Section 2 is found in a funeral inscription dating to the early sixteenth century in St. Leonard's Church, Foster Lane, London.¹²⁴ At the end of the dedication in Section 6 Foxe refers to advice from Seneca with the words *ea quae mittuntur a nobis, non tam per se splendida, quam iis quibus destinantur, apta esse oportere* ('that the things which are being sent by us, not as splendid in themselves as to those for whom they are intended, ought to be suitable'). This is no doubt a reference to Seneca's *De Beneficiis*,¹²⁵ where he writes: *Eadem beneficii ratio est: nisi utrique personae, dantis et accipientis, aptatur, nec ab hoc exhibit nec ad illum perveniet, ut debet* ('So it is with a benefit: unless it be suitable both for the giver and the receiver, it will neither leave the one nor reach the other as it ought').

It is possible that Foxe arrived in Basel, having already conceived the idea of or discussed a commonplace book with Rihelius in Strassburg, the home town of Sturm, during the time that the *Commentarii* was going through the press. Rihelius had published Sturm's own book in this field in 1538 for the school at Strassburg,¹²⁶ and was very active in this field until his death in 1581. In Frankfurt, where Foxe spent the next year, it may be that he found time to formulate his ideas. We know that he is likely to have visited Strassburg again, on his way to Basel, so it is more than likely he will have visited his only continental printer to date. This is all speculation, but it could provide a context for the 'unfair' report on Foxe which reached Oporinus (see above), if Rihelius had not approved of Foxe's radical idea of a commonplace book containing only blank pages with headings. Whether or not that was the case,

¹²⁴ J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1598), p. 101.

¹²⁵ Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, II. 17. 3. See chapter One, p. 34, where Foxe uses this adage in the letter to a student, Pinfold.

¹²⁶ J. Sturm, *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis* (Strassburg: Rihelius, 1538).

the undergraduates of the university in Basel were ideal recipients for Foxe's educational ideas – ideas which had their origins in Erasmus's *De ratione studii*, published in that town in 1512. Once more Foxe is identifying himself with this major European literary figure, and also involving himself directly through the Latin language and its composition with the Basel successors of the great humanist writer.

Ad Inclytos, March 1557

Alongside his educational writing, represented by the play and the commonplace book, Foxe was also constantly in mind of events back in England. While there is no surviving correspondence between him and his friends at home during this period, we may assume that regular reports were reaching him and his colleagues about the political and religious developments in their home country under Mary's rule.

With this in mind, in that same month that he published the *Locorum Communium Tituli*, Foxe brought out a major polemical work of propaganda, a tract entitled *Ad Inclytos ac Praepotentes Angliae Proceres Supplicatio* ('An Appeal to the Illustrious and Powerful Nobles of England'), again printed by Oporinus.¹²⁷ This work, 'a warm appeal to the nobility of England to use their influence with the queen to stop the persecution that was raging'¹²⁸ was incorporated in the expanded Latin martyrology of 1559, the *Rerum*,¹²⁹ under the slightly different title of *Ad Praepotentes Angliae Proceres, Ordines, et Status, totamque eius gentis Nobilitatem, pro afflictis fratribus Supplicatio* ('An Appeal to the Powerful Leaders of England, the Upper Classes and the State, and the whole of the nobility of that nation, on behalf of their afflicted

¹²⁷ J. Foxe, *Ad inclytos ac praepotentes Angliae proceres, ordines et status, totam ejus gentis nobilitatem, pro afflictis fratribus supplicatio* (Basel: Oporinus, 1557).

¹²⁸ Mozley, pp. 54f.

¹²⁹ *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum* (Basel: Oporinus 1559), pp. 239–261. See the next chapter for the full title of this 1559 martyrology.

brothers'), but was not included in the 1563 English version, although most of the *Rerum* was. The reason for this is obvious: with the death of Mary, the need for an appeal to the nobility about the Queen herself, the Pope and the Roman Church, was removed, since there was now a complete change in the government, which, if nothing else, would put an immediate stop to the persecution of Protestants. Here we see an example of what I have argued in my third proposition. Foxe is speaking not to the nobles of England (who he tells us himself are not proficient in Latin), but to the people of Europe. This once again underlines Foxe's having gained access through the circumstances of his exile to a wider European platform, from where he is able to deliver his Latin rhetoric to an audience that will understand and appreciate his oratorical skills.

The fact that this tract has only been printed in Latin and then disappeared after the 1559 publication explains its neglect. It is, however, a fine example of Foxe's flowing Latin prose, replete with the telling classical allusions and influenced by classical rhetoric, especially that of Cicero. It is worth examining in some depth. The *Ad Inclytos* was a passionate appeal to the nobility of England to persuade Mary to put an end to the persecution of Protestants which was then at its height. In the course of this lengthy rhetorical tract, Foxe frequently uses phrases, alluding to classical mythology, history and literature, which add rhetorical colour to the points he is making, as well as tropes which clearly derive from his familiarity with the works of Erasmus, in particular the *Adagia*. He also regularly gives citations from the patristic writers and the canons and decrees associated with the various synods. Mozley refers to an exchange of correspondence between Foxe and Thomas Lever,¹³⁰

¹³⁰ BL Harleian MS 417, foll. 103v-104r and 121r-v. See *Mozley*, p. 55.

in which Lever in a letter dated 7 November 1557 commends the tract, of which Foxe had sent him a copy and also encloses a gold coin. Foxe had commented that he expected the appeal to 'fall on deaf ears'. Townsend, in his *Life of John Foxe*, printed in the first volume of the 1870 edition of the *Acts and Monuments*, describes it as 'the first treatise ever published in favour of religious toleration, and . . . one of the most eloquent appeals of that day.'¹³¹ However, it should be emphasised that *Ad Inclytos* is not 'a work of religious toleration', but is a tract written against the death penalty in heresy trials. It deals with other matters in a very tangential nature, e.g. clerical marriage and the papacy.

For the purposes of this thesis, I have prepared a number of extracts from the Latin text, which are printed in *Appendix I* as Nos. 32 and 33. As with the other works I have translated, the complete text of the tract is divided up into sections of a convenient length, which has produced a version of 73 sections and is roughly twice the length of the *Gratulatio* tract discussed in the next chapter. Owing to the length of the *Ad Inclytos*, it will again be only practicable to make two selections from the text, illustrative of the features mentioned above, the first of which is the opening section of the Appeal. Foxe asks whether, assuming that the people of England are in error in having turned from the traditional religion to Protestantism, the attitude being taken by the nobles in their acquiescence in the current religious persecution leading to burnings at the stake and martyrdom is commensurate with their characteristically English upholding of reason and justice. The second passage comes around the centre of the Appeal and is part of a lengthy digression on the evils of the papacy.

¹³¹ *A&M 1870*, p. 29.

Foxe deploys his classical knowledge early in powerful defence of the argument he was advocating. In Section 2 is found an ethnic cliché for classical hostility, *Scythicus hostis* ('hostile Scythian'), following the name of a notorious sixteenth-century Turkish pirate, Barbarossa. This is used to emphasise the extent of the barbarity introduced by the Marian persecution and strengthens the context. In Section 6 we find the metaphorical use of *Chimaeras*, for things that are *a natura omnique ratione seiunctas* ('separated from nature and all rational thought').¹³² Another mythological reference comes in Section 16 with the mention of the Pope *pro uicario Christi, uicarium agens Bellonae* ('instead of the vicar of Christ, playing the part of Bellona').¹³³ Earlier in Section 8 the term *Cassiani* is derived from Lucius Cassius, a celebrated Roman lawyer from whose name the term 'Cassian judges' came to apply to rigid justices. In section 13 a comparison of the dangers of the current times with those associated with citizenship in Roman times gives Foxe the opportunity of displaying his knowledge of the application of the death penalty in ancient Rome:

Quondam apud priscos Romanos plusquam soticum censebatur, quod ciuem in discrimen adduceret capitis. Vbi et octo erant suppliciorum genera, quorum mors ut ultima, ita nisi rarissime, haud indicebatur.

*Formerly among the ancient Romans it was considered more than dangerous to lead a citizen to risk his head, when also there were eight kinds of punishments, of which death, just as it was the ultimate, so it was not imposed except on very rare occasions.*¹³⁴

When Foxe is discussing the ideal form of the state he cites Plato, *inter philosophos merito laudatissimus* ('deservedly the most praised among philosophers'), quoting in Latin one of the most famous lines from the *Republic* of Plato: *uel philosophi agant principes, uel principes ipsi philosophentur* ('either philosophers act as princes, or the

¹³² In Greek mythology the Chimaera was a monster with three heads, that of a lion, a goat and a dragon, which continually belched flames.

¹³³ Bellona was the sister of Mars and goddess of war.

¹³⁴ *Ad Inclytos*, 13. See *Appendix I*, No. 31.

princes themselves play the philosopher').¹³⁵ However, Foxe may be citing either Thomas More's *Utopia* or Erasmus's *Morae Encomium*, both of which refer to this sentence in Plato. In the following section, as examples of cruel counterparts to the pope, he names the Etruscan king Mezentius, together with the Roman emperor Nero, who were legendary for their cruelty.¹³⁶

Turning to Erasmian influences, apart from the possible citation from the *Morae Encomium* referred to above, there are four definite references to items in the *Adagia*: the first of these is in Section 7, where Foxe mentions the corrupt power of the mob, yet considers that in the case of a free vote for individuals perhaps the Marians would not be winning by so many points; he then says he wishes that in this respect *utinam . . . non ita innumeris parasangis praecederemus* ('I wish we were not exceeding . . . by such countless parasangs').¹³⁷ This is clearly cross referenced by one of the *Adagia* of Erasmus: *Multis parasangis praecurrere*.¹³⁸ Mynors explains that 'to be many parasangs ahead is used of a man who is a long way in front of the rest and is in many respects superior.'¹³⁹

The next example is found in the second extract from the *Ad Inclytos* in Section 36, where Foxe, in discussing what St. Paul refers to as the *doctrinas . . . daemoniorum* ('teachings of the devil'), i. e. the consecration of bread, salt, ashes, wax tapers, palms, churches, bells, water, fire, purgatory, relics, images, prayers, feast days, holy days, processions etc., goes one stage further by saying that these are

¹³⁵ Cf. Plato, *Republic* 473c-d: ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλῆς τε νῦν λεγόμενοι καὶ δυνάσται φιλοσοφήσωσι.

¹³⁶ *Nero quis aut Mezentius crudelior?*

¹³⁷ *Ad Inclytos*, 7.

¹³⁸ *Adagia*, II. 3. 82.

¹³⁹ *CWE*, vol. 33, p. 179.

Siculis gerris . . . uaniores ('more useless than Sicilian rubbish'). This expression is discussed in detail by Mynors, who cites Festus Pompeius referring to the Athenians, during their siege of Syracuse, who as they were 'constantly demanding *gerrae*, wicker hurdles, the Sicilians took to shouting *gerrae!* at them in mockery'¹⁴⁰ and so this became a proverbial expression for items of little or no value.

A third example is found in Section 45, where Foxe is comparing the Pope's behaviour with that of Christ. Towards the end of this section he discusses the stupidity of the efforts of those who oppose Christ and considers that they are *nihil agentes aliud, quam si calces iactent contra stimulum* ('doing nothing other if the heels are kicking against the goad'). This proverbial utterance is also found in the *Adagia: Contra stimulum calces*.¹⁴¹ The expression 'you are kicking against the pricks' from the Greek πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζεις is found in Pindar, Aeschylus, Euripides, and St. Paul. The same expression occurs in Latin as *contra stimulum calces* and is found in Plautus and Terence.¹⁴² The meaning is concerned with ploughmen sticking pointed wooden poles into the hindquarters of oxen to goad them on: thus for the oxen to kick against this with their hooves, they will only succeed in causing themselves more pain rather than neutralising the source of the pain. Foxe used the familiarity and plurality of the reference to make his point about those opposing Christ.

A final Erasmian cross reference is to be found in Section 48, when in discussing theologians and bishops (whom Foxe prefers to term wolves, bears and

¹⁴⁰ *Adagia*, II. iv. 10: *Siculae nugae. Gerrae. Persolae nugae*. See *CWE*, vol. 33, p. 194.

¹⁴¹ *Adagia*, I. iii. 46.

¹⁴² Pindar, *Pythians*, 2. 94 – 5, Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1624; Euripides, *Bacchae*, 795; Plautus, *Truculentus*, 768; Terence, *Phormio*, 77 – 8.

leopards) he does concede that *non perinde eodem omnes carbone notandi sunt* ('they should not all be branded with the same black mark'). Erasmus has this in his adage *creta notare, carbone notare* ('to mark with chalk, with coal'),¹⁴³ i.e. expressing an opinion either of approval or of condemnation. Mynors tells us that the expression derives from Pythagoras saying that 'white belongs to the nature of good, and what is black to that of evil . . . Horace . . . in the *Satires*: 'Are they sane, to be marked with chalk, or coal?' . . . Persius . . . in his fifth *Satire*: 'What to follow and what to avoid / You first marked, the one with chalk, the other with coal.'¹⁴⁴

One of the most important questions to consider is to whom this work was in fact addressed. On the face of it the nobles and Mary herself are the intended recipients. But since it was written in Latin, how would they be able to understand and respond to it? Foxe makes it abundantly clear at the start that he knows perfectly well that the nobles in his day do not have the understanding of the language which their ancestors had:

At obstat alia magis difficultas: uel quia Latine scribenti mihi metus sit, ne non intelligar, quum exigua pars huius (ut audio) ordinis, literis perpolita sit:

*But there stands in the way another difficulty more: either because writing in Latin I have a fear that I may not be understood, since a very small part of this order (so I hear) is refined by letters.*¹⁴⁵

If he really wanted to get through to them, why did he not write the piece in English? The answer is, as I have argued above, that his real audience is the continental scholarly audience. In any case, this may be another jab at the banning of 'heretical books' in England – if he is not allowed to address the leaders of his country on such important issues in their own land, then he will do it abroad – where his work will be

¹⁴³ *Adagia*, I. v. 54.

¹⁴⁴ *CWE*, vol. 31, p. 179.

¹⁴⁵ *Ad Inclytos*, 14. See Appendix I, No. 31.

read in the received language of scholarly writers. This very much confirms my proposition that for Foxe Latin was the linguistic key to his exile, and that here he is using that key to unlock for his European audience some of the issues facing their English cousins during this difficult period. This becomes even clearer when we consider the length of the digression on the papacy: did the nobles of England really need an address on the apostolic succession? A digression, which is a part of an oration or other prose composition which constitutes a deliberate change of subject, had a rhetorical function, which was used by both Cicero and Quintilian. H.V. Canter has identified fifty-five examples in Cicero's speeches, in the vast majority of which there was a close relationship between the main issue and the digression, the aim of which was to help his client's case or the cause Cicero was presenting.¹⁴⁶ Quintilian discussed *digressio*, concerning himself mainly with the place it should occupy in the oration, and noted how a skilful speaker could use a digression to great advantage, but that it should be brief if it was within or following the *narratio*, but if it came in the *exordium* or followed the *probatio* it could be longer.¹⁴⁷

To what extent does Foxe follow a classical template for this tract? Walter J. Ong, in an article 'Rhetoric in Renaissance England' considered that an oration fell into one of three types: the judicial, the deliberative and the epideictic. These types were composed in a sequence of parts: exordium, narration or proposition, proof and conclusion, according to Aristotle. Cicero increased this by two: exordium, narration, division, proof, refutation of adversaries, conclusion. In the *De oratore* he added digression. However, most school manuals in use during the Tudor period took it that Cicero saw five divisions of rhetoric – *inuentio* ('discovery of arguments'),

¹⁴⁶ H.V. Canter, 'Digressio in the Orations of Cicero' in *American Journal of Philology* 52 4 (1931), pp. 351-61.

¹⁴⁷ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, IV. 3. 1; cf. H.V. Canter, 'Digressio', pp. 351, 353.

dispositio ('arrangement of arguments'), *elocutio* ('style'), *memoria* ('use of memory') and *pronuntiatio* ('delivery').¹⁴⁸ Cicero also added a digression just before the peroration (the closing part of the argument).¹⁴⁹

An examination of the structure of *Ad Inclytos* reveals an *exordium* (Sections 1 – 5), a narration ('The people in error', Sections 6 – 14), a division ('The Pope, Sections 15 – 19), a lengthy digression ('Peter and the Apostolic succession, Sections 20 – 35), a proof ('Mutual opposition of Christ and the Pope, Sections 36 – 47), a refutation of adversaries ('Theologians, bishops and other wicked people') and conclusion and prosopopoeia ('The Nobles, Queen Mary and monarchical government, followed by a direct address to the Queen, Sections 57 – 73). So it can be seen that, with one or two variations, this tract is modelled on good classical precedents and would have conveyed a powerful message in a very effective manner. Once more Foxe displays with consummate skill his mastery of Latin rhetoric in circumstances dominated by his position as an exile, but with the opportunity to express his feelings about a subject close to his and his fellow exiles' hearts and share this with a widespread scholarly audience.

Returning to the long digression, there is considerably less in this work about the Marian persecution than the papal primacy. Foxe is simply adding his contribution to the body of polemical literature which issued from the Protestant continental presses, rather than believing he could actually influence the nobles or the Queen by his intervention. Nevertheless the *Ad Inclytos* (and the *Gratulatio* of 1559: see Chapter 5) were composed with more than just a scholarly audience in mind: each

¹⁴⁸ See W.J. Ong, 'Tudor writings on Rhetoric' in *Studies in the Renaissance*, 15 (1968), p. 44.

¹⁴⁹ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2. 19.

had a very clear message in social and political terms, expressing Foxe's concern about current affairs in England and the role of the lay aristocracy in resolving them. Some reaction to the *Ad Inclytos* can be adduced from the comments of Thomas Lever, to whom he sent a copy, and from whom he received a letter praising the work and the gift of a gold coin.¹⁵⁰

Conclusions

There is an extraordinary variety of works by Foxe in the years 1556 and 1557. He had quite clearly settled into life and work in Basel – unlike Frankfurt, but this is hardly surprising – and directed considerable energies into writing. This writing reflected his interests in education and theology – including an *excursus* into Latin verse composition, which he had not tackled, as far as we are aware, since his days at Oxford.¹⁵¹ *Christus Triumphans* demonstrates a wide-ranging familiarity with the poetry of classical Rome in addition to the historian's overview of the history of the Christian church – from a very Protestant perspective and reflecting his status as an exile – and the burning issues of contemporary society (a pun of the sort loved by Foxe!). In this drama Foxe was able to present his views in the spoken Latin of his scholars' environment and before the academics in the university who were also using the language on a daily basis. If it has defects in its prosody, then they are to be expected in an age which, as we have seen, had yet to develop a true understanding of the principles of archaic versification. Foxe himself realises the failings in the play's structure – especially the time frame – but he has a mission and sees this through, apparently with some lasting success. The *Locorum Communium Tituli* continues his

¹⁵⁰ However he does suggest to Lever in the letter dated 7 November 1557 that the appeal is likely to 'fall on deaf ears'. See *Mozley*, p. 55; BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 121r-v.

¹⁵¹ His Latin play, *Titus et Gesippus*, dates to 1544 – 45. cf. J.H. Smith, *Two Latin comedies*, p. 7.

pedagogical interests, which had surfaced in print (as far as we are aware) in 1552, with his *Tables of Grammar*. Once again Foxe is communicating with the scholarly community, this time guiding the undergraduates to improve their own usage of Latin by giving them linguistic assistance in formulating both their spoken and their written Latin. There are very few instances of syntactical or lexical errors in Foxe's own Latin composition: where these do occur, they are very likely to have been printing or copying errors. We know from the careful revision of some of the translation of Latin citations in the *Acts and Monuments* between the 1563 and 1570 editions (when other scholars, rather than Foxe himself, had been responsible for this aspect of the first English edition of his martyrology) how concerned Foxe was for accuracy in language. With regard to the *Ad Inclitos*, this is almost a set piece of rhetorical polemic, containing a lengthy *digressio* from the main theme which opens and closes the work. We have seen a continuation of Foxe's use of rhetoric, starting in Chapter One with his letter to Owen Oglethorpe, defending his reformist stance at Magdalen (but realising that his days on the staff of the college were numbered). This rhetorical skill was used to very good effect in the 'Address to the Nobles' examined in Chapter Two. Here in Basel we have found Foxe using that rhetorical training to maximum effect with a powerful piece of political and protestant polemic, modelled on the traditions of classical rhetoric laid by Cicero and Quintilian, and cementing Foxe's new-found status among the humanist scholars in one of the great European centres of learning.

This chapter has advanced my arguments in that it has demonstrated Foxe's skills in different fields of scholarship, following the publication of his first work on the Continent, the *Commentarii*, especially in education and verse composition.

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

Pervading all of this has been an increase in his production of powerful political polemic (the alliteration is deliberate – of the sort Foxe used in his Latin) manifest especially in the *Ad Inclytos* appeal. From the time of his arrival in Basel Foxe raised his literary profile through both the contacts he made within the academic community and within the printing industry, and in the quality of his work both for Oporinus and for himself. By 1557 he can be regarded as a European writer, rather than, as he had printed on the title page of the *Commentarii* in August 1554: *Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo* ('the author John Foxe the Englishman').

CHAPTER FIVE

The Germaniae ad Angliam Gratulatio and the Rerum Ecclesia Gestarum of 1559

With the exception of the *Gratulatio*, brought out in swift response to Queen Mary's death in November 1558 and published in January 1559, Foxe's literary efforts in what proved to be the final two years of his exile were wholly devoted to the forthcoming publication of his *magnum opus* – his first major folio volume – the *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum* (from hereon referred to as the *Rerum*),¹ which was published in September 1559, some ten months into the reign of Elizabeth and well after the majority of English exiles had returned home. This chapter explores Foxe's

¹ The full Latin title is: *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum, quae postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam persecutionum, ac sanctorum Dei martyrum, caeterarumque rerum si quae insignioris exempli sint, digesti per regna et nationes commentarii. Pars prima. In qua primum de rebus per Angliam et Scotiam gestis, atque in primis de horrenda, sub Maria nuper Regina, persecutione, narratio continetur. Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo.* ('An account of events in the Church which have occurred during these dangerous times, and of the very great persecutions throughout Europe, and of the holy martyrs of God, and of the rest of the more significant events, arranged by kingdoms and peoples. Part One, in which is contained a narrative first of the events throughout England and Scotland, and in particular of the horrendous persecution under the late Queen Mary. By John Foxe the Englishman.')

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

methods of assembling this Latin volume from the various sources on which he drew – which, where necessary, he translated into Latin from original vernacular documents – as well continuing to examine his use of the Latin language itself and his reasons, as far as can be determined, for continuing to work on this Latin martyrology in Basel, when he was being urged by his many friends, including Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to return to England. I suggest that the reasons which lay behind Foxe's decision to remain in Basel provide powerful evidence for the third proposition in the thesis with regard to the role of Foxe's Latin during his exile. Patrick Collinson has said that the 'major purpose' of the exiles was 'the advancement of the general protestant cause to which their friends in England were testifying with their lives'.² Foxe with the *Rerum* is doing precisely that, not only for the readers in England but also – and this is the crux of the matter – for his wider European audience who had to have the book in Latin. Foxe knew this and, in spite of Grindal's request for him to return to England and gather more evidence to add to the powerful material he had assembled for the domestic audience, the scholar in Foxe demanded that he finish the Latin version of the work first and that needed to be in Basel.

The only other surviving Latin from this final period in exile is to be found in a number of letters, to both his English and continental colleagues. These are concerned mainly with his search for information for the *Rerum*, such as the series of exchanges between Foxe and Grindal.³ Binding this together is the extended network of contacts that Foxe had established in his now settled position in Basel. This involved Grindal in Strassburg, Knox in Geneva, Lever in Arrau and Bullinger in

² P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519–1583. The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 79.

³ E.g. BL Harleian MS 417, foll. 102v, 112r, 113v, 114v, 119v.

Zurich,⁴ as well as his exile colleagues, Bale, Humphrey and Aylmer (by 1558) in the Klarakloster. The information filtering through to Foxe via his network was essential for his work in compiling the *Rerum*.⁵

As we saw in the last chapter, Foxe was now very much a respected literary figure in Basel and on a number of occasions had spoken out on behalf of the English exiles in the European language of communication, that of Latin.⁶ He was now about to make a major contribution to international scholarship with a considerably enlarged version of his Latin martyrological writing, the *Rerum*, incorporating the 1554 *Commentarii* as the first of its five books and ending with the burning of Thomas Cranmer in 1556.

Source materials for the *Rerum*

The source materials from which Foxe compiled the *Rerum* are extensive and cannot be examined in detail in this thesis. Nevertheless, it will give us an overview of its structure to look at the way in which he did assemble his material. He was able to include a narrative of the events only up to March 1556, details of which he was constantly receiving by various routes from colleagues both in England and in other continental cities receiving English exiles. To this he added material which he had already published, such as the *Commentarii* of 1554, together with the *Ad Inclytos* of

⁴ From the surviving correspondence, but there were undoubtedly other contacts during this period whose letters to or from Foxe have not survived.

⁵ There are also Latin letters to and from Heinrich Bullinger, Laurence Humphrey and John Aylmer, some of which are undated, but which were written during the exile, others written after the exiles had returned to England. These do not advance this thesis in terms of my propositions. Nevertheless, the whole Harleian collection of letters relating to John Foxe needs properly editing and publishing.

⁶ E.g. in the *Christus Triumphans* and the *Ad Inclytos* (see Chapter Four).

1557.⁷ John Strype claims that Foxe also printed in Basel a translation he had made into Latin of John Philpot's trial and examination before Philpot was burnt at Smithfield in 1555.⁸ Strype's title is much fuller than that Mozley's *Mira ac elegans Historia . . . in Latinum uersa, interprete J. F. A. (?1557)*,⁹ but Mozley has obviously abbreviated it and almost certainly took it from Strype. If Foxe did publish this account of the trial and martyrdom of Philpot ahead of the printing of the *Rerum*, no copy has survived, but he did incorporate a Latin account of Philpot in the *Rerum*.¹⁰

Almost as soon as the various groups of exiles on the continent were able to gain access to print houses, Protestant writing, largely of a polemical nature directed towards both England and Scotland, began to appear. Emden and Geneva were two such sources of polemical literature, some of which, in the words of Patrick Collinson, was 'so subversive as to be counter-productive, at least in England.'¹¹ This must certainly apply to Knox with the publication of *The first Blast of the Trumpet* in Geneva in 1558 and is potentially significant with regard to Foxe, in that his critical letter to Knox (the letter is not extant – see below, p. 203) could well have argued that he was not really helping the Protestant cause with this particular piece of polemical writing, but this is speculation – and has to remain so. However in Strassburg and Basel another group of exiles, working together in an informal partnership coordinated by Edmund Grindal, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, was compiling a huge repository of documentary information concerning the dreadful events occurring

⁷ See Chapters Three and Four for an examination of these works.

⁸ *Mira ac elegans cum primis Historia, uel Tragoedia potius, de tota ratione examinationis et condemnationis J. Philpotti Archidiaconi Wincestriae, nuper in Anglia exusti: Ab autore primum lingua sua congesta; nunc in Latinum uersa, Interprete J.F.A.* See J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* Vol. III, p. 174.

⁹ Mozley, p. 244.

¹⁰ See *Rerum*, pp. 618 – 631.

¹¹ P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519 – 1583. The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 79.

in their homeland. Grindal was based in Strassburg and intended to use the contacts he had back in England to acquire as many letters, copies of disputations, treatises and other documents as possible, in order to publish an account in English of the Marian persecutions. Among many other documents acquired for this embryonic martyrology from May 1555 were Ridley's Oxford disputation and two treatises, Cranmer's *Defence* against Gardiner, an eyewitness account of Cranmer's burning, the examination of John Philpot and the letters of John Bradford. Collinson suggests that Foxe's role seems initially to have been that of a 'technically gifted subordinate.'¹² Collinson cannot be right in this assessment, as it is clear from Foxe's letter to Oporinus in September 1555 (see Chapter Four, pp. 150 – 2) that he already envisaged including the account of the Marian persecution in the second part of his Latin martyrology.

It was Grindal's intention to have the English martyrology ready for simultaneous publication with a Latin version to be prepared by Foxe by the summer of 1556.¹³ However, the progress of the project and the gathering of the multitude of documents proved to be very slow as is evidenced in a lengthy letter from Grindal to Foxe dated 18 June 1557.¹⁴ Patrick Collinson has drawn attention to the phrase *historiam Martyrum* ('history of the martyrs') in this letter and made the point that the original conception of a martyrology may have been to some extent Grindal's, although it is abundantly clear, as I have shown above, that Foxe developed the idea himself well beyond this initial stage and made it very much his own achievement. We have seen in the previous chapter that in Basel Foxe was working on other publications as well as on the martyrology, not to mention fulfilling his duties in

¹² Cf. P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal*, p. 80.

¹³ Cf. the letter cited in the next note.

¹⁴ BL Harleian MS 417, foll. 102v – 103r.

Oporinus' printing house as a proof reader. However, from March 1557, with the publication of the *Ad Inclytos* and some time in 1557 with the translation of Philpot's examination (see above), he published nothing until the *Gratulatio* in January 1559.

The *Gratulatio*, January 1559

Foxe's work on the Latin martyrology was interrupted by the news of Mary's death on 17 November 1558. This sudden change in circumstances in England meant an immediate series of decisions faced the exiles with regard to their current domestic situations. Most of them now made plans for an early return to England, but Foxe was not among them. He was determined to stay in Basel to see the *Rerum* through to publication. However, he did break off from this work long enough to write a tract congratulating Elizabeth on her accession and, in the process, passing on his advice to the new young Queen. It is more than likely that Foxe had not met Elizabeth at this point, but he had earlier had a close friendship with John Cheke, one of her former tutors (who had died in 1557), and can have been in little doubt concerning her intellectual capacities, especially in respect of her formidable command of Latin and Greek.¹⁵

The Germaniae ad Angliam, de restituta euangelii luce, gratulatio

('Congratulations from Germany to England on the restoration of the light of the gospel') was written in the form of prosopopoeia,¹⁶ whereby Germany, expressed in

¹⁵ See Chapter Six, where I discuss letters in both Latin and Greek written by Foxe to Elizabeth early in her reign, but after his return from exile.

¹⁶ See Chapter Two, pp. 67ff., for the meaning of the term, and below, pp. 212ff., for discussion of this literary technique.

The Germaniae ad Angliam Gratulatio and the Rerum of 1559

terms of an address in the first person, sends her congratulations to England.¹⁷ At first sight this may look as though Foxe used Germany (i.e. the birthplace of Luther) as a symbolic term to congratulate England (i.e. a place which had been dominated for the last six years by the Catholic church and papal corruption) on her return to Protestantism. However, I shall demonstrate in the discussion below that the tract must be seen as an authentic letter of congratulation from Foxe, the exile in Germany, to Elizabeth (a young and inexperienced monarch, and a woman at that). It is full of advice to Elizabeth and his hopes for the future.

Within ten weeks of the announcement of the death of Mary, Foxe had written the *Gratulatio*: it was printed by Oporinus in Basel on 29 January 1559. In a letter to Heinrich Bullinger dated 21 January (printed as *Appendix I*, No. 35 – see below for a brief analysis),¹⁸ Foxe declared that the printing of the *Gratulatio* had been completed ‘on this very day’ (*hoc ipso die*). This letter, although extremely short, has several classical allusions. In lines 2 – 3 (*folles adhuc spirantem*) Foxe borrows a metaphor which Juvenal had imitated from one of Horace’s satires (where he used the bellows for the lungs) and gives us an image of a printing press ‘breathing out’ its product.¹⁹ His Greek word transliterated in *philotesium* (φιλοτησιον) suggests a ‘loving cup’ of friendship in line 6, which is once again to be found in one of Erasmus’s *Adagia*.²⁰ The two diminutives in the letter, *diluculo* (‘dawn’) in line 4 and *munusculum* (‘small

¹⁷ J. Foxe, *Germaniae ad Angliam, de restituta euangelii luce, gratulatio* (Basel: Oporinus, 1559).

¹⁸ *Zurich Zentralbibliothek MS. F 62*, 411. I am most grateful to Rainer Henrich of the Institute of Theology, University of Zurich, for bringing this letter to my attention and supplying me with a transcript of it.

¹⁹ Cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, VII, 111 and Horace, *Satires*, I. 4. 19.

²⁰ Erasmus, *Adagia* IV. vii. 70.

present') in line 7), continue Foxe's fondness for such forms – as indeed that of his mentor Erasmus.²¹

The *Gratulatio* has received very little attention from scholars to date. This is largely because the detail of its content has remained generally unknown until my recent translation of the complete text.²² The tract can be compared with better known works on the subject of Elizabeth and perceptions of her rule at the beginning of her reign published by John Aylmer,²³ Laurence Humphrey²⁴ and Sir Thomas Smith.²⁵ All of these authors addressed a single fundamental problem, the fact that not only was the throne now occupied by a woman (who by sixteenth-century definition was less fit to govern than a man) but that she was following a woman who had followed a minor on to the throne. For someone like the Scot John Knox, determined to discredit particular female monarchs who were his adversaries, the problem was simple: denounce female rule, as he did in his notorious attack of 1558.²⁶

²¹ See Chapter One, p. 37.

²² J.S. Wade, 'Thanksgiving from Germany in 1559: An Analysis of the Content, Sources and Style of John Foxe's *Germaniae ad Angliam Gratulatio*' In: D. M. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, (London: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 157–222.

²³ J. Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects, agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Government of Wemen* (London: John Day, 1559), ESTC 1004.

²⁴ L. Humphrey, *De religionis conseruatione & reformatione uera: deque primatu regum & magistratum & obedientia illis ut summis in terra Christi uicarijs praestanda, Liber: ad nobilitatem, clerum & populum Anglicanum* (Basel: Oporinus, 1559). Cf. the translation by Janet Kemp in her appendix to *Laurence Humphrey, Elizabethan Puritan: His Life and Political Theories*, Ph.D. Thesis, (West Virginia University, 1978). Microfilm copy consulted in British Library, Humanities 1.

²⁵ Sir T. Smith *De Republica Anglorum* (London: H. Midleton, 1583). The book was written between 1562 and 1565, circulated widely in manuscript, but not published until 1583. Cf. Ian W. Archer, 'Smith, Sir Thomas (1513–1577)', [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Jan 2008 ed. (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> Cf. the edition by M. Dewar (Cambridge, 1982.) Also, cf. *Dialogue concerning the Queen's marriage* (1560), in J. Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith* (Oxford, 1820), Appendix III, pp. 187 – 259.

²⁶ J. Knox, *First blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women* (Geneva: J. Crespin, 1558). It was written against Mary Tudor and Mary of Guise, but Mary Tudor died almost as soon as it was published. This was very embarrassing for Knox, who desperately tried to explain his stance to Elizabeth.

Knox's English Protestant colleagues were faced with a similar delicate problem. While few of them had challenged female rule, and while they publicly rejoiced in the accession of Elizabeth, at the same time they were concerned to protect her from the weaknesses inherent in her gender and to prevent her from following in the disastrous footsteps of her sister. Foxe never directly discussed the issue of female rule. We do know, however, that he wrote to Knox criticising the *First Blast of the Trumpet*.²⁷ What we do not know is whether he was objecting to the substance of Knox's criticisms, the tone or merely the timing of them.

A number of exactly contemporary writers, notably Aylmer, Humphrey and Smith, were linked to Foxe either directly or through William Cecil who, as we have seen in Chapter Two, had been one of Foxe's patrons in the reign of Edward VI and would become increasingly so in the coming Elizabethan regime.²⁸ All of these writers, including Foxe, were concerned not only with Elizabeth's gender and the problems it entailed, but also with the pressing need to ensure that she did not follow in the footsteps of her elder sister. All of these writers proposed a similar solution to the problem: to recognise Elizabeth's claim to the throne, hail her as the successor of Edward VI who would continue and extend his reformation of the Church, and to see that the queen was surrounded by good (i.e. male and Protestant) counsellors.²⁹ The *Gratulatio* is the most neglected of these early Elizabethan political works but is of no less significance than the others.

²⁷ Foxe's letter to Knox has not survived, but we know of Foxe's criticisms from a letter Knox sent to him dated 18 May 1558 which has survived (BL Harleian MS 416, fol.70r).

²⁸ D. Hoak, 'A Tudor Deborah?: The Coronation of Elizabeth I, Parliament, and the Problem of Female Rule', In: C. Highley and J.N. King, (eds.), *John Foxe and his World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 74 – 76 and 86 – 88. Also see E. Evenden and T.S. Freeman, 'John Foxe, John Day and the Printing of the "Book of Martyrs"' In R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote, eds., *Lives in Print: Biography and the Book Trade from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century* (Boston Spa: British Library, 2002), pp. 26 – 27 on Cecil's patronage of Foxe since Edward VI's reign.

²⁹ See D. Hoak, 'A Tudor Deborah?', pp. 73–88 and A. N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 59–69, 125–31 and 198–220.

Part of the reason for this neglect has been the rarity and inaccessibility of this work. Mozley had stated that there is no surviving copy in England, although he did know of a copy at the University of Basel.³⁰ In fact Mozley was unaware that three copies of the *Gratulatio* survive in England: one in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, another in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a third in the Lambeth Palace Library. A number of other copies also exist elsewhere.³¹ I have made a selection of extracts, which are to be found in *Appendix I*, No. 35. This is an important text and worth further consideration in this thesis, since it supplies more evidence, especially in the imagery of its prosopopoeia form of Germany addressing England, for Foxe's natural language during his exile, expressed on his own behalf and that of his English colleagues.

Mozley's summary of the *Gratulatio* is really a precis of the extracts translated uncritically by Strype.³² Mozley attempted to rehabilitate Foxe as a serious scholar, against the prevailing view established by S.R. Maitland,³³ which presented Foxe as a tendentious and untrustworthy propagandist. As a result, Mozley tended to emphasise Foxe's gentle humanity and in fact portrayed him as a sort of Proto-Anglican. Mozley also ignored passages in Foxe which he found uncongenial, notably passages when Foxe discussed the proper punishment for adultery³⁴ and also the behaviour of

³⁰ Mozley, p. 59.

³¹ On the Continent, in addition to the copy at Basel University, there is another copy in Munich in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and two copies in the Zurich Zentralbibliothek. There is only a single copy outside Europe, which is in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C.

³² This does not do justice to Strype, let alone to the work as a whole. The three paragraphs translated by Strype do not convey Foxe's cautious tone and, inevitably, omit mention of several of the subjects covered in the work. See J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion And ... Other Occurrences in the Church of England; During the First Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeths ... Reign: ... With an Appendix, Etc.* (Oxford, 1824), Vol. 1, pp. 155–61.

³³ See, for example, S.R. Maitland, *The Reformation in England* (London: 1906), pp. 10, 17, 187 etc.

³⁴ *Gratulatio*, 21. Although Foxe opposed the death penalty for adulterers, he nevertheless believed that adultery was a crime that should be rigorously punished. Recounting the activities of a fourteenth-century London mayor, John of Northampton, who forced adulterers to undergo protracted and

bishops.³⁵ When the *Gratulatio* is examined as a whole one sees that it is not a timeless work of anodyne pastoral commonplaces, but one which mirrors the particular circumstances in which it was written, and which complements my third thesis proposition with regard to understanding the nature of his exile, in so far as Foxe is using his Latin and his position in exile to make a powerful scholarly statement on the changed circumstances in England.

The *Gratulatio* is an octavo volume bound with two other short pieces, the *Eucharisticon*, which is a prayer *Ad Christum Anglorum exulantium Eucharisticon* ('A thanksgiving to Christ from the English exiles') and *Epilogus*, a letter, or epilogue, as Mozley calls it, whose heading in full is *Nobilitate ac indole ornatissimo et praepotenti D. Thomae, Northfolciae Duci, etc. Ioan. Foxus ueram in Christo, et eternam cum salute nobilitatem* ('To Master Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, etc., outstanding in his noble birth and most distinguished talents, John Foxe communicates true and everlasting nobility in Christ together with his greetings').³⁶ Foxe sent a copy of the work immediately after it was printed to the Duke.³⁷ This literary effort renewed Foxe's close relations with his former pupil, Thomas Howard, the fourth Duke of Norfolk. After four years in exile and penury, Foxe was now keen in January 1559 to re-establish links with the Howard family. In fact he had been in contact with Thomas Howard while in Basel, writing what Mozley refers to as a

humiliating public penance, Foxe (who claimed that John was inspired by Wycliffe) praised these activities as "The fruites of good and true doctrine" (*A&M* 1583, pp. 447-8).

³⁵ *Gratulatio*, 28. On contemporary debates over Foxe's ideas of the role of a bishop, see P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?: Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooper* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1988), pp. 26-28.

³⁶ I shall abbreviate the titles of these last two to *Eucharisticon* and, following Mozley's term, *Epilogus*. The *Gratulatio* is printed on pages 3 to 48, the *Eucharisticon* on pages 49 - 53 and the *Epilogus* on pages 54 - 61. For ease of reference I have divided the 46 printed pages of the *Gratulatio* into 41 paragraphs, each generally containing between two and six subsections. I have also used similar text divisions for both the *Eucharisticon* and the *Epilogus*.

³⁷ See Zurich Zentralbibliothek MS. F 62, 411.

‘pathetic appeal’ for some financial assistance to his former pupil,³⁸ and, as we shall see, he also dedicated the *Rerum* to the Duke.³⁹

The *Epilogus* was written at the same time as the *Gratulatio* and, with the *Eucharisticon*, forms a single printed volume. Much of its content, especially the advice given to Thomas both personally and with regard to his relationship with Elizabeth, is integral with the overall context of the *Gratulatio*. I have therefore treated it as part of the same piece of literature. Despite the fact that this ‘dedication’ to the Duke comes at the end of the volume, I shall commence my analysis with the *Epilogus*. In it Foxe addressed the Duke, not only as a client seeking patronage, but also as a tutor advising a former pupil. For example, he did not hesitate to admonish his twenty year old pupil not to gamble or to hunt: *Spero prudentiam tuam aetate iam et usu edoctam satis, ab alea nocturna, ab auium canumque studio immunem esse, atque alienam* (‘I hope that your good sense, having now been instructed with sufficient thoroughness by your age and experience, is free from and alien to gambling, and the eagerness for birds and dogs.’).⁴⁰ Foxe’s view of the Duke’s position (and as we shall see this is of considerable significance) is based on his perception of the Duke’s particular moral obligations to God. He begins by congratulating the Duke on the restoration of his rank.⁴¹ Foxe then observes that it is due to divine providence which also had protected Norfolk even as a child when his father and grandfather had

³⁸ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 115v.

³⁹ See below, pp. 221ff. On his return from exile Foxe went straight to the Duke’s house where he was obviously very welcome. The ties of friendship were renewed and remained very close until the premature end to the Duke’s life. In fact, when the Duke was imprisoned he asked that Foxe be allowed to visit him and also at the Duke’s request, ‘his old schoolmaster’ was present at his execution for treason in 1572. Cf. *Mozley*, pp. 83–4; N. Williams, *Thomas Howard Fourth Duke of Norfolk* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1964), pp. 47–48, 164–165 and 238–239.

⁴⁰ *Epilogus*, 6.

⁴¹ Foxe was either misinformed or is exaggerating here, since he had become Duke of Norfolk in 1554 on the death of his grandfather, the third Duke.

been charged with treason.⁴² He goes on to urge the Duke to remember what he owes to God and not to let his good fortune go to his head. In particular Foxe urged Norfolk because of his youth to rely on good advice and to avoid flatterers and slanderers.⁴³ He then links Norfolk directly with Elizabeth by pointing out that Norfolk himself will be a counsellor to the Queen and exhorts the Duke to pray to God for the wisdom to conduct himself properly and to be a faithful adviser to the Queen.⁴⁴ Foxe concludes by also linking the Duke's restoration to greatness with the restoration of the gospel to England: *ut non ipse solum, sed et mecum patria simul universa, merito possit fortunam hanc tibi reflorescentem adgratulari* ('So that not only you yourself, but the whole country together with myself, can deservedly give thanks for this resurgence of your fortune.')⁴⁵

It is significant that Foxe sent a copy of the *Gratulatio* to Queen Elizabeth along with the copy he dispatched to the Duke of Norfolk,⁴⁶ in that it shows he was eager to give an early indication of his support for his new monarch, knowing full well that he would not be able to demonstrate that in person for many months to come.⁴⁷ Among the more important themes of the *Gratulatio* is Foxe's treatment of Elizabeth and her predecessors. It is equally significant that he does not mention either Mary or Henry VIII. Clearly he did not want to take the controversial step of criticising either monarch directly. In fact, although Foxe is often wrongly thought by popular tradition to have attached the label 'Bloody Mary' to Elizabeth's elder

⁴² *Epilogus*, 2 – 3.

⁴³ *Epilogus*, 3 – 6.

⁴⁴ *Epilogus*, 5 – 6.

⁴⁵ *Epilogus*, 7.

⁴⁶ Zurich Zentralbibliothek MS. F 62, 411.

⁴⁷ In fact, it was almost a year from the death of Mary in November 1558 to Foxe's arrival back in London during October 1559. Cf. *Mozley*, p. 62..

sister,⁴⁸ he was very reluctant to make disparaging comments about her.⁴⁹ His treatment of Edward VI can be found in Sections 8 – 9. He is unequivocal in his praise of the young King, the hopes that he had inspired in his people and the disaster that had been inflicted on both the Gospel and the people of England by his death.⁵⁰ He says that almost all the Churches grieved *ceu communi patrono ac duce destitutae* ('as if robbed of their common protector and leader').⁵¹ In questioning whether another 'Josiah'⁵² could possibly be found after such a loss, Foxe guides his readers neatly into a section on the intervention of divine providence in the accession of Elizabeth.⁵³ The parallel with Norfolk is striking. In Foxe's view both Norfolk and Elizabeth were protected by providence from danger and now raised by God to greatness. This divine favour imposed profound obligations on both of them to repay the debt they owed to God by propagating the gospel and piously undertaking the responsibilities thrust upon them. Moreover, it is important to emphasise that Foxe says that Elizabeth was brought to the throne *only* by providence, not by her own virtues or the validity of her claim to the throne: in section 11 he says: *Vt enim nihil habet ea, quod non largientis Dei munere acceperit . . .* ('For just as she has nothing which she has not received from the gift of God who bestows it . . .').⁵⁴ Later in Elizabeth's reign Foxe's impatience with the Queen's failure to reform the Church

⁴⁸ This almost certainly arose because of his graphic accounts of the bloody persecution, leading to an assumption that he used that term himself.

⁴⁹ Foxe does accuse Mary of breaking her word to Protestant supporters at the beginning of her reign (*A&M* 1583, p. 1407) but this is the only explicit criticism of her in the *A&M*. Instead Foxe blames the Marian persecution on evil bishops, most notably Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner. Foxe's views of Henry VIII are too complex to examine here, but it should be noted that he vehemently denounced that King for burning John Lambert (*Rerum*, 1559, pp. 152–3 and *A&M*, 1563, pp. 533 – 4.)

⁵⁰ *Gratulatio*, 8.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² Josiah was the King of Judah who purged the Temple of idols (II. *Kings*, 23, 4–6). For the use of this soubriquet as applied to Edward VI, see D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1999), pp. 14–20.

⁵³ *Gratulatio*, 8 – 11. Cf. Foxe, *Rerum*, pp. 268 and 635.

⁵⁴ *Gratulatio*, 11: *Ut enim nihil habet ea, quod non largientis Dei munere acceperit: ita frustra quodam modo accepisset.*

would cause him to invoke the obligations she owed to providence in blistering criticism.⁵⁵

But this lay in the future. For now another parallel between Norfolk and Elizabeth was their need to rely on wise counsel. This can be seen in the *Epilogus* when, in the context of referring to the Duke's role as a leading counsellor to the Queen, Foxe suggests that his *sapientiam . . . tum illi tum Reipublicae futura est* ('wisdom . . . is going to be beneficial both for her and for the state').⁵⁶ Earlier in the *Gratulatio*, Foxe had been unequivocal in his advice to the Queen:

Porro quum nullus tanta septus prudentia princeps sit, aut tam πολύμητις, ut unus omnibus sufficiat obeundis: necesse Regina habeat quosdam sibi consilii ministros adiungere, sed eiusmodi, quos ex sanctis prudentissimos, ex prudentibus sanctissimos deligat. Nemine enim consulto, quicquam aggredi quod magni sit negotii, tyrannicum est: atqui quum omnes audierit consiliarios, id demum praeclarum est, uereque Regium, ipse si habeat consultorem in pectore.

Moreover since no prince is surrounded by such great wisdom, or is 'of so great counsel', that he alone suffices to deal with all issues, of necessity the Queen must associate with her certain men to administer counsel, but of such a kind that she choose the most wise from the pious and the most pious from the wise. For to undertake any important business without consulting anyone is the action of a tyrant, yet when (a prince) has listened to all his counsellors, that in the end is admirable and truly royal, if he himself has an adviser in his heart.⁵⁷

Foxe's emphasis on Elizabeth's need for good advice stems partly from his humanist conviction that all rulers and magistrates should listen to learned advisers. Yet this emphasis also links Foxe to the insistence by his friends and colleagues – Aylmer, Humphrey, Smith and Cecil – that the Queen govern through wise counsellors.⁵⁸

Despite Foxe's insistence on Elizabeth's virtues being equal to or even greater than

⁵⁵ See T.S. Freeman, 'Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"' In: S. Doran & T.S. Freeman (eds.), *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 27–55.

⁵⁶ *Epilogus*, 5: *et sapientiam, quae tum illi tum Reipublicae futura est salutaris.*

⁵⁷ *Gratulatio*, 20.

⁵⁸ *Gratulatio*, 8 – 10.

⁵⁸ *Gratulatio*, 20. See above, p. 203 and note 29.

those of Edward VI, he still did not trust her to reign without the counsel of learned men.

Foxe thought that the Church should foster a renewal of morality and he envisaged the same role for the State. Germany was a fount of wisdom on how the English State should be run: the reform of the State started with the personal character of the Queen. And while Germany was profoundly impressed with the *Reginae . . . Elizabethae absoluta quadam bonitate* ('absolute goodness of Queen Elizabeth')⁵⁹, she nevertheless feared the corrupting influence of her courtiers and urged that the Queen should not tolerate anything *dissoluti, obsceni, profani, aut effoeminati* ('dissolute, obscene, profane or effeminate, nor any swearing')⁶⁰ in her household. And once again Foxe (or Germany) reiterated the importance of Elizabeth choosing wise and pious counsellors. Foxe also expected Elizabeth to seek guidance from the model of her mother, Anne Boleyn. He had a genuine admiration for Anne Boleyn and in fact she had been held in high esteem by English evangelicals.⁶¹ Referring to Anne as *lautissimae Reginae, matris tuae, Annae Boleniae* ('a most praiseworthy queen, your mother, Anne Boleyn'), Foxe comments on her 'wonderful and outstanding φιλοπτωχία ('love for the poor')', a quality that he considers worthy of imitation:

Ita enim saepe mihi narratum de illa memini a quibusdam, quibus tum ipsa familiarissime usa est ancillis, semper solere furtivum (ut ita dicam) sacculum secum circumferre, unde quotidie pecuniarias erogationes spargebat in sinus indigentium. Vt Apelles nullam sine linea diem, ita neque illa sine aliquo beneficio praeteribat.

For thus I remember that I have often been told about her by certain people, whom she herself employed at that time on most intimate terms as servants, that she was

⁵⁹ *Gratulatio*, 20.

⁶⁰ *Gratulatio*, 20.

⁶¹ See T.S. Freeman, 'Research, Rumour and Propaganda: Anne Boleyn in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' in *Historical Journal* 38 (1995), pp. 797–819, especially pp. 799, 801 – 2, and in particular pp. 803–4.

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always accustomed to carry around with her a so to speak concealed purse, from which every day she would scatter distributions of money into the laps of the needy.⁶² Just as Apelles⁶³ let no day go by without a stroke of the brush, so she did not without some act of kindness.⁶⁴

Not only was Elizabeth supposed to imitate Anne, but she was also supposed to imitate Christ.⁶⁵ And her magistrates and officials were supposed to imitate her. To Foxe it was essential that public officials should be chosen for their virtues and abilities⁶⁶ and that public offices should not be bought or sold and *quanto minus in Euangelica ferendum Republica ut precio pecuniaeque publica pateant officia* ('that it should not be tolerated in an evangelical state that public duties should be open to price and money').⁶⁷ These virtuous officials would: *ius ex aequo dicant . . . tecta priuata adulteriis, uias publicas latrociniis perpurgent: nec uias modo, sed et deuersoria quaedam publica multo maxime* ('dispense justice fairly . . . thoroughly cleanse private houses of adulteries and public streets of robberies: and not only the streets, but also certain public inns').⁶⁸ Germany, who was apparently well informed about English inns, went on to elaborate: *cuiusmodi audio istic nonnulla esse, quae quanto occultius, tanto perniciosius infestant uiatorem* ('I hear that there are some of this kind there which the more hidden the manner in which they trouble the traveller, so much the more dangerous they are').⁶⁹ Foxe ended with the following injunction: *Quisquis sibi scopum uitae alium proponit, quam gloriam Christi, aut laboris praemium aliter quam in Deo statuit, nunquam tenebit rectum in magistratu clauum:* ('Whoever proposes for himself another goal in life than the glory of Christ, or

⁶² For Foxe's praise of Anne Boleyn's almsgiving and the story of the secret purse from which she would bestow alms, see *A&M* 1583, p. 1054.

⁶³ A Greek painter from Colophon, later from Ephesus, in the fourth century B.C. See below, note 89. Foxe again refers to Apelles at the start of his contribution to the tract *Contra H. Osorium* (see below).

⁶⁴ *Gratulatio*, 12.

⁶⁵ *Gratulatio*, 22.

⁶⁶ *Gratulatio*, 21.

⁶⁷ *Gratulatio*, 22.

⁶⁸ *Gratulatio* 21.

⁶⁹ *Gratulatio*, 21.

establishes a reward for labour otherwise than in God, will never keep a steady helm in a magistracy'.⁷⁰

The *Gratulatio* contains a number of Foxe's favourite literary devices. Among these were prosopopoeia, medical metaphors and adages. He makes a particular use of *prosopopoeia* ('putting on a mask'), a rhetorical device used by Cicero (cf. the first speech against Catiline, where Mother Italy addresses Catiline⁷¹ and the speech in defence of Caelius Rufus, where the long dead Appius Claudius Caecus addresses his descendant Clodia,⁷² etc.). In the *Gratulatio* Germany addresses England. We have already seen an early use by Foxe of this device in the *Expostulatio* of c. 1550, where the whole work (as far as it went) is in the form of a complaint against the human race spoken in the first person by Christ (see Chapter Two, pp. 66-69). Another example of *prosopopoeia* in another of Foxe's Latin writings is seen in the *De Christo Crucifixo*, where Foxe addresses the congregation in the person of Christ speaking from the cross.⁷³ In his article in *English Language Notes*,⁷⁴ Tom Freeman argues that an anonymous tract, *A Solemn Contestation of Diverse Popes*, published by John Day in 1560,⁷⁵ was written by Foxe. This work contains a 'striking and extended example of *prosopopoeia*' where Anti-Christ addresses the reader directly. *Prosopopoeia* also occurs in *Papa Confutatus*, where again Tom Freeman has drawn attention to this device whereby Foxe, 'in the *persona* of the True Church, addresses the papal Antichrist, denouncing the Petrine succession

⁷⁰ *Gratulatio*, 21.

⁷¹ Cicero, *In Catilinam* I. xi. 28.

⁷² Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, xiv. 34.

⁷³ *De Christo Crucifixo*, foll. 71v – 79r.

⁷⁴ T.S. Freeman, "A Solemn Contestation of Diverse Popes"; A Work by John Foxe? In *English Language Notes*, 1994, pp. 35–42.

⁷⁵ J. Foxe?, *A solemne contestation of diuerse Popes, for the aduaunsing of theyr supremacie ... quoted and collected faithfully out of their own Canon law, according to the very wordes, stile and tenor of the same, etc.* (London: John Day, 1560).

and papal primacy'.⁷⁶ Two more striking examples can be found in the *Acts and Monuments*: the first on the occasion of the words spoken by God through a clergyman preaching a sermon at the time of a false alarm of a fire in Oxford,⁷⁷ the second being the words Foxe puts into the mouth of Richard II in an imagined reply to Archbishop William Courtney, in response to his request to the king to arrest the Lollard preacher Nicholas Hereford.⁷⁸

Foxe also employs the contemporary penchant for striking medical images. Quite early on in the *Gratulatio*, in discussing the reproof of divine judgment, he gives as an illustration of the application of something which is *nemini perniciosum, salutare omnibus* ('ruinous to no-one and beneficial to all'),⁷⁹ the use of powerful treatments such as cauterisation and surgery, acting as a sort of executioner (and so contradicting his own skill), by which the doctor is able to show himself to be a more effective doctor:

Quemadmodum medicus non semper lenissimis utitur malagmatis, sed ita uis ipsa fert ratioque morbi nonnunquam, ut necesse ei sit usturis et sectionibus, carnificem quasi quendam, praeter artem suam agat, quo medicum praestet efficacius.

Just as a doctor does not always use very gentle emollients, but the very power and course of the disease sometimes requires that it is necessary for him by means of cauterisations and surgeries to play the part of an executioner, so to speak, contrary to his own skill, by which he may show himself to be a more effective doctor...⁸⁰

A little later, about half way through the tract, in developing a simile about the State being likened to a body made up of different limbs, which, if there is to be effective control of the state, should be strong together as the limbs in the body, he goes on to say that even the best princes take courts with them *quae impuratae uitae ueneno*

⁷⁶ T.S. Freeman, 'Foxe, John (1516/17–1587) in the *ODNB*

⁷⁷ *A&M* 1570, 1383.

⁷⁸ *A&M* 1570, 545.

⁷⁹ *Gratulatio*, 6.

⁸⁰ *Gratulatio*, 6.

afflare reliquum Reipublicae corpus soleant, ceu contagio quodam ('which are accustomed to breathe on the rest of the body of the State with the poison of a vile life, like a sort of infection').⁸¹ He then goes on to say that *Quicquid enim huc perniciosi exempli irrepsit semel...statim ex aula Principis...ueluti per uenas sanguis, longe lateque peruadit. . .* ('whatever destructive precedent has once crept into here...immediately extends from the prince's court far and wide...like blood through the veins . . .').⁸²

The blood in the veins appears again, a page or so later, in another simile. Foxe now compares the 'imparters of the doctrine of the Gospel' (*Euangelicae doctrinae dispensatores*) in the State with the blood in the human body which circulates through the veins and maintains life. He then emphasises the importance of the purity of the blood in some detail:

Porro neque solum quam purus sit, satis erit: nisi et humanae naturae conueniat, ac contemperetur, sic ut neque calore nimium exaestuēt, nec humore relanguescat, nec torpore insuper crassitudineque stupeat. Alioqui non quilibet sanguis temere cum humana natura undecunque commistus coalescit. Taurinus sanguis uitae humanae praesentaneum est uenenum. Sic leoninum sanguinem, lupinum, caninum, aut suillum, cum humano facere corpore nemo dixerit. Humanum esse sanguinem oportebit, hoc est, eiusdem naturae, caloris, habitusque modulato quodam concentu attemperatum: non feculentia tabidum, non bile adustum morosa, non pituita nimia fluidum, aut concretum humoribus, qui in homine futurus sit salutaris.

Furthermore it will not be sufficient merely how pure it is, unless it is also appropriate to human nature, and mixed with it in such a way that it does not boil over too much through the heat nor become enfeebled by the fluid, nor in addition be congealed by inactivity and thickness. In any case not any blood from wherever mixed by chance with human nature clots: bull's blood is an instantaneous poison to human life. Thus no-one will say that the lion's blood, wolf's blood, dog's blood, pig's blood works with the human body. It will have to be human blood, that is, of the same nature, warmth and condition, adjusted with a kind of measured harmony, not decaying with the dregs, not consumed by painful bile, not running with excessive phlegm, or clotted with fluids, a blood which will be beneficial in man.⁸³

⁸¹ *Gratulatio*, 20.

⁸² *Gratulatio*, 20.

⁸³ *Gratulatio*, 23.

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As in Foxe's other writings, the *Gratulatio* abounds in tropes, proverbs, and commonplaces.⁸⁴ In Section 7 we find the expression *mundus altum securitatis somnum dormiens in utranque aurem stertit impune* ('the world sleeping on each ear snores with impunity'). This is clearly a reference to the Erasmian adage *In utramvis dormire aurem* ('to sleep sound on either ear'),⁸⁵ meaning that Foxe is here accusing the world of going its own way with an easy mind, unconcerned and free from care, when it should be heeding God's wishes. Once again Foxe makes use of the *Adagia* of Erasmus in Section 24. In discussing the former heads of monastic houses being persuaded to take up benefices in the Church, but with little inclination towards protestantism, he refers to this as being a case of *asininus erat sanguis in hominis corpore, nempe quod dici solet ὄνος λυρίζων* ('an ass's blood in a man's body, indeed what is usually termed an "an ass playing on a lyre"').⁸⁶ This phrase is almost certainly derived from Erasmus, who in the *Adagia* refers to *Asinus ad lyram* ('an ass to the lyre').⁸⁷ In commenting on this example in Erasmus, R.A.B Mynors says that this adage, used of an ass listening to the lyre, criticises those who have a lack of judgment because of their ignorance, but that it can also be used of an ass itself trying to play the lyre, as Foxe has it here in the *Gratulatio*.⁸⁸ A proverbial allusion from Aristophanes also finds its way into the *Gratulatio* with a reference to 'owls to Athens' as a sort of 'coals to Newcastle' in the context of the wisdom of the English

⁸⁴ Sixteenth century scholars regarded the collecting of epithets and allusions as an intellectual exercise, in pursuit of which they were prepared to sacrifice their spare time as well as their working time. Such a scholar was the Frenchman Pasquier. See Étienne Pasquier, *Lettres familières* D. Thickett ed. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1974). See Livre VIII, Lettres I and IV on pp. 125–136, where he discusses the pleasure he experiences in writing Latin epigrams, referring to them, for example, in the short Lettre IV as 'champignons' that come up in the night (p. 136).

⁸⁵ Erasmus, *Adagia* I. viii. 19.

⁸⁶ *Gratulatio*, 24.

⁸⁷ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. iv. 35.

⁸⁸ *CWE*, vol. 31, pp. 344 – 245.

people being such that further admonishment from Foxe as to their correct behaviour was superfluous.⁸⁹

Another example of a Classical allusion comes in the passage in which Foxe discusses Anne Boleyn (on whom see above) when he uses a simile comparing the regularity of her charitable giving with the daily brush strokes of the Greek painter Apelles,⁹⁰ with the words *Vt Apelles nullam sine linea diem, ita neque illa sine aliquo beneficio praeteribat* ('Just as Apelles let no day go by without a stroke of the brush, so she did not without some act of kindness').⁹¹ Again we find this in the *Adagia* of Erasmus: *Nullam hodie lineam duxi* ('I haven't done a stroke today'), referring to someone who has taken a break from studying or artistry. The main source for this is the Elder Pliny who has a delightful passage describing a meeting between Apelles and Protogenes of Rhodes accompanied by some amusing artistic rivalry.⁹²

Citations from Plutarch and Stobaeus in Sections 32 and 33 further illustrate the breadth of Foxe's Classical reading. It is tempting to accuse Foxe of showing off in his term *Onademus ille Chios* ("that famous Onademus of Chios") as the reference in Plutarch to this individual is the only one in Classical literature.⁹³ (In fact, Foxe or his printer misspelled the name, which should be *Onomademus*.) In this passage Foxe describes how the Chian demagogue Onomademus, after defeating a rival faction in his city, *suadentibus amicis illis, aduersarios e ciuitate omnes eiiciendos: negauit id*

⁸⁹ *Gratulatio*, 30: *ut nihil sit opus noctuas, quod aiunt, Athenas.* cf. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 301: τίς γλαῦκ' Ἀθήναζ' ἤγαγεν;

⁹⁰ A Greek painter from Colophon, later from Ephesus, in the fourth century B.C. cf. note 63 above.

⁹¹ *Gratulatio*, 12. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. iv. 12. Cf. *CWE*, vol. 31, pp. 329 – 330.

⁹² Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 35. 81-84. cf. also Statius, *Silvae* 4. 6. 29.

⁹³ Plutarch, *Moralia*, 813A-B: ...ἀληθινήν μὲν ἔχθραν ἢ διαφορὰν οὐδεμίαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπολειπτέον, ὡς ὁ τῶν Χίων δημαγωγὸς Ὀνομάδημος οὐκ εἶα τῇ στάσει κρατήσας πάντας ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους "ὄπως" ἔφη "μὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀρξώμεθα διαφέρεσθαι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαλλαγέντες."

expedire: Vereri se inquiens, ne aduersae factionis exactis hominibus, inter amicos existerent dissidia ('told those of his friends who were advising him that all his opponents should be expelled from the city that this was not advantageous, saying that he was afraid that with the removal of men of the opposing faction dissensions would ensue among his friends.').⁹⁴ Foxe is hoping that his fellow countrymen will treat their vanquished enemies with Christian moderation and act more in accordance with long term prudence than in accordance with what they consider their enemies to deserve. However, he did not slavishly follow his Classical sources and was quite capable of reading his own interpretations into their stories. For example, Plutarch considered Onomademus's action to be silly, while Foxe used Onomademus as an example of a moral *topos* – we would see this as a political thought problem: what should we do when a demagogue comes to power? The quotation is pointing a firm finger at Elizabeth: she is not to become an absolute ruler.⁹⁵

The Stobaeus citation refers to Agathon,⁹⁶ but it is unclear which Agathon he meant: apart from the tragic poet portrayed by Aristophanes in the *Thesmophoriazusae* and a less well known comic poet, who was also writing at the end of the fifth century, the most likely candidate would be the Samian historian who

⁹⁴ *Gratulatio*, 32.

⁹⁵ See Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol. 2: The Age of Reformation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 302–3, where, in discussing the writing of Knox, Goodman and Ponet, Skinner asks in what circumstances it was legitimate to decline to accept the rule of a prince. The arguments concentrate on what constitutes a tyrant and why in certain circumstances it is legitimate not to obey a tyrant.

⁹⁶ *Gratulatio* 33. Cf. Stobaeus, *Anthology*, 4.5. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΠΟΙΟΝ ΧΡΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ('On *arche* and what sort of man the *archon* ought to be'): Section 24: Ἀγάθωνος. Ἀγάθων ἔφη τὸν ἄρχοντα τριῶν δεῖ μνησθαι: πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἄρχει, δεύτερον ὅτι νόμους ἄρχει, τρίτον ὅτι οὐκ ἀεὶ ἄρχει. ('Agathon said that the archon must remember three things, first that he rules over humans, second that he rules in accordance with the laws, and third that he does not rule for ever').

wrote an account of Scythia,⁹⁷ but other possible candidates are a governor of Babylon⁹⁸ or a Pythagorean philosopher.⁹⁹

Foxe also employed tropes and particular phrases of his own invention: for example, in Section 13, where he is listing the terrible misfortunes which have been visited on the English people in Mary's reign, he says he used to hear of *ciuium tuorum crebras lanienas, tot bonorum incendia, doctorum proscriptiones, matronas exustas, uirgines torrefactas, captiuos fame extinctos, sanctos in sterquilinia proiectos audiebam* ('the frequent mutilations of your citizens, the burnings of so many good men, the proscriptions of scholars, the burnings of women, the roasting of maidens, the deaths of prisoners from hunger and the hurling of holy men into dung pits').¹⁰⁰ The reference to hurling men into dung pits refers to Foxe's somewhat emotive description of suspected Protestants who died in prison (and who were denied Christian burials and sometimes not buried at all) as being hurled into dung pits. Foxe also used this trope in the *A&M*.¹⁰¹ A similar rhetorical listing of the sufferings of the people can be seen in the *Eicasmī*, Foxe's final and unfinished work, a commentary on the Apocalypse, published posthumously by his son Samuel in 1587.¹⁰²

At the very end of the *Gratulatio* Foxe touches on the overriding preoccupations that inspired so much of his work – and one that far transcended any concern about England as a nation or the Tudor monarchy – in that Germany exhorted

⁹⁷ See the entry on 'Agathon' in the Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*.

⁹⁸ Curtius Rufus, *Historiae*, 5.C.1.

⁹⁹ Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 13.C.4.

¹⁰⁰ *Gratulatio*, 13.

¹⁰¹ See *A&M* 1583, pp. 1914 and 1920.

¹⁰² J. Foxe, *Eicasmī seu meditationes in sacram apocalypsin* (London: G. Byshop, 1587), p. 11: *Hinc bella, caedes, homicidia, lanienae, incendia, demersiones, pestes, infinita mortium genera, cadauerum funeribus quotidianis plena ubique omnia, ciuium contrucidationes, regnorum interitus, familiarum distractiones, bonorum pariter ac malorum, omnium denique aetatum ac seculorum ruinae.*

her (English) ‘fellow Christian soldiers and brothers’ (*Christiani commilitones, fratres*) that *imminente iam rerum, ut uidetur, catastrophe, iuxta Euangelicam monitionem, nos ad diem eum paremus omnes, qui procul abesse non potest . . . in quo . . . perhenne ac triumphale sabbatum, una cum suis, nunquam finiendae tranquillitatis peracturus est Christus* (‘with the end of the world now imminent, as it seems, according to the Gospel warning, we all prepare ourselves for that day which cannot be far distant . . . in which . . . Christ will accomplish, together with his own people, a perpetual and triumphant Sabbath of never-ending peace’).¹⁰³

The *Gratulatio* is obviously of exceptional interest to students of Foxe, who was just about to achieve a major literary success with the publication of his second Latin martyrology, the *Rerum*. As we have seen, the *Gratulatio* incorporates all the important elements of Foxe’s Latin literary style and sheds light on Foxe’s feelings about the new circumstances back in England, about Mary’s reign, and about the accession of Elizabeth. The prosopopoeia form of the tract continues the idea I have put forward as my third proposition that, using Latin as the linguistic key to his experiences in exile, Foxe is speaking on behalf of his colleagues in exile in the language that his scholarly continental friends will understand and appreciate – and so will his new monarch who had an excellent command of Latin. The optimistic expectations which he had of Elizabeth, in particular of her willingness to reform the Church,¹⁰⁴ would eventually be disappointed, prompting him to write increasingly critical and prescriptive accounts of her.¹⁰⁵ Yet this lay in the future. The *Gratulatio* is suffused with the high expectations felt by English Protestants when Anne Boleyn’s daughter ascended the throne.

¹⁰³ *Gratulatio*, 41.

¹⁰⁴ See especially *Gratulatio*, 10.

¹⁰⁵ See T.S. Freeman, ‘Providence and Prescription’, pp. 40–44.

Back to the *Rerum*

No doubt Foxe returned immediately to what had occupied him for most of the time he had been able to allocate to his own writing (as opposed to editing and proof-reading for others), namely the *Rerum*. We have little knowledge of what he was doing in the months leading up to its publication in the late summer of 1559, other than what is revealed in the correspondence with Bullinger (see below), but he was certainly being urged by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, as early as March, to return to England.¹⁰⁶ Indeed Grindal, in a letter dated 19 December 1558,¹⁰⁷ on the eve of his departure to England advised Foxe to delay publication of the *Rerum* and return to England in order to gain further evidence. The advice was ignored by Foxe and the *Rerum* was printed in Basel by Oporinus and Nicholas Brilinger in a joint effort in August 1559.¹⁰⁸ This work is a folio volume of 750 pages divided into six books, the first of which was virtually a reprint of the 1554 *Commentarii* with a few passages re-ordered and/or lengthened. Book 2 covers the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, while Books 3 – 6 cover the start of the Marian persecution down as far as the martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer on 21st March 1556.¹⁰⁹

It can be seen from an examination of the correspondence between Grindal and Foxe that this Latin volume had, by the death of Mary, in Grindal's mind ceased to be a necessary part of his project to bring the persecutions during the reign of the

¹⁰⁶ BL Harleian 417, fol. 102r. Cf. Mozley, p. 60. This was a letter written by Thomas in Latin (although the duke confesses that he has not written a Latin letter for five years) which makes it very clear that he is going to look after Foxe and expresses his gratitude for his former tutor's instruction when he was a youth.

¹⁰⁷ BL Harleian 417, fol. 102v.

¹⁰⁸ Mozley, pp. 122 – 3.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 123 – 4. Also there is appended a list of 150 names of those who suffered during the remainder of Mary's reign.

late monarch to the attention of the widest possible audience, especially the people of his recently liberated homeland. His urging of Foxe to return to England at the earliest possible opportunity, gather more primary source material – now more freely available – and assist in bringing out the story of the martyrs in the vernacular, went unheeded. This is perhaps not surprising: the years spent by Foxe in composing this work in Latin (his preferred language) and its closeness to completion as half of his conceived intention would have seemed to him wasted. At all events, he remained a further eight months or so in Basel and saw the volume through the press. Even at this stage it is clear from part of its published title, *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum . . . maximarumque per Europam persecutionum . . . Pars prima . . . de rebus per Angliam et Scotiam gestis . . .*, that he intended to continue with a second volume. Indeed he was writing to Bullinger for information about Zwingli, Grinaeus and other continental martyrs in the months immediately prior to his departure for England.¹¹⁰

Dedication and Prooemium

As we saw at the start of the chapter, the *Rerum* was compiled from many sources. The anonymous *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* and Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* had been the main sources for the *Commentarii*, which was included as the first book of the *Rerum* with very little change to its text. Also incorporated in the *Rerum* was the *Ad Inclytos* Foxe had written in 1557. Both the *Commentarii* and the *Ad Inclytos* were discussed above in Chapters Three and Four. In addition, he incorporated translations he had made into Latin of documents passed to him in English, such as the trial and examination of Philpot, and a number of original Latin documents, which

¹¹⁰ Cf. Mozley, p. 123.

he reproduced in his text, together with several Latin poems, composed by various scholars, including himself. In view of this mixture of material, much of which cannot fully be ascribed his own original Latin composition, I have selected two items for analysis, the *Dedication* and *Prooemium* at the start of the *Rerum* and the account of Lady Jane Grey on pages 232 – 234, both of which were certainly written by Foxe alone, which is why I have chosen them.

The *Dedication* is on this occasion was given unequivocally to Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk. As discussed above in Chapter 3, there is some doubt about the original dedicatee of the *Commentarii* of 1554. While there is a distinct possibility that it was Thomas, there is absolutely no doubt that the 1559 book was dedicated to him, as he is named immediately (see *Appendix I*, No. 37). Entitled *Epistola Nuncupatoria*, it is written in a rhetorical style starting with a *captatio benevolentiae* which is in the form of a self deprecation – a laying down of Foxe’s humanist credentials – and he does it very well! It is a sort of game or joke: ‘I’m not very good at this’ – but in fact revealing that he is very good at it. It engages the reader – in the first place the dedicatee - in a moral relationship with the writer: ‘I am beholden to you / you to me (after all, I taught you). Therefore you know the benefit . . .’, a subtle double meaning. To the more general reader it is saying: ‘You can be like Thomas, and listen in on this private conversation.’

Foxe quickly establishes that *res ipsae etsi intra unam modo Angliam gestae sint, huiusmodi tamen existunt, ut earum exempla non minus pateant uaste, quam ipsa Christi communis nostra parens pateat Ecclesia* (‘the events themselves, although they took place within England alone, nevertheless are of such a character that the

examples they set extend no less vastly than the very Church of Christ our common parent extends').¹¹¹ The larger picture thus embraces Europe as a whole – the *exempla* are universal, all within humanist culture. This reminds us of Foxe's *Locorum Communium Tituli* of Chapter Three, his book of Commonplaces a storehouse of examples. An *exemplum* functions the way the Greeks used a proverb. Foxe is inviting the question: 'Am I a good craftsman', but the *captatio benevolentiae* means that it is left to Thomas and other readers to determine. The dedication then changes gear and moves to the content of the book. Foxe plays the humanist card and then overlays it with the Christian card. His Latinity is important to Foxe in that it helps him tell the Christian story – the point comes shining through. This is true also of the *Christus Triumphans* and the *Commentarii* as well as the *Rerum* etc. The reference to 'Plato's mirror' in section 2 of the dedicatory letter puts this into a Christian context. (Cf. the references to *theatro orbis publico* and the *respublica literaria* at the start of the *prooemium* which indicate that Foxe is part of that international group of men of letters – he believes he belongs to it, as is also clear from his correspondence with Amerbach and Bullinger.¹¹²)

The mention of the individual martyrs in Section 3 of the *Dedication* (each of them is an *exemplum* playing his own part bravely and admirably) is the humanist trope of *exemplum*. *Martyres* ('martyrs', or 'witnesses') is a Christian *exemplum*. There is also a practical reason for their inclusion here: they form a sort of 'blurb' for the book: 'Read on for more information on x, y and z!' The use of Latinate roots such as *prudentia* (*Dedication* Section 2), *fortitudo* (*Dedication* Section 2 and *Prooemium* Sections 3 and 4) and *clementia* (*Dedication* Section 3 and *Prooemium*

¹¹¹ *Dedication*, 2.

¹¹² See, for example, his letter to Amerbach in *Original Letters* II. 767. and that to Bullinger in *Zurich Letters* Vol. I, pp. 25 – 6.

Section 10) and similar words, is associated with Cicero and, later, the Stoics (e.g. Seneca in his *De Clementia*). Foxe expects his readers to think of the great Classical writers, but in a Christian context. We should perhaps link Foxe's conception of martyrdom with his Latin conceptions. He could have seen the martyrs in the 'body of martyrs' as a whole, but he chooses to see them individually. However, in the 1583 version in the St. Bartholemew massacres, Foxe is apparently saying 24 years later: 'How can you deal with them individually? So my methodology does not work now. I can't understand what God is telling us now.' This seems to indicate despair towards the end of his life and possibly is to be linked with his increasing interest in apocalyptic thought: this gets stronger in the latter part of his life and leads to his final unfinished Latin work, the *Eicasmī*,¹¹³ which is a commentary on the book of Revelation: eschatological thinking enables you to see these events as a part of what is developing, rather than as individual events.

The *Prooemium* which follows the *Dedication* tells us why Foxe is writing this martyrology. These pages are very important, although they have been passed over to some extent, probably because they are written in Latin and have not been translated into English in any later versions. The *Prooemium* starts from a world view, continues the *captatio benevolentiae* with the expression *hunc scribendi et imprimendi pruritum* ('this itch to write and print'),¹¹⁴ *leui aliquo . . . motu* ('frivolous impulse'),¹¹⁵ etc. but Foxe is in fact well equipped to do this! It explains that what he is writing is a sacred history – there is a distinction between this and other types of history dealing with civil and external affairs. Foxe clearly associates civil histories

¹¹³ J. Foxe, *Eicasmī seu Meditationes in sacram Apocalypsin* (London: G. Bishop, 1587), which covered seventeen of the twenty-two chapters of *Revelation*.

¹¹⁴ *Prooemium*, 1.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

with those written by pagan historians: we use Livy, Herodotus, Caesar etc. for the examples of public utility – should we not regard as even more useful sacred histories – cultivate not the ears but life? Christian piety (an Erasmian phrase) runs constantly through Foxe's writing in the prefaces: In looking closely at what Foxe really means by *pietas* – not just a *credo* but a *praxis* – I suggest that what we have here may be his concept of 'Christian virtue', as opposed to 'pagan virtue' (*virtus*).

In Christianity the theological virtues are faith, hope and charity (i.e. *caritas*, 'love').¹¹⁶ The Latin *pietas* is usually translated as 'duty' or 'devotion', and it simultaneously suggests duty to the gods and duty to the family – particularly to the father – which is expanded to duty to the community and duty to the state, and ancient world convention.¹¹⁷ Virgil's hero Aeneas embodies this virtue (which along with *gravitas* and *dignitas* constitute the Roman virtues), and is particularly emblematic of it when he flees the burning city of Troy carrying his father Anchises on his back as well as carrying the household gods.¹¹⁸ Is Foxe using *pietas* in a humanistic sense (i.e. as a Roman virtue), or as an extension of the Christian virtues of faith hope and charity (i.e. love)? If the former is the case, Foxe's humanism is here possibly reflected in his knowledge of passages such as that of Virgil already noted. If the latter, it could be Foxe's own interpretation of Christian *pietas*.

Foxe gives fairly classic examples of how sacred history works. He shows how God works against atheists referred to towards the end of Section 2 of the *Prooemium*. We should not necessarily believe that Foxe thought there were atheists around in the 16th century – there were plentiful examples of heretics but not of

¹¹⁶ *I Corinthians* 13. 13.

¹¹⁷ Cf., for example, Plato, *Crito*. 50A ff.

¹¹⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid* ii, 707 ff.

atheists. He is drawing on a trope to bring out a general point here, showing what real Christian belief consists of, as is clear from the qualities as a Christian which he analyses in the following section. He broadens his points of reference further with *exempla* from pagan history, making us more knowledgeable and virtuous. So Foxe wants us to understand that classical wisdom complements Christian understanding and his classical linguistic skills serve them both. How else, Foxe wants us to deduce, can we derive wisdom from the six hundred martyrs alluded to in classical terms at the start of Section 4 of the *Prooemium*.

The *respublica literaria* referred to in Section 1 at the start of the *Prooemium* must have a humanist origin – it is certainly not a Classical Latin term. In the sixteenth century books are gifts. Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, becomes an adopted son of the *respublica literaria anglicana*. Would the *Dedication* have been read aloud to Norfolk? It would certainly have been an effective oral piece. In Section 2 of the *Prooemium* Foxe refers says: *Sed omnium maxime publica me communisque utilitatis ratio permouebat* ('But, most of all, the public and common consideration of utility moved me'). A review article by Ralph Giesey,¹¹⁹ on a book by Gaines Post,¹²⁰ notes that Ulpian sees a distinction in the opening lines of his *Digest* between Public Law and Private Law in that Public Law is a) 'that which regards the *status rei Romanae*' and b) 'that which is concerned with sacred rites, with priests, with magistrates'.

Giesey goes on to say:

Medieval Latin had no word which could stand alone to designate the State.¹²¹ There were instead many words, and three of them were used most often: *Respublica*, *civitas* and *regnum*.

¹¹⁹ R. Giesey in a review article in *Yale Law Journal*, 75 6 (May, 1966), pp. 1064-1075.

¹²⁰ G. Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100–1322* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).

¹²¹ Giesey has a footnote here which may be summarised as: other than Aristotle's *Politia* ('constitution') after 1260, but that was limited to a certain type of government. R. Giesey, Review, pp. 1070–1.

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That is to say, kinds of states were designated. The intriguing thing is that *status* could be used in conjunction with all of these (and with others as well), in the terms *status Reipublicae*, *status civitatis*, and *status regni*. *Status*, in these contexts, should be translated as the “public welfare” or the “governance” of the Republic, of the city, or of the kingdom. *Status* finally became a generic term, especially in its vernacular derivatives. All the stages in the evolution of the word have still not been clearly shown. Some instances of the vernacular “state” used alone can be found in the fourteenth century, but only in the sixteenth century was it established usage. Historians of the modern era find this quite appropriate, because they do not believe that the idea of the abstract State is older than the Renaissance.¹²²

Looking a little more closely at Foxe’s use of Latin in the *Dedication* and *Prooemium* (the texts of which are printed as *Appendix I*, Nos. 37 and 38) we find immediately a Classical reference in the first sentence: Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, is Foxe’s Maecenas,¹²³ Augustus’ ‘Minister of Culture’ and patron of that great Classical poet, Virgil. This point would not be lost on Thomas. In discussing the use of *exempla*, Foxe says *Solebat quondam apud Graecos uice prouerbii hominibus in os obiici, in re praeclara parum scite uersantibus: Proba quidem materia, si probum nacta fuerit artificem* (‘It used once among the Greeks to be cast in men’s faces when they behaved ignorantly in a matter supremely clear by way of a proverb: the raw material indeed was good had it found a good craftsman’).¹²⁴ This is immediately identifiable as one of Erasmus’ *Adagia*,¹²⁵ and is quickly followed by the following: *Primum enim quae iucundior esse possit contemplatio, quam e sublimi uelut specula Platonis, circumferentem oculos, tot tantasque temporum in tam breui spacio mutationes considerare: tantam uidere plebis instabilitatem, ut mobile mutetur semper cum principe uulgus* (‘For in the first place what contemplation could be more sweet than to consider from on high, as it were, through Plato’s mirror, turning one’s eyes around, so many and such great changes of times in so brief a space, to see such great instability among the people, so that ‘the fickle multitude always changes with

¹²² R. Giesey, Review, pp. 1069–70.

¹²³ *Dedication*, 1.

¹²⁴ *Dedication*, 2.

¹²⁵ Erasmus, *Adagia*, III. vi. 14: *Proba est materia, si probum adhibeas artificem.*

its ruler').¹²⁶ It would seem that Plato's mirror (*specula Platonis*) shows the world of appearances, change and contingency, not the world of divine truth revealed through divine reason.¹²⁷ This reference to the real rather than the idealised world is then amplified by a citation from Claudian on the fickle mob.¹²⁸ With the list of martyred men, both learned and unlearned coming forward *in theatro orbis publico*, Foxe uses one of his favourite images: the theatre. He continues this idea at the start of the *Prooemium* when he refers to potential writers of martyrological history who 'imprudently leap forward into the midst and put on the mask in this theatre' (*imprudenter nunc prosilire in medium, ac personam in hoc theatro induere*). The expression *prosilire in medium* is not a common classical expression, but Foxe may well have been influenced by a passage in one of the Younger Seneca's letters where it is used of Euripides in a theatrical context.¹²⁹ The expression *personam induere*, which seems on the face of it to be concerned particularly with drama, has a possible source in Cicero, but in this case with the words *ponit enim personam amici, cum induit iudicis* ('lays aside the role of a friend when he assumes the part of a judge') in a legal context.¹³⁰

The *Prooemium* also has a further number of Classical allusions. Harpalus is shown as an example, through remaining unpunished for his crimes, of God's neglect of human affairs: *Quemadmodum de Harpalo olim dictum est a quodam, quod uiuum daret testimonium contra Deum, in cuius longa uidelicet impunitate, Deus uelut*

¹²⁶ *Dedication*, 2.

¹²⁷ Plato, *Republic* X. 596e. Cf. similar references to mirrors in *Sophist*. 239d; *Timaeus* 46a and 71b; *Theaetetus* 193c.

¹²⁸ Claudian, *De Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti Panegyris* CCII: *mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus*.

¹²⁹ Seneca Minor, *Epistulae Morales*, CXV. 15. 3: *Cum hi novissimi versus in tragoedia Euripidis pronuntiati essent, totus populus ad eiciendum et actorem et carmen consurrexit uno impetu, donec Euripides in medium ipse prosilivit petens ut expectarent viderentque quem admirator auri exitum faceret*.

¹³⁰ Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 1. 38. 92.

negligere res humanas uideretur ('Just as it was once said of Harpalus by someone, that he gave a lively testimony against God, manifestly, since while he long remained unpunished God as it were seemed to be neglectful of human affairs').¹³¹ A classical list of warrior Alexanders, Hectors, Scipios and Juliuses is given for comparison with the 600 martyrs: *Neque paulo enim hoc mihi honore digniores uidentur isti, quam sexcenti Alexandri, Hectores, Scipiones, ac Iulii bellatores* ('For these people seem to me very much more worthy of this honour than six hundred warrior Alexanders, Hectors, Scipios and Juliuses').¹³² The classical images of columns, pyramids, triumphs and temples are used as visual examples of worldly achievement by emperors and kings: *Eadem sequuntur et caeteri eius martyres, quibus merito tantum honoris tribuit pia et religiosa Ecclesiae antiquitas, quantum nullus unquam imperator aut rex, statu, columnis, pyramidibus, triumphis, templis, indictisque honoribus impetrare etiam in hoc mundo potuit.* ('The same course is followed also by the rest of His martyrs, to whom deservedly the pious and religious antiquity of the Church attributes more honour than ever any emperor or king was able to obtain even in this world, by statues, columns, pyramids, triumphs, temples and the bestowal of honours').¹³³ The hymns of Prudentius and Nazianus are favourably compared (although it is not clear whether this comparison is being made by volume or quality of composition!) with the Olympian and Nemean Odes of the classical lyric poet Pindar;¹³⁴ and the Roman military terms *prima acie* ('first rank'), *triarii* (men of the third rank) and *legione* ('legion') are used for the dying of different groups of martyrs:

¹³¹ *Prooemium* 3. Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*. Lib. III. 83: *Diogenes quidem Cynicus dicere solebat Harpalum, qui temporibus illis praedo felix habebatur, contra deos testimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tam diu viveret.*

¹³² *Prooemium* 4.

¹³³ *Prooemium* 4. These symbols of secular honours are again very much drawn from Foxe's reading of classical literature.

¹³⁴ Pindar (c. 518 – c. 446 B.C.) wrote lyric poems which the Alexandrian editors divided into 17 books, of which only the four books of victory songs (*epinicia*) survive.

Illi in prima acie constituti, primos hostium impetus ingenti constantiae magnitudine exceperunt, nosque docuerunt uincere: at isti nihilo segnius uicerunt triarii, in ultima cadentes legione. ('Those men, set in the first rank, received the first onslaughts of the enemy with great abundance of courage, and taught us to conquer; but these men with no less vigour overcame in the third rank, falling in the last legion.')¹³⁵

The second section of the *Prooemium*, entitled *Quur immittantur a Deo persecutiones* ('Why persecutions are sent by God') contains a further classical allusion. In discussing the difficulties of correcting behaviour, Foxe refers to the Phrygians who were said to be corrected *non nisi plagis* ('except by flogging'). This is the subject of Erasmus' adage *Phryx plagis emendatur* ('It takes a blow to mend a Phrygian'), which draws on Cicero and Suidas.¹³⁶

Let us consider one or two final points in the *Prooemium*, before turning to the main text of the *Rerum*. There is a potential example of Foxe's use of rhetoric in Section 2 with the choice of the following words: *rerum humanorum . . . ducum ac imperatorum*, etc. This, with its repetitions and assonance, perhaps suggests that at least this part of the work may have been delivered orally on some occasions. Also in Section 2 an interesting expression is found in *prophanae antiquitatis* ('profane/pagan antiquity') which is balanced against the concept of *sacra historia* ('sacred history') a few lines above: we can draw on the profane material – but it leads us to the important Christian parallels and instruction. A few lines later Foxe speaks of *utilissimis exemplis* ('most useful examples'). With his constant use of adages,

¹³⁵ *Prooemium* 5.

¹³⁶ *Prooemium*, 8. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1. 8. 36: *Phryx plagis emendatur*. Erasmus refers to Cicero, *Pro L. Flacco*, 27. 65: *Vtrum igitur nostrum est an vestrum hoc proverbium, 'Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem'?*

proverbs and tropes Foxe is reminding his former pupil Thomas (and, of course, the general reader): ‘Don’t forget all the learning we went through – remember how I have used the ancient wisdom and proverbs and put them to Christian use.’ In Section 3, when discussing the histories of the martyrs both for reading about and for imitation he suggests that everyone *in parietibus, in poculis, in annulis ac foribus depingerent* (‘should depict them on their walls, their cups, their rings and their doors’). This idea may well be connected with Foxe’s intention to represent the burnings etc. graphically – is he visualising the woodcuts here as a educative component? Continuing this visual imagery, with his references to the *martyrum cineres* (‘ashes of the martyrs’) and to the poetry of Prudentius and Nazianzenus, Foxe may well have in mind Prudentius’s Latin poem describing processions of cities carrying crowns, which Michael John Roberts interprets as ‘by a process of metonymic slippage . . . carrying . . . the bones, ashes, blood, and limbs of the martyrs themselves, or crowns representing their martyrdoms’.¹³⁷ Similarly, there is a moving passage in which St. Gregory of Nazianzenus describes the bringing back to Nazianzus of the ashes of his martyred brother Caesarios.¹³⁸ Foxe makes frequent mention of both Prudentius and Nazianzenus in his work, as he does of Tertullian, and his *semen est sanguis Christianorum* (‘the blood of Christians is the seed [of the church]’). Foxe expands on these patristic citations with additional classical quotations.

¹³⁷ Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon*, 4. lines 17, 38, 20, 21, 41 and 44. Cf. Michael John Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The ‘Liber Peristephanon’ of Prudentius* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1993), p. 34.

¹³⁸ Gregory Nazianzenus, *Orationes*, 7. 15. PG. 35. 773. Cf. J.A. McGuckin, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), p. 160.

The Story of Lady Jane Grey in the *Rerum*

As I said earlier (see p. 222), because of the huge amount of text in the *Rerum* I have selected a short passage of Latin which appeared in English translation in the 1563 vernacular edition of the *A&M* and which was almost certainly written by Foxe, rather than being copied or edited by him, as happened with much of the material he gleaned during his painstaking searches of documents and bishops' registers.¹³⁹ In this passage, which can be found as No. 40 in *Appendix I*, Foxe gives a clear and concise account of the Lady Jane Grey episode. It is interesting that, although he includes the description of the Lady Jane as *Illustrissimae Heroinae* ('an outstanding heroine') a page or so later, when he is giving an account of her final moments before her execution,¹⁴⁰ the comparison Foxe makes between Jane and a classical example exhibiting heroic qualities, it is not with Lucretia or the wife of Thrasea Paetus, who both died bravely, but with Aspasia and Sempronia, who had similar intellectual and literary capacities.

An examination of the Latin text in this extract from the *Rerum* reveals that, although there are no obvious citations from classical literature or Erasmian adages, the Latin is elegantly constructed with a number of carefully chosen phrases and expressions. For example, in Section 1 there are three vocabulary items used to describe what Foxe no doubt regards as the underhand machinations of the Duke of Northumberland: *mysteria* of the circumstances of Jane's marriage, *occultas* of the lobbying of the duke, *coniecturis* to describe what may not be factual and *vestigiiis* –

¹³⁹ I am grateful to Tom Freeman for his personal guidance in this respect.

¹⁴⁰ *Rerum*, p. 236.

only signs or indications of the same. Foxe rhetorically highlights all this by saying what he is not going to narrate (*non hic excutio . . . , nec morbum . . . nec ea . . .*).

In Section 2 we find parallels from Roman Republican history in that he refers to the rivalry of the opposing factions of the nobles and the commons in parliament as *patriciorum et plebeiorum intestina . . . simultas* ('the internal rivalry of the patricians and plebeians'). A little further on in this section he makes great play of Jane's erudition, making particular mention of her tutor John Aylmer (a friend of Foxe's), and then goes on to compare her with Aspasia (partner, possibly wife of Pericles, but in some ancient accounts hostile to Pericles a *hetaira* or prostitute), Sempronia (presumably the sister of the Gracchi brothers) and their mother (Cornelia, though she is not named). The choice of these women is a little strange. While Aspasia was almost certainly an intellectual, we have no evidence for the education and/or ability of the other two Roman ladies. What is evident, though, is that they were all strong female characters in a male dominated world, which is presumably the role Foxe would have assigned to a Lady Jane Grey who had survived.

At the start of Section 4 Foxe paints a vivid picture of Mary being rushed off to Fremlingham Castle in Norfolk, saying that she was *huc illuc uariis iactata itineribus* ('buffeted hither and thither by different journeys'), suggesting a rapid and uncomfortable drive in a carriage throwing Mary from side to side during the journey. This is nicely contrasted at the end of that section with Foxe's observation that, had she heeded her promise not to take action against Edward's religion, as requested by the evangelically minded people of Suffolk who had come to her aid, she would have gained *imperium . . . firmitus maiori cum tranquillitate et diuturnitate* ('a more stable

reign with greater peace and duration'). Finally, there is an effective piece of rhetorical writing at the start of Section 5: *Nam quantumuis per te potentia polleas, difficilis tamen diuturnitatis custos perfidia est, difficilior metus: omnium uero difficillima, crudelitas* ('For however much power you may have through yourself, yet treachery is a difficult guardian of durability, fear is more difficult, and the most difficult of all is cruelty'). The word order, with its build up of *difficilis*, *difficilior* and *difficillime* describing the durability of different methods of holding on to power, reaches its rhetorical climax with the single word after a final comma – *crudelitas* ('cruelty'). This would be especially effective if read aloud and underlines the point about both Foxe's spoken Latin being a distinctive part of his experiences in exile and having rhetorical effectiveness, whether delivered from a stage or pulpit or recited in a noble dwelling or university.

Conclusion

Foxe's working environment had changed dramatically over a period of some thirteen years. From Magdalen College and its intensely academic atmosphere in the 1540s, followed by an even quieter year as a tutor in a Warwickshire household in 1546 – 7, Foxe had widened his horizons and moved to the cosmopolitan hub of the country, but continued to be involved fully in academic life in London. It is true that he had left behind the parochialism of collegiate life, but he was still continuing the career of a teacher and scholarly writer. The move to the Continent and settling in Basel after a turbulent year in Frankfurt must have represented an enormous change in environment for him. Here he did not hold a university appointment or tutoring post, although, as we have seen, he did have a close relationship with the University of Basel through

his links with particular members of staff, such as Boniface Amerbach. But now Foxe's main occupation was working in the print shop of one of the major printing houses for the European book trade for scholarly books. Foxe therefore had the advantage of presumably the sight of, probably meeting through his university contacts and certainly being aware of a range of scholarship only to be found in two or three places in Europe: Venice, Rome and Basel, the big scholarly centres.

London at this time had no university, Oxford and Cambridge were not major printing centres, nor did the court meet there; they were very much provincial centres. Basel, with its good relations with Strassburg to the north, Constance to the east and Geneva to the south, was in an excellent position for developing the contacts Foxe needed to make to continue his scholarly career, but he needed to be able to support himself. There could be no better place than the print shop of Oporinus, a staunch Protestant bookseller in a city which was bigger than its neighbours Geneva and Zurich, and which was less politically aggressive.¹⁴¹ Basel's book trade was already very well established – Geneva's followed later.¹⁴²

In Basel Foxe wrote in different styles, including a verse drama, an academic text book, classical text editing, theological translation and political polemic. The *Gratulatio* is in the form of a written speech, though it was not designed to be presented as such. Foxe is giving advice to his new Queen. He is speaking on behalf of the exiles in Latin, the linguistic key to his exilic experience. He is working on a

¹⁴¹ Basel was less politically aggressive than Zurich, which was the head of the big and expansionist eastern canton of the Swiss confederation, and Geneva, which had boldly and recently declared its independence from the duchy of Savoy and was trying to be independent of its former overlord, without falling under the sway of the big westerly canton of the Swiss confederation – Bern.

¹⁴² Geneva's reputation as a publishing centre was only consolidated by the arrival of the French printer émigrés in the 1540s; and the volume of production did not take off until the later 1550s.

big international stage, stretching from Germany to England. The *Rerum* is a work of serious, even philosophical, history. A huge book, it sat on the shelves as a statement from someone who was not sitting on the sidelines but is saying 'I am a serious figure'; Foxe is saying that God's providence and secret managing of the affairs of men can be read in this book: if we can only strip away all the lies and mistakes of the church, then the follies of men will be revealed to us. God puts us under various labours for our sins in order to make us understand the seriousness of his intent. Through those labours and that suffering we shall discover more about his great providential designs. Both the *Gratulatio* and the *Rerum* emphasise the centrality of God's providence.

During the latter part of his time in Basel we have seen a Foxe who is infinitely more confident. He is continuing to embody Erasmian methodology in his writing – the humanist spirit of returning *ad fontes*, the studying of texts, especially the scriptures, in their original form and getting back to the spirit of the author, of God speaking to us. However this can only be done if it is put into its linguistic and historical context: this is why Erasmus had elaborate notes with citations from Greek, Latin and Hebrew sources, in order that we might understand what God was saying to us. This Erasmian tradition was continued by the scholars who followed him, including Oecolampadius, Melancthon, Sleidan, Pantaleon and the Rhineland biblicists – and, of course, Foxe himself. The *Rerum* established Foxe's European reputation and he returned to England late in 1559 as an established scholar on the international stage with a vast array of skills in Latin. Foxe was now a true cosmopolitan figure and he belonged to a European Latin-speaking community of writers. This puts in context those who have argued that he was an English

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martyrologist, a proto-Anglican or an English icon of Protestantism. John Foxe was an internationalist, a humanist and, above all, a Latinist.

CHAPTER SIX

Foxe's Latin at the Service of the New Regime: the reluctant protagonist

Introduction

John Foxe returned to England in the late autumn of 1559. He and his home country had both experienced considerable changes. Foxe had established himself as a Latin writer and scholar of some *gravitas*: the manuscript he had hastily published in 1554 as a preliminary blueprint for his martyrology had blossomed into a major continental folio volume, printed five years later by a leading protestant publisher. He now returned with a vastly enhanced reputation, was politically assured and implicitly an ideological exponent of the new regime. It would be easy to see Elizabeth's accession as the start of a long period of stability, but this is to view the situation with hindsight. Much has been written on the period of the Elizabethan settlement, but we shall consider only what directly relates to Foxe's place as a Latin writer in these events and its significance for the new regime.

This Chapter examines my fourth proposition that on his return to England Foxe continued to use his Latin as a protagonist in the Elizabethan regime. I have deliberately used the term ‘protagonist’ to emphasise what I feel he was not: that he was not a polemicist, apologist or propagandist for English proto-Anglicanism; he was, nevertheless, capable of strong views and of expressing them forcefully. Foxe was his own man. He showed on several occasions, as we have seen during the last three chapters dealing with his exile, that he was an independent thinker and would follow his own path, such as when he went from Frankfurt to Basel after the ‘Troubles in Frankfurt in 1555’ (see Chapter Three, pp. 133-141), rather than joining other exiles with whom he sympathised during the troubles such as Knox and Lever in Geneva; and subsequently when he decided to remain in Basel after the vast majority of his companions in exile had hurried back to England at the start of Elizabeth’s reign. We shall shortly see the stance he took in the vestiarian dispute – which put him at variance with the views of his new monarch and her Archbishop of Canterbury. But it was his Latin that was used by the Elizabethan regime, as I shall argue strongly in this chapter. This was because there were occasions when Latin rather than English was required, such as his involvement in the project to reform canon law in 1571, and the call upon his services to take over as the Latin spokesman for the regime in the polemical exchanges with the Portuguese bishop Osorio, following the death of the very distinguished Latinist, Walter Haddon. Foxe’s high profile Paul’s Cross sermon in 1570, ‘On Christ Crucified’, was printed soon after in English but also the following year in Latin. As we shall see, he was reluctant to accept this invitation – hence the second part of the chapter title.

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Initially I shall consider what role Foxe saw for himself, as far as we can determine this, which may well have included his continuing interest in education as we saw with two of his works in Chapter Four. In that context a brief examination of the *Syllogisticon* of 1560 – 64 will be appropriate. But the main thrust of this chapter will be an analysis of the evidence in support of the final thesis proposition that Foxe was a protagonist in the service of the Elizabethan regime. This evidence consists of extracts from the 1563 *A&M* (first from the Latin preface *Ad Doctum Lectorem*, and secondly two Latin poems from the main text of the work, together with the Latin letter which accompanied the copy presented by Foxe to Magdalen College six weeks after its publication), a letter Foxe wrote to Queen Elizabeth following her visitation to Cambridge in 1564, two letters he wrote to Edmund Grindal, now Bishop of London, in connection with the Paul's Cross sermon in 1570 and a short extract from the opening to the *Contra Osorium* of 1576.

A role for Foxe in the Elizabethan regime

The first thing to consider is to what sort of position Foxe was returning. Would this be, as was the case with many of his fellow exiles, ecclesiastical preferment or a university appointment? It is certainly the case, as Mozley observes, that 'the need of solid and learned ministers was urgent, and it should have been thought that Foxe was sure of a high post befitting his character and talents',¹ but this did not happen.

Perhaps it was because of Foxe's particular Protestant outlook, reflected in his refusal to wear clerical vestments (he was one of about twenty members of the clergy who signed a formal petition to Archbishop Matthew Parker in 1564 seeking exemption

¹ Mozley, p. 63.

from wearing vestments), and indeed this was in the general ecclesiastical context of Foxe being ordained priest in 1560 by his fellow exile, Edmund Grindal. Other former exiles had been appointed to high office: Richard Cox, John Scory, David Whitehead and Edwin Sandys were all translated to bishoprics. So why was Foxe not appointed to a position of responsibility within the new Church or to a fellowship at one of the Oxford or Cambridge colleges? Mozley is no doubt to some extent correct in suggesting that the vestiarian controversy of 1564 could explain Foxe's lack of ecclesiastical preferment, but V. Norskov Olsen has drawn attention to a much more likely reason, in fact supplied by Foxe himself in a letter to Laurence Humphrey, written on the latter's election to the Presidency of Magdalen College in 1561. In this letter Foxe teasingly suggests that Humphrey has *gregem et ordinem deseruisse* ('deserted his flock and order') in accepting this post, whereas Foxe will change *nec gradum . . . nec ordinem, qui est uidelicet fratrum mendicantium, uel si uelis praedicantium* ('not my degree nor order, which is that of the mendicant brothers, or if you will, the preaching brothers').² Olsen argues that Foxe saw his role within the English Church as filling the gap created by the disappearance of the preaching friars and monastic brotherhoods following their corruption and dissolution in the reign of Henry VIII: a determined opponent of 'monkish religion', he nevertheless was committed to the scholarly objectives to which some monastic houses had devoted themselves, like Erasmus.³

² See BL Harleian MS 416, fol. 140r-v.

³ V.N. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*, p. 15. Cf. also Warren Wooden, who notes Olsen's point about Foxe wanting to remain free to evangelize and preach and adds that he was in Norwich for about a year from 1560 as an evangelist at the invitation of Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, but still thinks 'it was most likely his views on wearing of ecclesiastical vestments . . . that barred his rise within the Anglican establishment': W. Wooden, *John Foxe*, p. 10 and note.

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However, one of the things that Erasmus was most known for is that he never committed himself to any regime – he never took office anywhere in either state or church. In *Utopia* Sir Thomas More in the preface to an imagined friend took up a discussion he had held with Erasmus on whether it was better to point the finger of criticism at authority through satirical writings and arguments or whether one should become a figure of authority in order to hope to change the world. More accused Erasmus of always being on the sidelines: if he were to become involved in the world – as More is – he would have more hope of changing it. Foxe will no doubt have had in mind that debate about whether one should become involved or stay on the touchlines, a debate which is central to the humanist project. It is a world of scholarly reflection in disengagement or political engagement inspired by humanist values. It is a humanist discourse that runs through humanist writings.

Certainly the preaching side of Foxe's career had a high profile. Both in Germany and later back in England he was constantly called upon as a preacher: the many examples of his pastoral concerns for individuals lend weight to this argument.⁴ For Foxe one of the central dilemmas after his return to England was the degree to which he should become involved – he was unclear in his own mind about this. There are signs that he looked for a post, but there are also signs that he really did not want one. This may be the answer to why Foxe had neither a position in the church (he was later granted a prebend at Salisbury – but see below for the circumstances and reasons for this) nor a post in a university.

⁴ See *Mozley*, p. 43. On Good Friday 1570 he was appointed to preach the Paul's Cross Sermon (which was published as the *Sermon of Christ Crucified*) and he preached other high profile sermons, such as one in Latin on the conversion of a Jew to Christianity in 1577 (published in 1578 as *De Oliva Euangelica*). *Mozley* also details Foxe's pastoral work. See *Mozley*, pp. 96ff.

The *Syllogisticon*, 1560 – 64

In terms of his potential employment on returning to London, Foxe may have considered a return to teaching. We saw in Chapter Four that his continuing interest in that field led to his writing two educational works, the *Christus Triumphans* and the *Locorum Communium Tituli*. We should consider the possibility that he would wish to resume his career in teaching, either as a tutor or now, with a greatly enhanced reputation, as a school or university teacher. From his time as a fellow at Magdalen in the early 1540s to his departure for the continent in 1554, he had been heavily involved in teaching. His interest in education had certainly continued in Basel through his association with the university there and his writings in 1556 – 7. But back in England, apart from what was really a re-issue (though with a greatly expanded introduction) of his commonplace book in 1572,⁵ Foxe's remaining Latin writing, with one exception (see below), was that of a Latin scholar in the fields of polemical theology, sermons and finally an almost complete commentary on the Apocalypse. It is also significant that, despite his experience as an educator, he was not involved in any of the discussions for the new Elizabethan education foundations, as were many of his close friends and associates such as Cecil, Bacon, Horne, Jewel, Smith, Mildmay, Sandys, Pilkington, Parker, Petre, Mountjoy, Whittington, Cox, Cooke, and especially Grindal and Nowell.⁶ He was not included in membership of the commission established in 1562 which included many of the Marian exiles just mentioned. Of course at this time Foxe was very busy with the 1563 *A&M*, so it was perhaps felt that he had enough on his plate, but he does seem to have moved away

⁵ Now with the title *Pandectae locorum communium*, and containing more specific headings for the blank pages. See Chapter Four, p. 175 n. 124 for the full title.

⁶ See J. Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) pp. 304 ff.

from direct involvement with the education of the young in the years following the A&M.

But Foxe did produce one work early in the new reign which can be regarded as an educational publication, the *Syllogisticon* of 1560–64, a compilation of arguments in logical form on the eucharist, described by Pratt as ‘a learned work establishing the true doctrine of the Eucharist, by arguments picked out of various theological works, and reduced to logical form.’⁷ Foxe dedicated the *Syllogisticon* to the Rev. John Harding (or Hawarden), Fellow and later Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, who, as vicar of Coningsby, had been responsible for introducing Foxe to the University of Oxford and in particular to Brasenose College in about 1534.⁸ He presented a copy of the *Syllogisticon* to Harding as a gift of recompense for someone who had helped him in his studies many years ago, but was it in fact a hint about a post at Oxford? It should be noted that the publication date of the *Syllogisticon* is crucial in regard to the date of the petition sent by 20 clergymen, including Foxe, to Archbishop Parker in 1564 during the Vestiarian controversy, as this in itself will have ruined any chances, certainly of ecclesiastical preferment, if not of academic preferment.

The text of the dedication is printed as No. 41 and that of the first two sections of the Hortatory Epistle as No. 42 in *Appendix I*. It is interesting to see that Foxe refers in this dedication to his early patron Harding as his ‘Maecenas’ (the patron of the circle of poets and other men of letters during the reign of Augustus at the start of the imperial age of Rome), having used exactly the same term in reference to Thomas

⁷ Pratt, *Life of John Foxe*, in *A&M 1870*, Vol. I, p. 44.

⁸ *Mozley*, p. 17. See Chapter One for a discussion of Foxe's first associations with Oxford and the extent of Harding's involvement.

Duke of Norfolk in his dedication to him of the *Rerum* some four years earlier in 1559.⁹ In the *Syllogisticon* Foxe is providing a logical exposition of St. John's Gospel statement about the meaning of the Eucharist. He expounds a series of statements in the text to show which is the right one. The layout of the text is remarkable, with initials printed down the pages in the margins: these correspond to the medieval mnemonic names associated with the inferences made in using Aristotelian logic: *Darii, Ferio, Baroco, Celarent, Caesare, Datisi, Ferison, Camestres* – all of these occur within the first two or three pages. No doubt the logic employed by Foxe in this work harked back to his appointment as a tutor in logic at Magdalen in the 1540s, but we do not know why he wrote it. It is quite likely that he sent a copy to William Cecil, who in 1552 had taken an interest in the *Tables of Grammar*, and was now Elizabeth's Secretary. Leaving aside the issue of timing mentioned above, the high academic profile of the dedicatee together with circulation of the book among senior academics and political leaders (which would result from the much higher profile Foxe now enjoyed) would certainly send a signal to the academic community. Whether or not they would react to it is another matter.

In the 'Hortatory Epistle' prefacing the *Syllogisticon* the language used is necessarily of a theological nature and therefore it is not surprising that patristic allusions occur, such as the *discordiae procellas* ('storms of discord') mentioned near the start of Section 1, an expression used by the sixth-century Pope Hormisda in a letter to Epiphanius.¹⁰ Nevertheless, there are classical allusions right from the start including a rather effective description of Christian discord involving the Greek goddess Ate, the personification of 'ruin' or 'folly', and an expression using the Greek

⁹ See the full text of the *Rerum* dedication in *Appendix I*, No. 38.

¹⁰ *Hormisdae Papae Epistolae Et Decreta* (C,S) Epistola LXXX, 'Hormisdae Ad Epiphanium', *Patrologia Latina* Vol. 63. Col. 0515D.

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derivative *cacoethes* (κακότηες, 'bad state' or 'habit') used by the medical writer, Celsus, and the Elder Pliny to mean an 'obstinate, malignant disease': this is yet another example of Foxe's fondness of using medical terms (cf. several passages in the *Gratulatio* in Chapter Five). The medical thinking is continued a few lines later with *posse utcunque his malis obduci cicatricem* ('that the scar can somehow be drawn over these misfortunes'): this is reminiscent of Cicero's speech on the Agrarian Law, in which he said: *ne aut refricare obductam iam rei publicae cicatricem viderer* ('lest I should seem to be reopening a wound of the republic which was now scarred over').¹¹ In the second sentence of Section 2 Foxe says that schools and lecture rooms have been *in tribunalia uersae praetoria* ('turned into praetorian tribunals'), very much the scene for dispensing justice in the forum in Rome. A curious classical allusion follows in the expression *uelut cubi illi platonicis pessimas nobis gignunt harmonias* ('and engender for us like Platonic cubes the most discordant harmonies') describing the effects of private interest groups. Foxe uses *cubi* for the expected Platonic term *sphaeri* ('spheres'), presumably in a rather amusing display of irony, to emphasise the incompatibility of views expressed in the disputations. A few lines later in another reference to the lack of harmony he uses a reference to Orpheus's lyre to express the sort of harmony he would like to bring to the disputes: he wishes that he had Orpheus's ability to charm people into concord by his 'music' – another indication of Foxe's eirenic nature. Within the confines of an argument that is organised upon formally scholastic lines there was plenty of scope for Foxe's humanistic Latinity to shine through. I have demonstrated that in this preface to the work Foxe is capable of introducing his humanist Latinity and making very good play of it.

¹¹ Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, III. 4. 2.

The Acts and Monuments, 1563

The preparation of the 1563 English martyrology has been analysed in some detail by Mozley, Wooden and others, including most recently, in the British Academy John Foxe Project, Thomas S. Freeman, but what is of interest in the present thesis is the extent to which Foxe retained some of the Latin ‘feel’ from the 1559 *Rerum*, or even incorporated new material in Latin. The ‘feel’ is important. This is a work of memorial – acts and monuments – where Foxe is seeing himself in a memorialising role and is therefore trying to pick up the language of the documentation that he is memorialising. It is part of the ‘truth’ claim to be using Latin, but not part of the *persuasio*. Foxe is not using humanist Latin when he gives us the first line or two of an Anglo-Saxon charter or a passage from a medieval chronicle. He is simply informing us that he has read it, knows what it is saying and asks the reader to trust him when he says that this is what it says. So the Latin is part of the ‘truth’ claims, although this is not the case with the Latin poems (see below).

In fact there is a great deal of Latin in both the 1563 and later editions of *A&M*, mainly citations in Latin from both patristic and later sources, together with a few classical allusions and a large number of official documents, sometimes quoted in full (but more often only the first paragraph or so is given in Latin) followed (but not always) by an English translation. I am going to concentrate on two passages, two major items in the *A&M* which are not ‘truth’ claims or ‘acts and monuments’ in terms of memorialising the past. These are contained in the prefatory Latin material, which is Foxe’s own composition. They are: first the *Ad Dominum Iesum Christum seruatorem clementissimum, Eucharisticon Ioan. Foxi* (‘To the Lord Jesus Christ,

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most merciful Saviour, a Thanksgiving from John Foxe') and the address to the reader *Ad Doctum Lectorem* ('To the Learned Reader'); secondly, the poems by Foxe and other scholars, which are included for a purpose – and we need to explore that purpose. An extract from the opening of *Ad Doctum Lectorem* is printed as No. 43 in *Appendix I*, and two Latin poems composed by Foxe are printed as No. 45. There are also in the 1570 and later editions a number of Latin prefatory poems, all, save one couplet, being composed by scholars other than Foxe.

General stylistic points to be noted about Foxe's Latin in these prefatory prose passages in the *Acts and Monuments* include his love of well-formed Latin periods: this is nowhere better illustrated than in his introduction to the *Ad Doctum Lectorem*. In addition to the obvious rhetorical devices employed, such as repetition, alliteration, assonance and balanced clauses, this passage is distinctly Ciceronian, as a comparison with the opening of the *De Oratore* will show. This is a lengthy linguistic period in which Foxe is striving to demonstrate his skill at producing a 'studied' or 'elaborate' rather than 'rhetorical' opening sentence. The first two words would immediately remind the reader of the first two words of Cicero's *De Oratore*.¹² It will be instructive to place the openings of both works side by side, in order to see how Foxe has cleverly worked this, viz:

Foxe (*Ad Doctum Lectorem*)

Cogitanti mihi, uersantique mecum in animo quam periculosae res aleae sit,¹³ emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculosque multorum subeat, his praesertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibusque, ubi tot hominum dissidiis, tot studiis partium, tot morosis capitibus, tam rigidis censuris, et Criticorum sannis feruent

Cicero (*De Oratore*)

Cogitanti mihi saepe numero et memoria vetera repetenti perbeati fuisse, Quinte frater, illi videri solent, qui in optima re publica, cum et honoribus et rerum gestarum gloria florerent, eum vitae cursum tenere potuerunt, ut vel in negotio sine periculo vel in otio cum dignitate esse possent; ac fuit cum mihi quoque initium requiescendi atque

¹² Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1. 1.

¹³ cf. Horace, *Carmina*, II. 1. 6: *periculosae plenum opus aleae*.

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fere omnia, ut difficillimum sit quicquam tam
circumspecte scribere, quod non in aliquam
calumniandi materiam rapiatur: perbeati profecto
foelicesque uidentur ii, quibus eum uitae cursum
tenere liceat, ut in otio uiuentes¹⁴ cum dignitate,
sic alienis frui queant laboribus, uelut in theatro
ociosi sedentes spectatores, ut nullum interim
ipsis uel ex actione taedium, uel ex labore
periculum metuendum sit.

animum ad utriusque nostrum praeclara studia
referendi fore iustum et prope ab omnibus
concessum arbitrarer, si infinitus forensium rerum
labor et ambitionis occupatio decursu honorum,
etiam aetatis flexu constitisset.

The first ten lines, starting with *cogitanti mihi*, are then picked up by two complementary lines introduced by *perbeati ... uidentur ii*. The clauses are locked together in a succession of subordinations: *tam exulceratis ... ut difficillimum, tam circumspecte ... ut in otio, sic ... ut nullum*. Foxe evidently intended the passage to strike an immediate chord in the mind of the *doctus lector*, who would recognise the Ciceronian and Horatian allusions. In Section 2 we find the words *ad meae infoelicitatis cumulum accedit* ('there is added on top of the pile of my misfortune'). This is very like a phrase that can be found in a letter from the Franciscan friar Adam Marsh (*d.* 1259) to a certain 'Minister in England'.¹⁵ Continuing that sentence with three clauses introduced by *praeter*, followed by two carefully balanced negative clauses: *neque falsa narrare sine iniuria historiae, nec uerum dicere sine magna sua inuidia*, Foxe leads on with a further rhetorical build up via three more short clauses *sic attingat, sic perfricet, sic designet* to a series of four first person perfect subjunctives, *attriuerim . . . perdiderim . . . accierim . . . exhausserim . . .*, to conclude a highly effective sentence. In fact, in this sentence we see that Foxe knew how much opposition there was likely to be to his publication – in the *A&M* 1570 edition some of the reactions, both his own and those of other scholars and poets, are again alluded

¹⁴ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 100. 1: *tenere cursum possint et capere oti illum portum et dignitatis* and Cicero, *De Lege Agraria*, II. 103: *Nam si ei qui propter desidiam in otio vivunt.*

¹⁵ *ad infelicitatis cumulum accedat*. See J.S. Brewer (ed.), *Monumenta Franciscana: II. Adae de Marisco Epistolae. Epistola CCVI* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858), p. 367. It would be very rare for sixteenth-century writers to use monastic sources such as this, although Nicholas Ridley in the late 1540s was reading Ratramnus of Corbie, a 9th century monk. See J. Schofield, *Philip Melancthon and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 155.

to in some of the prefatory prose and (from this edition onwards) verse passages in Latin which make reference to the many comments made after the publication of the first vernacular edition.

The prefatory Latin prose passages were intended for specific groups, the clergy and learned the scholars, including of course the Queen. The address to the Elizabeth was in English, so that all Foxe's readers could see in what terms he was addressing her. *Ad Iesum Christum Eucharisticon* was a preface, addressed to the clergy, announcing the issue on which a statement was being made; *Ad Doctum Lectorem* was addressed to the scholarly humanist audience, as its style suggests. These passages show on Foxe's part a balanced awareness of audience and style. So there are perfectly acceptable authorial reasons for the Latin passages in the prefatory material. As far as the Latin documents in the main body of the text are concerned, presumably Foxe wanted to make it clear to his potential critics that he was not 'inventing' sources for what he had to say but was carrying out scholarly research of original documents – many of which were in Latin – and as proof of this he would share that information with the reader. It is interesting to note that he tells us that, although the task of translating a large proportion of the 1559 Latin text into English was carried out 'by others . . . [Foxe himself being] occupied about other registers',¹⁶ he did personally revise a number of translations in the *A&M* 1570 edition, indicating that he was not satisfied with some of the *A&M* 1563 translations from the *Rerum*. No doubt this was one of the results of the haste with which the edition was completed. We know that one of Foxe's 'assistants' was Fabian Withers, whose translations in particular received considerable revision. An example of this is the

¹⁶ *A&M* 1570, p. 691. See *Mozley*, p. 130; T.S. Freeman, 'Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)' in the *ODNB*.

account of the Council of Basel which occurred during the reign of Henry VI in 1431. Foxe in his inclusion of this account was here translating the Latin account of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (the early humanist writer who later became Pope Pius II) but the translation work for this, having been assigned to Fabian Withers in 1563, was revised by Foxe himself for the 1570 edition. Foxe approved of the antipapal sentiments of humanists such as Piccolomini (although the latter had a change of views on becoming Pope!) and removed the description of church leaders going round praying to the saints in the plague section in the 1570 edition. From this and other passages it is clear that Foxe had total editorial control of the 1570 edition. Thomas Freeman sees this edition as 'the voice of Foxe', the one in which he had the greatest freedom to express things as he wished.¹⁷

Latin poems had been a feature of the 1559 *Rerum*; Foxe retained most of these for the 1563 edition and added others, such as, for example, two of his own, one an epitaph on the executed Lady Jane Grey,¹⁸ the other commenting on the marriage between Mary and Philip of Spain.¹⁹ Additionally, from the 1570 edition onwards there were included a series of prefatory Latin poems. These come from Laurence Humphrey, Abraham Hartwell, Robert Record, an anonymous poem about John Day, Thomas Drant and one from Foxe himself in 1570, with additional poems in 1576 by Giles Fletcher, Thomas Ridley, one M.M.S.,²⁰ Thomas Barwick and Richard Day. One further poem by Philip Stubbs appears in 1583. The couplet by Foxe (but Foxe's

¹⁷ E. Evenden & T.S Freeman, 'Foxe, Day and Printing', pp. 40-42. Cf. my on-line essay on 'John Foxe the Latinist' [online] from hriOnline last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/apparatus/wadeessay.html>

¹⁸ *A&M* 1563, p. 923.

¹⁹ *A&M* 1563, p. 1005.

²⁰ The identity of M.M.S. remains unknown. He did however translate *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias* by Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566) from Spanish: Casas, B. de las, *Spanish Colonie, or Brief chronicle of the acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the newe World, for the space of xl. yeeres . . . Nowe first translated into english, by M. M. S.* (London: T. Dawson, 1583).

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initials appear only in 1570 and 1576), entitled in 1570 *Ad Ennianum Carmen allusio* ('an allusion to a poem by Ennius') but in 1576 and 1583 *Contra Papistas incendiarios* ('against Papist firebrands'), is interesting in that he used it again, on page 2043 of the 1583 edition in Book XII. The two versions may be compared as follows:

1570, 1576, and 1583 A&M Prefatory Poems

*Si fas cædendo cælestia scandere cuiquam est.
Papicolis Cæli maxima porta patet.*

If anyone is allowed ascend to heaven by killing,
the biggest gate of heaven is open to the Papists.

1583 A&M, Book XII, Page 2043

*Si fas cædendo cælestia scandere cuiquam est,
Bonnero cæli maxima porta patet.*

If anyone is allowed ascend to heaven by killing,
the biggest gate of heaven is open to Bonner.

In the 1583 version of this poem the heading is given as *Ex Epigrammate Ennii apud Ciceronem Allusio* ('An allusion from an epigram of Ennius in Cicero').²¹ The epigram had an interesting history. According to Seneca it originated with Homer and was quoted by Ennius as *Si fas endo plagas coelestum ascendere cuiquam est, Mi soli coeli maxima porta patet* ('If it is right for anyone to ascend to heaven by means of blows, the biggest door of heaven lies open for me'). Seneca says that Cicero quoted the epigram, and so did Virgil.²² Lactantius then quoted the lost fragment of Cicero attributing the epigram to Ennius.²³ Clearly Foxe felt that this epigram, already adapted by him in the prefatory poems from 1570, was particularly appropriate in the context of Bonner's notorious scourging of heretics.²⁴

²¹ The text of Cicero is found in the *De Republica*, Fragments, 6. 3: *Si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere cuiquam est, Mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.*

²² Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* Letter 108. 34. 5.: *Ennium hoc ait Homero [se] subripuisse, Ennio Vergilium; esse enim apud Ciceronem in his ipsis de re publica hoc epigramma Enni: si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere cuiquam est, mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.* The occurrence in Virgil is in *Georgics* III. 260f.

²³ Lactantius, *Divinarum Institutionum* lib. I, *De Falsa Religione Deorum*, Migne P.L., col. 0211B: *Apud Ennium sic loquitur Africanus; Si fas endo plagas coelestum ascendere cuiquam est, Mi soli coeli maxima porta patet.*

²⁴ There is a very well known woodcut on page 2043 of the 1583 *A&M* showing Bonner scourging 'Gods Sainctes, in his Orchard, at Fulham'.

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The prefatory poems were no doubt included because of their commendatory comments on the *A&M* and were an additional feature which Latin scholars provided for their readers, as had indeed been the case in 1559, when Laurence Humphrey had written some verses at the time of the publication of the *Rerum*. Indeed, many of the points made in these poems defend Foxe's work in compiling the martyrology against some of the criticisms made following the 1563 edition.²⁵ These Latin poems require considerable analysis and comment – I have already provided for the British Academy John Foxe Project translations of each of them, with some comment, in the on-line edition which has just been published – and this is work I hope to be able to go on to in the future. They have no direct bearing on the Latin writings of John Foxe, other than the fact that he thought it of sufficient importance to include them in the *A&M*.

However, we should look at the two poems which Foxe himself wrote and which I have included for comment from the main text of the 1563 *A&M*, first the epitaph:

*Tu, quibus ista legas, incertum est lector, ocellis:
Ipse equidem siccis scribere uix potui.*²⁶

This suggests that Foxe shed tears on hearing of Jane's execution, but we should not take that too literally. Tears are about involving the audience in the emotional situation being created. Rhetoric taught the speaker about when and where to drop a tear or burst into tears. It was part and parcel of the training in rhetoric – a way of indicating the speaker's sincerity. Humanism and Latinity are all about civility, about a culture, a language of good taste, but as soon as you have a language of cultivation

²⁵ For example, in the prefatory poems the second poem by Robert Record in *A&M* 1570 (the pages of the prefaces are not numbered) makes uncomplimentary references to Thomas Harding and Alan Cope (Nicholas Harpsfield's pseudonym), who both forcefully attacked Foxe's book. Cf. *Mozley*, pp. 138-9.

²⁶ *A&M* 1563, p. 923. See *Appendix I*, No. 45a.

and taste, you have a discourse on sincerity. Foxe is acutely aware that all people who dress up their language in this way are immediately open to the charge of being insincere, but he situates this poem between two other poems, one a couplet by Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, the other by Laurence Humphrey, all immediately before the statement of Jane's execution. The second poem by Foxe is a 'marriage poem',²⁷ following eight lines of genealogical information about Philip and Mary, 18 lines on the subject of the royal marriage by John White, Bishop of Lincoln, and 22 lines of a reply by James Caufield. It shows Foxe unequivocally opposing the marriage, denouncing White for deceitful prophecy and not heeding what God wants, making caustic comments on the rumours and countering rumours surrounding Mary's later supposed pregnancy and, with the words

*Ergo papistarum sic irrita vota malorum
semper eant, numen stetque in honore dei.*

And so let the prayers of the evil papists always be frustrated
in this way, and may the will of God be honoured.

giving his outspoken opinion on the 'wicked papists'.²⁸ In the later editions this final couplet was replaced by:

*Duxerat ad paucos menses, mox deserit idem:
Sponsa est, mox vidua est: hoc voluit Dominus
Irrita frustrentur semper sic vota malorum,
Perniciem patriae qui voluere suae.*

He had been married to her for a few months, then the same man deserted her:
she is betrothed, then she is a widow: the Lord wanted this.
May the prayers of bad people, who have wanted the
destruction of their native land, always be in vain and frustrated.

²⁷ *A&M* 1563, p. 1005. See Appendix I, no. 45b.

²⁸ The poem is followed by the initials *I. F.* (*Ioannes Foxus*), but in the later editions these initials are lacking. Also, the 1563 version of line 9 reads: *Regi, non regi, petitur mox spernitur, Angla est*, ('She is sought and soon rejected by a king who is not a king, she is English'). The later versions all have *Regi non regi nupsit, non nupsit, Angla est*, ('she married, but she did not marry, a king who was not a king, she is English'). The reason for the change is not clear, but perhaps the passage of time between 1563 and 1570 caused this brief marriage to be seen in a different light.

Foxe in the 1583 version decided to update the poem, which presumably he originally wrote before Philip withdrew from England to the Low Countries in 1555, a move he had been contemplating for some time.

As far as critics of the 1563 *A&M* are concerned, by far the most comprehensive attack came in Latin from the pen of the Marian archdeacon Nicolas Harpsfield, at the time in the Fleet Prison, in *Dialogi Sex*, published under the name of Alan Cope in Antwerp in January 1566. The last of these dialogues dealt with Foxe's book, the preceding five having been concerned with the work of the Magdeburg centuriators. Although Foxe considered writing a response, he contented himself by modifying many of the passages in question in his next edition in 1570. Tom Freeman has shown how seriously Foxe took these criticisms of Harpsfield: he took pains to answer them and, although he often needed to excise errors or material causing embarrassment, it resulted in a massive expansion of the text in the second edition. Freeman gives as an example: 'Harpsfield's (accurate) claims that Foxe had misrepresented Oldcastle's rebellion of 1414 provoked a thirty-four-page answer from the martyrologist which drew upon extensive research in the parliament rolls'.²⁹ This response from Foxe belongs in the context of him being not a 'propagandist', as he has been referred to, and I think inaccurately,³⁰ by Frances Yates,³¹ but a 'protagonist', someone who is very acutely aware of what critics are saying,

²⁹ *A&M* 1570, pp. 676–700. Following these considerable modifications (which in fact improved the martyrology), it is perhaps significant that a second edition of the *Dialogi Sex* three years later added very little new criticism. Cf. T.S. Freeman, 'Harpsfield, Nicholas (1519–1575)' [online] In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

³⁰ This term, which has had many changes in its meaning over the last few centuries (Cf. OED definitions), is best avoided.

³¹ See F. Yates, 'Foxe as Propagandist', *Encounter* XXVII (1966), pp. 78–86.

particularly Latin critics, and who responds in kind. We should perhaps see him as more of a 'proponent', 'advocate' or 'defender' of the reformed Church.

Foxe's Latin and Greek letters to Queen Elizabeth

We shall now turn our attention away from the *A&M* and look at other ways in which Foxe's Latin writings were used in the first few years of Elizabeth's reign. His reward from the Queen for the *A&M* was the prebend of Shipton in Salisbury Cathedral. William Cecil organised this, as we are told by Simeon Foxe, who says that his father initially wanted refuse the gift, but that Cecil's diplomacy circumvented any potential embarrassment to the parties involved. Foxe was appointed on 22 May 1563 and instituted by proxy at the end of that month.³² Shortly after this Foxe found himself in some financial difficulties over the tithe on the first fruits (over and above an initial payment of the sum of £50 in security), so he wrote a Latin letter to the Queen (see *Appendix I*, No. 46) in which, after a lengthy preamble, he congratulated her for recalling the exiles, promoting the arts and good laws, defending and protecting religion, restoring the true light of the gospel and showing such favour to the academic institutions.³³ He referred to a speech she had recently made on her visit to Cambridge (which he would have liked to publish and also to go on to write the

³² *Mozley*, pp. 67 – 8. Foxe's duty as prebend led to his appointing a fellow Marian exile, William Masters, the university orator at Cambridge, to the vacant living of Shipton under Wychwood in 1564. Foxe subsequently granted a lease on the prebend to his brother-in-law Thomas Randall, which, on the death of the latter in 1585, was transferred to John's other son, Samuel, remaining for many years in the Foxe family.

³³ BL Harleian MS 417, foll. 97r – 98r. Abraham Hartwell wrote a poem, *Regina litterata*, in celebration of the Queen's visit to Cambridge in 1564. Jim Binns has shown how this was 'a manifesto for the political, literary and intellectual ideals of the new age'. See J. Binns, 'Abraham Hartwell, Herald of the New Queen's Reign. The *Regina Literata* (London, 1565)' In: Tournoy, G. & Sacré, D. (eds.), *Ut granum sinapsis: essays on neo-Latin literature in honour of Jozef IJsewijn* (Leuven: Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, Leuven University Press, 1997), pp. 292–304.

Queen's history) and looked forward to a similar visit to the University of Oxford.³⁴ It is only towards the end of the letter that he mentioned his financial problems. We do not know whether the Queen responded to this appeal. While Foxe, as far as we are aware, paid no visits to Salisbury, he does seem to have made at least an annual visit to Shipton, which was a fairly easy journey from Oxford, also paying a visit to his son Samuel at Magdalen.³⁵

This was not the first or the last time that Foxe addressed the Queen in Latin or in Greek. We saw in the previous chapter that in the *Gratulatio*, a copy of which he sent to the Queen, probably with an accompanying letter or inscription in the book,³⁶ he had taken the opportunity to give advice to the new Queen, especially recommending that she should choose wise and good counsellors to advise her.³⁷ He had not used a formal Latin dedication to her in the 1563 *A&M* for reasons of disseminating the purposes of his book and what he has had to say to their monarch to as wide an audience of her subjects as possible. Some years later in 1575 he wrote to the Queen in Latin about five Flemish anabaptists who had been condemned for heresy and were destined for burning.³⁸ Foxe's eirenic nature, which is such that he *macellum ipsum ubi mactantur etiam pecudes uix praetereo, quin tacito quodam doloris sensu mens refugit* ('can scarcely pass the shambles where the beasts are slaughtered, but that my mind secretly recoils with a feeling of pain'), causes him to plead earnestly for them to be spared from *pyras ac flammis Smythfelianas* ('the

³⁴ There was a similar visit by the Queen to Oxford in 1566. That the Queen was really interested in what was happening at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge is shown in the preface to Thomas Cooper's 1565 Latin/English dictionary in which Cooper says that the Earl of Leicester, Cecil and the Queen had devised 'a plan for restoring the arts to their former dignity, and for encouraging the young men of the university in learning'. See J. Binns, *op. cit.*

³⁵ Mozley, p. 69.

³⁶ If these existed they are no longer extant.

³⁷ See Chapter Five, p. 203.

³⁸ BL Harleian MS 416, fol. 151r-v. See also 416, fol. 155r-v; 417, foll. 100v and 110r for other drafts of parts of this letter.

pyres and flames of Smithfield'),³⁹ although he in no way supports their errors. This plea of Foxe, accompanied by other letters to the council, was ultimately unsuccessful. Although some weeks were spent by both English and Dutch clergymen (including Foxe) trying to get the anabaptists to recant, the Queen was unmoved and signed the writ for their execution.⁴⁰

The Queen's proficiency in the classical languages was outstanding. She was pre-eminent in her generation, singularly remarked upon and was distinctive in that respect, having been tutored by two Cambridge graduates, William Grindal and Roger Ascham.⁴¹ There were few men with her command of the classics and William Cecil, who was no mean Latinist, was truly impressed by her capacities. To illustrate this point, we only have to look at the well-known occasion of a visit by the Polish ambassador much later in her reign in 1597, recorded by William Cecil's son Robert, when a furious Elizabeth, on being publicly chastised by Paul Dzialynski for interfering with Poland's shipping trade with Spain, made an immediate reply to the ambassador in Latin. She rose ahead of her Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton, who was about to reply, in this extempore response 'with great rhetorical skill', using 'a characteristic arrangement, the balancing of antitheses, together with sentence variety, irony, wordplay, and even some Latin rhyme.'⁴² This apparently caused tremendous admiration among those present at court and brought to mind her equally brilliant extempore speech in English at Tilbury in 1588.⁴³

³⁹ *ibid.* 416. fo. 151.

⁴⁰ R. Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-1580* (London: H.M.S.O., 1856), p. 496. Cf. Mozley, p. 89.

⁴¹ See R. Rex, *Elizabeth* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007), pp. 23–25.

⁴² See J.M. Green, 'Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31 (2000), pp. 987–1008.

⁴³ J. Speed, *The History of Great Britaine* (London: 1614), Book 9, p. 899; J.M. Green, "'I My Self': Queen Elizabeth I's Oration at Tilbury Camp', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997), pp. 421–45.

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

As far as the Latin in this letter to the Queen is concerned, what is remarkable about it, when compared with other Latin letters of Foxe, is the lack of classical allusions and Erasmian adages. Foxe was obviously being very careful to phrase what he had to say about Elizabeth and her rule, not to mention his request for assistance over the issue of the first fruits, in a formal manner. We see nothing here of his playful use of tropes and proverbial commonplaces so evident in the letters to friends from his earliest days at Magdalen to well into the new reign, and particularly evident in one of the letters he wrote to Edmund Grindal, Elizabeth's first Bishop of London and Foxe's former partner in exile, on the occasion of an invitation to preach at Paul's Cross (see below).⁴⁴

Until very recently there was no known correspondence from the pen of Foxe in Greek. Early in 2008 it was realised that there is in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, a letter in Greek bearing the signature of 'John Foxe' inscribed on the opening flyleaf pages of a 1529 edition of Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*.⁴⁵ The two main problems are that the handwriting is not that of Foxe and the date given at the end of the letter is 1589, two years after Foxe's death. However, the letter could have been copied from an original autograph by Foxe enclosed with the book (which had apparently been sent as a gift in the first of an annual offering of this kind) at some later date and, since it was common for the figures 5 and 8 to be confused in manuscript, the original date could have been 1559: this would certainly be far more consistent with the idea of Foxe sending an annual New Year's gift to his new sovereign and also accords with the style and content of the dedication. If it is genuinely by Foxe, it reinforces the point made above that Elizabeth was very

⁴⁴ See BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 129r.

⁴⁵ This volume was donated to the St. John's Library by Thomas Baker (1656 – 1740), a clergyman and antiquarian, who was a Fellow of St. John's from 1680 – 1717.

conversant with both classical languages and earned the respect of her scholarly subjects.⁴⁶

Foxe's later Latin writings

The years following the 1563 *A&M* were almost certainly dominated by Foxe's need (but no doubt this time according to his own timetable) to revise the *A&M*, both in correcting errors (some of these caused by inaccurate information reaching him during initial compilation, others, as we have seen resulting from poor translations by some of his assistants) and the refuting of attacks by critics, especially those coming from his catholic opponents. That this was the case is indicated by the lack of new Latin works during this period. The only surviving Latin work from Foxe before the publication of the 1570 *A&M* was the *Concio Funebris* ('Funeral Address'), a translation into Latin of Edmund Grindal's funeral oration delivered on the death of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V in 1558, curiously the only sermon of Grindal to survive.⁴⁷ No doubt John Day felt that this sermon was worthy of a wider circulation among the academic communities in Europe and Foxe, having completed the first edition of his *magnum opus* the year before, could reasonably be asked to make the translation.

⁴⁶ I have included this Greek letter and translation as *Appendix I*, no. 50, although it is not one of the Latin writings of John Foxe, as it nevertheless supports the main arguments of this thesis.

⁴⁷ E. Grindal, *A sermon at the funeral solemnitie of the most high and mighty prince Ferdinandus, the late Emperor* (London: Day, 1564). See W. Nicholson, (ed.), *The Remains of Edmund Grindal*, The Parker Society (Cambridge, 1843).

The Paul's Cross Sermon, 1570/71

Scarcely had Foxe completed the 1570 second edition of the *A&M* when he was asked (Mozley says commanded) by Grindal to preach the Good Friday sermon on 24 March of that year at Paul's Cross, an open air pulpit in the cathedral courtyard which was used for public proclamations and sermons communicating official doctrine and policy.⁴⁸ From the 1530s there had been a rota of anti-papal preaching arranged for the open air pulpit at Paul's Cross by bishops, and which ran on Sunday evenings during parliamentary sessions.⁴⁹ Mozley's statement that Foxe initially refused and then, following representations from his friends, changed his mind and accepted the appointment, seems at first sight perfectly reasonable. Foxe, who was obviously extremely busy and apparently did not feel equal to the task, wrote to Grindal, describing Paul's Cross as that *celebre . . . theatrum, ubi tamquam simia inter purpuratos, uel sannis excipiar, uel sibilis explodar multitudinis* ('celebrated place of audience where like an ape among princes I shall be either received with derision or hissed away by the crowd.'⁵⁰ However, a careful analysis of the Latin, printed as No. 47 in *Appendix I*, reveals that in a total of 26 lines of text in this letter Foxe used no fewer than eight Erasmian adages together with an allusion to Aesop's fables. Mozley's analysis is in fact rather superficial: this was a very contrived piece of letter writing and requires some exploration.

⁴⁸ D. Loewenstein & J.M. Mueller, *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 405.

⁴⁹ See D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 115.

⁵⁰ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 129r. See *Appendix I*, No. 47.

Foxe starts in Section 1 by saying that Grindal is a man who is *Mitis columba* ('a peaceful dove'),⁵¹ going on to suggest with *ille miluus (quisquis ille fuit) columbinum hunc animum tuum instigauit* ('which kite (whoever he was) has goaded this dove-like mind of yours') that someone else has driven him to appoint Foxe to deliver the sermon, behaving like the kite in Aesop's fable exercising tyranny over the doves.⁵² Foxe goes on to suggest that Grindal should instruct *asino alicui Antronio* ('some Antronian ass'),⁵³ i.e. a man of shapeless and overgrown physical bulk, to pick up Orpheus' lyre and *auletam agat* ('play the part of a flute-player') as a *Camelus saltet* ('a camel [that] dances'),⁵⁴ meaning someone trying to do something ungracefully. Foxe has his tongue firmly in his cheek. When he follows this up within a few words to question *quis . . . asinus ad lyram . . . [ineptior]* ('which ass is more unsuitable for the lyre'),⁵⁵ referring to someone trying to perform a task in which they have no experience, *seu bos usque ad clitella ineptior* ('or which ox is more unsuitable for the pack-saddle'),⁵⁶ used of someone who is rejecting a task as being unsuitable for him, is more unsuited to the task than he, we are in no doubt that Foxe is enjoying himself in getting in as many Erasmian adages as he can. This is confirmed when he predicts, a few lines later in Section 2, that *dum parturiunt montes pollicentes aliquid, prodeat interim mus quispiam ridiculus* ('while mountains which promise something are labouring away, in the meantime some ridiculous mouse may come forth'),⁵⁷ suggesting that although people are expecting some heavy weight and erudite sermon to be delivered, they will actually get something light and insignificant

⁵¹ Erasmus, *Adagia*, III. vi. 48: *Mitior columba* ('more peaceful than a dove').

⁵² See the fable in Phaedrus, I. 31: *Miluus et Columbae* ('The Kite and the Doves').

⁵³ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. v. 68: *Antronius asinus*. Cf. *CWE*, Vol. 33, pp. 270–71.

⁵⁴ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. vii. 66: *Camelus saltat* ('The camel dances').

⁵⁵ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. iv. 35: *Asinus ad lyram*. Cf. *CWE*, Vol. 31, p. 344.

⁵⁶ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. ix. 84: *Non nostrum onus, bos clitellas?* Cf. *CWE*, Vol. 34, pp. 121–3.

⁵⁷ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. ix. 14: *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus* ('The mountains labour, forth will creep a mouse'). Cf. *CWE*, Vol. 32, p. 188.

from Foxe. The final adages come in Foxe's complaint about the burden of work he is carrying (in completing the major 1570 revision of the *A&M*) with a reference at the start of Section 3 implying that he is a *mulus marianus* ('a Marian mule'),⁵⁸ a reference to the heavy packs carried by Roman foot-soldiers, following the army reforms of Gaius Marius at the end of the second century B.C. This also surely contains a pun with *Mariani* ('Marian') also indicating that his material is dealing with the 'Marian martyrs', burned at the stake in the late queen's reign! Finally, in a supreme case of self-deprecation, Foxe sees himself as *simia inter purpuratos* ('an ape among those clad in purple [i.e. bishops]'),⁵⁹ referring to himself as someone having some inappropriate dignity thrust upon him.

A second letter to Grindal (undated, but clearly written shortly after the previous letter) is printed as No. 48 in *Appendix I*.⁶⁰ This time the Latin is unadorned with adages and suggests, with the comment that some of his friends *fingunt . . . te mihi subiratum de posterioribus ad te literis quas miseram* ('are pretending that you are somewhat angry with me concerning the last letter I had sent to you'), that Grindal may have been a little irritated by either Foxe's reluctance to accept the invitation or the very contrived language used to express that reluctance. In any case, Foxe obviously enjoyed himself composing the first letter and knew that Grindal would pick up all the allusions. He was in fact trying to sail as close to the wind as he could to saying 'If I could refuse, I would'. Actually, he was saying 'yes'. The second letter, where he did not need to dress it up, simply confirmed his acceptance. He then published the sermon at his friends' request later in 1570 as *A Sermon of Christ Crucified* in two successive editions and was again persuaded to print a third version of

⁵⁸ Erasmus, *Adagia*, IV. iv. 79: *Muli Mariani* ('Marius's mules').

⁵⁹ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. vii. 10: *Simia in purpura* ('An ape in purple'), Cf. *CWE*, Vol. 32, p. 71.

⁶⁰ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 129v.

it in Latin as *De Christo Crucifixo* the following year. Foxe enlarged and revised the text in these subsequent editions to the extent that he said that he 'travailed three times with the same child.'⁶¹

The Paul's Cross sermons were intensely politicised and the choice of Foxe here was surely to make a statement from the Elizabethan regime. It is therefore particularly noteworthy that, despite his rhetorical skills and experience in delivering polemical denunciations, Foxe in fact kept to theological rather than political arguments, concentrating on the Catholic errors of doctrine. This is in spite of the fact that a papal bull had deposed the Queen a month earlier and absolved the people of England from paying allegiance to their sovereign. Had the protestant leaders (church and/or government officials) hoped that he would employ some of his well-known polemical rhetoric in this respect? Although we cannot be sure, it is worth considering what had occurred at the time of the first Paul's Cross sermon in the new reign. Cecil recorded in the memoranda of the first day of Elizabeth's reign, among many other matters, the necessity for a careful selection of the official preacher of St. Paul's Cross, that 'no occasion to give by him to stir any dispute touching the government of the realm.'⁶² It could be that, for whatever reason, it had been decided that Foxe should preach the Paul's Cross Sermon on this particular occasion, as in 1559, in an eirenic manner in order to avoid controversy. We have no way of knowing. Foxe preached another Paul's Cross sermon in 1577, but on this occasion there was some controversy over comments he made on the Protestant subjects of the King of France and led to a complaint from the French ambassador.⁶³

⁶¹ Mozley, p. 78.

⁶² C. Read, *Mr Secretary Cecil*, p. 122.

⁶³ Mozley, p. 93. Foxe wrote a letter to the Council, defending himself on the grounds that he was explaining a situation in France and not justifying or encouraging it.

The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, 1571

At all events, Foxe was very much *persona grata* with both the ecclesiastical and political leaders, as can be seen from the fact that he was asked in 1571 to edit a fresh set of laws to replace the old canon law – a project which had been initiated in the reign of Edward VI. This was duly published, with a preface by Foxe, as *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* in April 1571. The project was, however, opposed by the Queen and ultimately shelved. This was perhaps Foxe's most explicit contribution to the shaping of the new Protestant regime. The *Reformatio* had originally been prepared during the reign of Edward VI, but had encountered opposition in the House of Lords in 1553. It seems that a reformation of doctrine and worship could be accepted, but not a reformation of discipline.⁶⁴ In Elizabeth's reign attempts were made to revive the plan for a committee of 32 persons to examine church discipline in 1559 and 1563, but it was not until later in 1571, after Foxe published the *Reformatio*, that a committee of twenty was appointed – but once more nothing came of this. Foxe's *Reformatio* was republished in 1640, 1641 and 1850,⁶⁵ although nothing has ever resulted from this and no change has been made in canon law. One can see how Foxe was deeply concerned about and involved in this project, when we note that a group of *seniores* ('elders') would have been involved in applying the discipline at Congregational level, a precursor of what was to become presbyterian discipline.⁶⁶ When we realise that this idea came out of Zurich in the 1520s, had been further developed by Oecolampadius and Bucer in Basel and Strassburg in the 1530s and subsequently used in the Stranger Church in London while the *Reformatio* was being

⁶⁴ J.C. Spalding, 'The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* of 1552 and the Furthering of Discipline in England' in *Church History* 39 2 (1970), pp. 162–171.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 170.

compiled in the early 1550s,⁶⁷ we can see how Foxe will have become involved in this movement for the reform of church discipline both in London and on the Continent. This can also be directly linked with Foxe's two works on ecclesiastical discipline published between 1548 and 1551.⁶⁸

This new role for Foxe as an editor of Protestant literature, both official and unofficial, was continued with an edition of the gospels in Anglo-Saxon encouraged by Matthew Parker in 1571,⁶⁹ followed by a volume of the works of that earlier generation of Protestant writers who had suffered for their faith, Tyndale, Frith and Barnes, in the following year. It was also in 1571 that Foxe moved into his own house in Grub Street, near St. Giles in Cripplegate, where he remained for the rest of his life. Foxe now had a certain amount of financial independence, though he was never wealthy, as he frequently gave away to the poor anything above what was necessary for his basic needs.⁷⁰ This is highlighted by the move away from his patron's residences and the fact that he no longer needed to earn his living as a tutor. This house move, as it happens, preceded the fall of the Duke of Norfolk through his connections with Mary Queen of Scots, first in an ill-advised contemplation of marriage with her in 1569 and then his complicity two years later in the Ridolfi plot, in which Mary was deeply involved.⁷¹

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 171.

⁶⁸ See Chapter Two, p. 62f.

⁶⁹ Parker was a keen Anglo-Saxon scholar. Foxe's preface to the Queen in this work set the historical background for a vernacular English bible in the context of the protestant view of the True word.

⁷⁰ *Mozley*, p. 103.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, pp. 82ff. The details of this affair need not concern us here. Suffice it to say that the duke requested that 'Mr Foxe, his old schoolmaster' be sent for. Foxe and Nowell visited him in the Tower and were in attendance at his execution in June 1572.

The Osorio Controversy

Nevertheless, Foxe's skills as a Latinist were still very much in demand. In 1577 he was asked to complete a second response to the Portuguese cleric Jerome Osorio da Fonseca (1506 – 1580) who, before he became bishop of Silva, had in 1563 written a letter advising Elizabeth to return to the Roman church. The previous year Elizabeth had shown her disapproval of Osorio's treatise *De Vera Nobilitate* and this had generated the bishop's letter. Walter Haddon, a well-established Latinist of some repute had published a first and swift response soon after.⁷² Osorio, now bishop of Silva, replied in 1567,⁷³ but Haddon's response to this was cut short by his death in 1572. Foxe now completed the work, five-sixths of which was his own composition, together with a preface addressed to the King of Portugal.⁷⁴ We do not know how Foxe's work was received, either in England or in Portugal, but Osorio died in 1580, bringing that particular debate to a natural conclusion, although, as we shall see, Foxe continued to publish polemical theological material directed against Osorio.⁷⁵ The degree to which this was an official response has to remain an open question and indeed we do not know how Foxe was chosen to succeed Haddon, but this was clearly an issue which the Council and the Queen were unlikely to regard as marginal to their concerns – it was central to them.⁷⁶

⁷² H. Osorio da Fonseca, *Epistola H. Osorii ad serenissimam Elisabetam Angliæ reginam* (Louvain, 1563). A swift reply was sent by Walter Haddon and was later printed in W. Haddon, *G. Haddoni Legum Doctoris, s. Reginae Elisabethæ à supplicum libellis, lucubrationes passim collectæ, & editæ. Studio & labore Thomæ Hatcheri Cantabrigiænsis*. (London: Seres, 1567), pp. 210-268. An English translation of Haddon's reply was published by Abraham Hartwell as *A Sight of the Portugall Pearle* (London: William Seres, 1565). Cf. L.V. Ryan, 'The Haddon-Osorio Controversy (1563-1583)', *Church History*, 22 (1953), 142-54.

⁷³ H. Osorio da Fonseca, *Amplissimi ... viri H. Osorii in G. Haddonum magistrum libellorum supplicum apud Helisabetham Angliæ ... reginam libri tres* (Louvain, 1567).

⁷⁴ J. Foxe & W. Haddon, *Contra Hieron. Osorium* (London: John Day, 1577). Cf. Mozley, p. 92.

⁷⁵ E.g. J. Foxe, *De Christo gratis iustificante* (London: John Day, 1583). See below.

⁷⁶ Haddon died in 1571, but Foxe did not complete the work until 1577. It is stated by L.V. Ryan, 'The Haddon-Osorio Controversy', p. 151, that it was Laurence Humphrey who urged Foxe to complete the

Osorio's contention was that the English Reformation was a mistake and that Elizabeth, as a true Catholic prince, should further that religion in her kingdom as a first priority. Haddon's first reply took Osorio to task for being misinformed. He told the bishop that he must be thinking of France when he spoke of riots accompanying the Reformation and then went on to refute Osorio's arguments, one by one, denouncing him for his generalities, using only Ciceronian invective, and demanded that he make specific charges against books, people and actions, citing a host of ecclesiastical scholars present and past. He denied Rome's primacy, thus justifying England's break with the Pope, supported the doctrine of election and questioned where in the scriptures the Catholics could find a defence for their position. Finally, Haddon urged the Roman church to acknowledge its own mistakes and undergo reformation.⁷⁷ Osorio returned to the debate in 1567, attacking the position of the English Protestants in three books. His new tract, which had 'little to recommend it',⁷⁸ was greeted enthusiastically by his supporters and appeared in an English translation in 1568. It was a response to this book to which Foxe addressed himself on the death of Haddon and, following Haddon's answers to the issues surrounding the supremacy of Peter, clerical celibacy and images, an attack on the Confession, a discussion on the real presence of Christ and papal supremacy, Foxe continued with a full discussion of the problem of justification by faith to the end of the work.⁷⁹

Foxe completed five-sixths of what Haddon had started, opening with the short section I have printed in *Appendix I*, No. 49. Immediately we are plunged into a citation from Pliny (incidentally recalling a reference in the *Gratulatio* eighteen years

reply, but this does not mean that Humphrey asked Foxe in the first place – he may simply have stirred him on to complete a commission he had been given already.

⁷⁷ L. Ryan, 'The Haddon-Osorio Controversy', pp. 145–147.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 151.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 151 – 152.

previously)⁸⁰ as part of his *captatio benevolentiae*. In the opening sentence of Section 1 we are told of how the Greek artist Apelles died before he could finish his painting of Venus emerging from the sea and that no artist in the generation that followed would dare to finish the work. Foxe sees Haddon's death before he could finish the tract against Osorio as a similar situation and implies that it is going to be difficult for him to attempt to match Haddon's ability to counter Osorio:

quod Apelli in Veneris tabula, id in ueritatis defensione Gualtero Haddono uiro clarissimo, non dissimili fato, licet in re longe dissimili euenisse uidetur. Suscepta enim contra Hieronymum Osorium causa iustissima simul et honestissima, quamuis nec illa expolire, quae perfecit, nec perficere quae restabant, concederetur, opusque semiconfectum alio euocatus aliis relinquere necessario cogebatur: tamen in iis ipsis quae reliquit, Apellaeam quandam manum, hoc est, summi artificis, eam exhibuit praestantiam, quae quoscunque eum secuturos merito a tabula deterreat.

What happened to Apelles in his painting of Venus seems to have happened to Walter Haddon, a most distinguished man who has suffered the same fate, in the defence of truth. For having undertaken a most just and honourable cause against Jerome Osorio, although he was not permitted either to polish that part which he had completed nor to complete what remained, and having been summoned by one was compelled of necessity to leave the half-completed work to others, yet he exhibited in those very parts which he had left unfinished the hand of Apelles, that is the witness of an outstanding artist, which would deservedly deter anybody following him from the painting.

Osorio was very well known on the Continent for his Ciceronian style and Walter Haddon was regarded as the best English Latinist of his generation. The significance of the Latin writing involved in these exchanges is highlighted by Lawrence Ryan, who says that the Haddon-Osorio controversy 'was regarded, even in its own day, as strictly rhetorical in nature and as contributing little, if anything, to the literature of serious theological controversy'.⁸¹ Foxe's ability to produce powerful Latin rhetoric was, no doubt, an important factor in his being urged to complete the work. Again we see Foxe's ability to produce this type of Latin polemic as an important factor in his being chosen for this task.

⁸⁰ *Gratulatio*, 12. See Chapter Five, p. 211.

⁸¹ L.V. Ryan, 'The Haddon-Osorio Controversy', p. 152.

One footnote to Foxe's Latin writing in Elizabeth's reign is the Latin epitaph on the funeral monument to George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, in the Shrewsbury Chapel in Sheffield Cathedral. This epitaph was apparently (though the evidence is circumstantial) composed by Foxe and commissioned from him by the Earl of Shrewsbury.⁸² The evidence for its being composed by Foxe rests upon a scribal copy of the inscription in the British Library; and further research is needed into whether this copy is likely to have had a Foxean provenance. The fact that Foxe pre-deceased the duke is of no significance; the monument was commissioned by George Talbot well before his death. And the elaborate praise of the Duke's service to the queen in keeping Mary Queen of Scots in safe custody might have been composed at any time after 1584, and not necessarily after Mary's death in February 1587.⁸³

Networking and Latinity

We shall now examine Foxe's relationship with some of the main players in the Elizabethan regime, especially in its early stages, and try to assess whether through his Latin skills he had some sort of role, either officially or unofficially, in promoting the regime's aims and message to the people. Certainly, we know that Foxe had already had dealings with Cecil during Edward's reign, specifically over the

⁸² Cf. *Sheffield and Rotherham Red Book and Almanac*, 60th edition, (Sheffield: Pawson and Brailsford, 1923), p. 269. The entry says that 'An inscription in Latin, by John Foxe, the martyrologist, sets forth the earl's designation, family descent and achievements, and refers to his custody of Mary Queen of Scots.'

⁸³ Further proof of Foxe being the author of this epitaph is being sought in the records of the Shrewsbury family and Sheffield Cathedral (previously Sheffield Parish Church), and will be the subject of a future paper.

subscription of some members of the Privy Council to publishing his *Tables of [Latin] Grammar* in 1552.⁸⁴

Foxe's network included those who were impressed by his Latin skills. He will have had close contact with Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his circle. His relationship with Parker – as far as it can be established – must have been interesting. On the one hand, we have Foxe involved in the group of clergy, including his good friends Robert Crowley and Laurence Humphrey, who were chastised by the bishops and then the Privy Council for refusing to wear clerical vestments, although he escaped the suspension suffered by Crowley.⁸⁵ But we also have correspondence with Parker indicating a warm relationship, such as the Latin letter from Foxe in 1568 requesting exemption from the Lenten fast because of serious health problems,⁸⁶ as well as the fact that he borrowed manuscripts from him such as copies of the gospels in Anglo-Saxon, the Oxford Disputations and the *Reformatio Legum*.⁸⁷ Further work will be needed on how the network of his friends and associates in this period really functioned. His skills and talents as a rhetorician and Latinist framed some of the key connections of that network.

The establishment of a working relationship with John Day very soon after Foxe's return to England and the publication of his edition of Ridley's *Friendly Farewell* in November 1559 giving notice of the forthcoming *A&M*, suggest that

⁸⁴ See Chapter Two, pp. 69 – 71.

⁸⁵ T. Fuller, *The Church History of Britain: from the Birth of Jesus Christ, untill the year M.DC.XLVIII* [online] (London: John Williams, 1655), Book IX, p. 76. Fuller tells us that Foxe was summoned to Lambeth Palace in 1565 and asked by Parker to subscribe to this edict, but that Foxe, producing a Greek New Testament would only subscribe to this and not to the canon law. However, he seems to have 'got away' with this because of the great respect in which he was held.

⁸⁶ MS at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, printed in J. Bruce & T.T. Perowne, (eds.), *The Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, The Parker Society Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853), p. 230. Cf. *Mozley*, p. 76.

⁸⁷ *Mozley*, pp. 80, 130.

Edmund Grindal, who ordained Foxe priest on 25 January 1560, was keen to advance his martyrological project, started back in Strassburg, with rapidity. In the winter of 1560 – 61 Foxe, who was staying in Norwich with Bishop Parkhurst, examined the registers there. Internal evidence shows that he also used the registers in London, Canterbury and Lichfield,⁸⁸ so it is clear that he was travelling regularly and meeting with senior church figures. This is how he obtained many of the Latin documents which he subsequently printed in the *A&M*. But Foxe was also in demand as a preacher. He had been asked by Parkhurst, the Bishop of Norwich, to preach and evangelise and he seems to have been with him for about three years until some time in 1562.⁸⁹ Parkhurst was no doubt hoping that Foxe would stay in Norwich, where he wanted both reliably Protestant preachers and congenial company. However, Foxe needed to return to London and integrate the results of his researches in the forthcoming publication of the *A&M*. On his return to the capital, as we saw at the beginning of the chapter, Foxe lodged once more at the Duke of Norfolk's house and travelled from there on a weekly basis to Day's printing house,⁹⁰ sometimes, when necessary, staying overnight to complete something which required his urgent attention.⁹¹

We have seen how Foxe in his Latin writing created relationships with his correspondents and associated with fellow scholars in a number of locations and at different stages of his life, such as Magdalen College, London before his exile and

⁸⁸ Mozley, p. 130.

⁸⁹ *ibid.* p. 65.

⁹⁰ Richard Day notes this in his preface to a translation he made of Foxe's play *Christ Iesus triumphant a fruitfull treatise, describing the most glorious and conquest and triumph, which our Sauour had and made ouer sinne, death, and the lawes / written in Latin by the late most worthy member of Christ his church, Mr. Iohn Fox; and Englished by Richard Day.* (London: Raph Blower, 1607).

⁹¹ But see E. Evenden, *John Day*, p. 100, where she says that Foxe resided at Day's house in Aldersgate on his return from Norwich and makes no mention of living at the Duke's house.

Basel. With some of these, like Crowley and Nowell from his Oxford days, he remained on close terms to the end of his life. In addition to John and Richard Day, printers and intellectuals with whom he clearly enjoyed a long association, Sir William Cecil, no doubt with the close involvement of Grindal and Parker, was a hugely important figure in involving Foxe in such projects as the *A&M* and the intended reform of canon law. Indeed it was Cecil who was responsible for Foxe being rewarded with prebend of Shipton – this is probably what brought him to the full attention of the Queen for the first time: we have no letters from Foxe to the Queen before this date.⁹² Some of those with whom Foxe was on close terms of friendship and with whom he corresponded in Latin both during and after his exile are recorded by Simeon: the Earl of Bedford and the Earl of Warwick, both leading evangelicals with marked puritan views, the politicians and courtiers Sir William Cecil and Sir Francis Walsingham, the Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker, a renowned bibliophile and scholar in his own right, bishops John Aylmer, Thomas Cooper, Edmund Grindal and James Pilkington, together with other leading clerics, Alexander Nowell, Laurence Humphrey, the Cambridge scholars William Fulke and William Whitaker, and others. Many of these leading figures had been in exile with him and thus brought a certain continuity to his relationships with colleagues and friends, despite a final change of environment.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have been examining the evidence for the fourth thesis proposition that Foxe continued to use his Latin as a protagonist in the Elizabethan regime, as

⁹² *Mozley*, p. 69.

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well as reinforcing the first two propositions that his natural language of scholarship was Latin, in which he was very skilled, and that he created in each of his environments an intellectual network of friends and scholars.

In the Latin preface to the 1563 *A&M*, the *Ad Doctum Lectorem*, we saw Foxe's statement to the scholarly community, including the Queen, that the work was one of scholarship which had been properly researched, although he realised that it was very difficult in the current troubled times to write *tam circumspecte . . . quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur* ('so circumspectly, that it is not seized upon for some grounds for misrepresentation'). This indeed came to pass with the Latin attack on this first edition of the *A&M* by Nicholas Harpsfield, resulting in a Latin reply from Foxe in the second edition the work in 1570 through the medium of a series of prefatory poems, almost all by scholars other than Foxe. These were left in the original Latin because it would destroy the integrity of the Latin verse composition to translate them and, in any case, they were certainly aimed at the scholarly readers. The point here is that Foxe is again speaking for the regime – to whose monarch he has dedicated the volume – in his defence of the veracity of his history. The letter accompanying the Magdalen College presentation copy makes it abundantly clear that Foxe would have preferred to have printed the whole work in Latin – as he had been doing throughout his career as a writer. However, Foxe has accepted the arguments of Grindal and others (no doubt including the important voices of Cecil and Parker) that it was essential that the story of the persecutions should reach the widest possible audience in England, and that meant it had to be in English.

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

With the appointments to be part of the team to revise the canon law in *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* in 1571 and to take up the second Latin response to Osorio sometime between 1572 and its publication in 1576, Foxe was clearly being used by the regime for his Latin skills. The Paul's Cross sermon was slightly different, in that, as with all holders of this very high profile public appointment, Foxe delivered the sermon in English, but it soon appeared in the author's Latin for a wider scholarly audience. The letters to Grindal highlight the fact that it was Foxe in particular who was being asked to speak publicly at a sensitive time for the Elizabethan regime, following the papal bull deposing the Queen earlier that year. There were also other works published by Foxe towards the end of his life which were written on his own initiative, such as the anti-papal tract *Papa Confutatus* (1580), which was published without his name as author, as he explained in its preface, so that it could be seen as putting its argument in the name of the church rather than an individual,⁹³ and *De Christo Iustificante* (1583), a work which continued the attack on Osorio and his successors in their championing of papal doctrine. These later Latin works, while not commissioned by the regime, continued Foxe's polemical writing in similar vein to the *Contra Osorium*.

What this chapter has shown us in terms of Foxe's role at the start of Elizabeth's reign is that he was regarded as someone, who, while of a strong and independent character and with very determined anti-papal views, was nevertheless more circumspect than either John Bale or John Knox would have been in his place. Foxe could be relied on to inform and teach a wide audience of his fellow countrymen of the persecution and horrors of the Marian regime and, at the same time, promote

⁹³ Mozley, p. 93.

some of the issues of ecclesiastical discipline and doctrine which were at the heart of the Protestant reformation.

The Latin works examined in this chapter have further demonstrated that Foxe was a very highly skilled humanist Latin scholar and rhetorician, whose Latin represented a way of understanding the world, a project in its own right that included civility, the sense of a commonwealth in which virtue and letters were combined. Latin for Foxe was more than a language – it was a whole culture. The widespread intellectual network that Foxe had established from his early days at Magdalen and later in London was reinforced by the inclusion of leading scholars in Europe. He stayed in contact with many of these friends in Germany well after his return to England and indeed until the end of his life. The overall significance of Foxe's Latin writings will be considered in the final chapter of the thesis.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions

This thesis has examined the Latin writings of John Foxe and has, in particular, tried to address the widespread misconception, evidenced by a large corpus of secondary literature, that Foxe was solely an English writer and remembered only as the author of the vernacular *Acts and Monuments*. As stated in the Introduction to the thesis, I have put forward four propositions in support of my argument. These are: first, that Foxe's natural language of thought was Latin and that he was an accomplished Latinist; second, that he developed a significant intellectual network with the great scholars of the day, such as Heinrich Bullinger, Sir John Cheke, Walter Haddon and Peter Martyr; third, that his Latin, both spoken and written, is the key to unlocking the distinctiveness of his experience during his exile; and fourth that on his return to England Foxe continued to use his Latin as a protagonist in the Elizabethan regime. Of these propositions, the first two applied throughout his life from his university days in Oxford, followed by his first move to London, his subsequent exile on the Continent, largely spent in Basel, and his return to London for the remainder of his life. Consequently they have been explored throughout the chapters of this thesis. The third and fourth propositions are context specific: the third, linking his spoken

and written Latin specifically to his experiences during his exile, has naturally been confined to the Latin writings produced during that period, covered in Chapters Three, Four and Five; the fourth, in that it concerns his role during the reign of Elizabeth, has been explored in Chapter Six.

My first proposition was that Foxe used Latin as a natural language for his thought and that he was a very skilled Latinist. As we have seen in Chapter One (pp. 30-37), I have argued from his earliest writings in Oxford that the structured training he received in his education in the humanist tradition led to his formation as a Latin scholar, who also had considerable proficiency in Greek. Although there is uncertainty about where Foxe received his schooling – whether this was at a Lincolnshire grammar school or at Magdalen College School – we know from the many studies of education in the Tudor period, such as those by Cressey, Orme, Simon and, in particular, Stanier, the sort of curriculum he will have followed. As I noted on p. 36, from his schooldays Foxe had been immersed in the language of Caesar, Cicero, Horace, Plautus, Pliny, Seneca and Virgil. But his language work was not confined to reading these authors. The radical ideas promoted by humanists such as Erasmus and More brought to the Tudor school curriculum a much wider view of literature and its relevance to the boys' future careers, not only as theologians and politicians, but also as future heads of families and citizens within the state. The direct influence of Erasmus on Foxe's Latin has been noted throughout this thesis. Foxe constantly drew upon the *Adagia* for the various genres in which he wrote and this added a richness to his language.

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I have maintained throughout the thesis that this whole process of thinking in Latin, formulating arguments for use in conversing and debating and ultimately of contributing to written scholarship, was driven from very early on by a developing knowledge of the skill of rhetoric. Foxe's skill as a Latinist is manifest in the considerable ability he displayed in deploying the rhetoric he had acquired throughout his formative years at school and university, especially, as we saw in Chapters Three, Four and Five, in his later polemical and protagonistic writing, first during his exile in Basel and then in London in the reign of Elizabeth.

By the time Foxe had graduated BA in 1537, we can be sure that he had an excellent grasp of Latin rhetoric, not only from his study of Cicero and Quintilian throughout his school and university textual study and verbal exercises, but also from the later inheritors of this rhetorical tradition, especially, in the writings of Erasmus, Melanchthon and the products of their techniques and trainings. These latter, as we have seen in pp. 20-23, were the grammar school teachers in the early sixteenth century, especially Colet, Lily, Stanbridge and Whittinton. To this thorough grounding was added in the course of Foxe's Oxford studies familiarity with the main works of the early Christian Fathers and other ecclesiastical works, as well as at least a grounding in Hebrew. His expertise in the Classical languages, especially Latin, was, as this thesis subsequently demonstrates, one of the mainstays of his whole life. My examination of the different genres in which he wrote from his mid-twenties until just before his death has revealed a variety of expressions and approaches, such as giving advice, discussing current affairs, displaying his views on religious matters and making philosophical comments. These are particularly well demonstrated in his letters, some written to college friends with affection and showing a caring personality

spiced on occasion with a dry sense of humour, as was shown in pp. 33-37, others written in a more formal style to fellow scholars and clerical colleagues, such as the letter to Owen Oglethorpe (pp. 45-50). In his letters to Queen Elizabeth, leading politicians and government officials, Foxe aimed to impress his recipients with his learning, at times including Greek words and phrases, as was illustrated in the letters to Peter Martyr, Thomas Lever, Johannes Oporinus and Sir John Cheke (pp. 134-136, 137-140, 150-152 and 174-176) This activity of letter-writing also gives us an early insight into his ability to build up a network of contacts. Not only was Foxe keen to put over ideas to his friends and colleagues, but he wanted them to notice what he was doing in terms of literary composition, to assist him in forwarding his career, while he offered his own help to those who might need it.

The second proposition, that Foxe developed a significant intellectual network with the great scholars of the day, has been demonstrated to be valid throughout his life. This was first apparent in the networking in which Foxe involved himself during his final year at Oxford, when he was sending examples of his work to scholars such as Harding, Cheke, Bertie, Bennett, Hedley and Hensey (p. 36) and lobbying others to assist him in gaining a teaching post, such as Bertie, Cheke and Tindall (pp. 53-56). Following what may have been a break in this sort of activity – although we have no extant letters from Foxe while he was working in Charlecote – Foxe moved to London. Here his situation of initially being without employment demanded contacts with friends and acquaintances, and it is no doubt owing to such contacts that he secured a tutoring post in the house of the Duchess of Richmond. The contacts Foxe made in the circle of reformers who were associated with the Duchess in the gatherings at Mountjoy House, included John Bale, William Cecil, Robert Crowley,

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John Hooper, Hugh Latimer, Nicholas Ridley, John Rogers and William Turner (pp. 60-61).

The move to the capital by Foxe saw a continuation in his use of Latin through meeting with and corresponding with other scholars – but now on a much broader scale, as he joined a wider community (see Chapter Two). London intellectual society was far more diverse than that in the more rarified and parochial atmosphere of Oxford. As he was coming into contact with more scholars, and, in particular, proponents of the reformed religion, Foxe now associated himself with the Latin works of continental reformers and forged links on a personal level through his correspondence in Latin with members of the Stranger community in London. In this way he began to extend his network via these new contacts in London to groups of reformers on the Continent; this would stand him in good stead – although he was not to know it at this time – in his exile years.

Foxe's first sojourn in London provided us, as we saw in Chapter Two, with an opportunity to explore the relationship between his location and his use of language. For the first time he was no longer in an academic institution or confined largely to the walls of a reformist household, but in a much larger community surrounded by the sights and sounds of commercial and business activities. Foxe was already quite experienced in networking from his university days and did not take long to build up a new circle of friends in London. A vitally important link was made for the future – upon his return from exile – in his coming into contact with William Cecil, who had recently become a Privy Councillor and with whom he corresponded in Latin, at the time, for example, that he was working on his *Tables of [Latin]*

Grammar in 1551. It is clear from that letter to Cecil, as we saw on p. 70, that he had also corresponded or met with the grammarian Leonard Coxe and discussed the details of the Latin grammar. In addition, Foxe made contact with continental reformers resident in London such as Peter Delaenus, a Dutch minister in the Stranger Church community (pp. 76-81). We cannot tell from his letter to Delaenus whether or not they had met face to face, but if such a meeting or meetings did take place, no doubt the conversations will have been in Latin, as it is unlikely that Delaenus had much, if any, facility in English; Foxe certainly had none in Dutch. In any case, the level of vocabulary and intellectual concepts required for serious discussion would have required both thought and delivery in Latin.

At this still early stage of his career and with his attention directed towards his three and (a little later) four young students, Foxe's writing was divided between educational and ecclesiastical matters. His three earliest works, which were translations from Latin into English of the German reformers, Luther, Oecolampadius and Rhegius, were designed to display his abilities as a Latin scholar with reformist views. It was very important for him at this stage to lay out his credentials as a skilled Latinist who had his sights on a future career as a writer, although his employment as a tutor in the classical languages certainly gave him opportunities to develop further his deep interest in the structure of the language itself. With his next two works, composed in Latin and receiving the encouragement of the Bishop of London, Nicolas Ridley, Foxe was getting himself noticed in ecclesiastical circles as a Latin writer. Again we have an instance of him using his network of contacts and 'laying out his wares' as a skilled Latinist, presumably in order to gain a teaching post in a school or patronage to support himself as a writer. It may even be that, with the accession of

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Edward VI and the rapid moves to a reformed church, although he had resigned his fellowship at Magdalen ostensibly to avoid ordination into the priesthood, he was now contemplating ordination and a return to a university career.

The third proposition, that Foxe's Latin, both spoken and written, is the key to unlocking the distinctiveness of his experience during his exile, was made and developed in Chapters Three to Five. On the Continent, the move to the university town of Basel (leaving behind the religious controversies in Frankfurt) led to Foxe's employment in a printing-house and its concomitant opportunities to continue producing scholarly works. The immediate effects here, as far as his Latin was concerned, must have been its daily use as a *lingua franca* between the exiles and their continental hosts. Foxe's own education, as we have seen, had prepared him for a situation like this and, no doubt, he enjoyed putting into practice what he had learned in his school days. Like most of the English exiles, Foxe seems to have developed no facility in German, so Latin was the main language of scholarly communication. We saw in those same chapters that in the letters Foxe wrote following his arrival on the continent he started in this change of location to develop a new scholarly network, involving local printers, such as Oporinus and Episcopius, together with members of the University of Basel. It opened for him a whole humanist agenda in which he could be fully involved, rather than standing on the fringes. He could be at the very heart of that humanist community, where Erasmus had died, where the influence of Erasmus was most strongly felt within Europe. Thus from the start of his exile we find Foxe writing letters in Latin to continental humanist scholars: to Peter Martyr in Strassburg in 1554, and to Froben and Oporinus soon after his arrival in Basel in 1555 (pp. 134, 141 and 150).

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

The first work Foxe had published in exile was in fact the *Commentarii*, the early Latin prototype of his martyrology, in Strassburg in 1554. As was noted on p. 103, it was John Bale who had initially encouraged him to write a martyrology when they met at the Duchess of Richmond's house in London during Edward VI's reign. We have seen from the manuscripts containing some of Foxe's correspondence while in Basel, mentioned above in the section on networking, that he wrote with affection and enthusiasm to fellow academics in his newly adopted refuge overseas, but that he also exhibited his attention to literary detail and, where appropriate, incorporated recognisable tropes and allusions, including words and brief expressions in Greek. Given that he was an inveterate letter-writer, only a very small proportion of the letters that he wrote has survived. But the extant Latin letters he wrote to Froben, Peter Martyr and Thomas Lever, all show a high standard of Latinity. I have identified examples of classical allusions (whether to mythological or historical persons or events), proverbial or other commonplace usages, rhetorical or other tropes, rare classical or neo-Latin vocabulary and neologisms. A Table illustrating these allusions, and relating to a number of sections in some of his Magdalen correspondence is to be found in Appendix II.

We saw in Chapters Three to Five a great diversity of works coming from Foxe's pen during his exile. This writing reflected his interests in education and theology and included the composition of a play in Latin verse, a genre in which he had not written, as far as we are aware, since he wrote *Titus et Gesippus* while he was still at Oxford. This 'apocalyptic comedy', *Christus Triumphans*, examined in pp. 158-168, demonstrates a wide-ranging familiarity with the poetry of classical Rome in addition to a historian's overview of the history of Christianity. Where J.H. Smith

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identifies defects in Foxe's Latin verse composition, I believe these are understandable and to be expected in an age which had yet to develop a true understanding of the principles of archaic versification. Foxe himself realised that the play had structural flaws, particularly in its chronological span, but it nevertheless did enjoy some success both in his lifetime and during the next century. With the *Locorum Communium Tituli* (pp. 177-183) Foxe continued to express his deep concern with pedagogical issues, as he had in 1552 when he published his *Tables of Grammar*. This volume also, in view of its dedication to the students of the University of Basel and its expressions of gratitude to the city for their kindness to the exiles, had more than just the educational motives Foxe discusses in the dedication, namely his ideas for the arrangement of common-place headings, following the order of the ten predicaments of Aristotle. He concentrates on the *genus didascalium* of Melanchthon and emphasises the dialectical form of rhetoric.

One major work which really exercised his skills was the translation into Latin of Cranmer's second book on the Eucharist (pp. 172 -174). Once again we see a request made to Foxe by others (in this case Peter Martyr, with the encouragement of others, including Grindal) to use his known skills as a Latinist for the benefit of the scholarly community in general and the cause of the reformists in particular. Foxe in his correspondence mentioning this project makes it clear that obscurities in the text and the lack of good library facilities considerably hampered his task. It must have been all the more frustrating to him, after some two years' effort, that the book was never printed. The controversial nature of the work, the reluctance of some printers to be involved in the project, and potential difficulties with local censors, seems to have

led Foxe to feel a certain sense of failure in his efforts to get this work published. It was his only major Latin work not to be printed and still remains in manuscript.

What then did his period in Basel give to Foxe? In the first two chapters we saw a number of examples of his effective use of rhetoric in the letter to Owen Oglethorpe at Magdalen College c. 1545 and in the 'Address to the Nobles' just before he left England in March 1554. While he was in Basel Foxe used that same rhetorical training to maximum effect with the *Ad Inclitos*, almost a set piece of political and protestant polemic, containing a lengthy *digressio* from the main theme which opens and closes the work, modelled on the traditions of classical rhetoric laid by Cicero and Quintilian. He was constantly exchanging letters with both his fellow exiles and Continental scholars and it is most likely that Foxe felt more comfortable writing in Latin (as his natural language of thinking) in Basel than he would have felt in England. Given his skills in Latin and his internationalism, he would also have been able to take a wider and more objective view of events in England. In addition, it should be noted that Foxe's powerful political contemporaries regarded this ability in Latin as serving their polemical purposes.

My fourth proposition was that, on his return to England, Foxe continued to use his Latin as a protagonist in the Elizabethan regime. His services to the new administration have been examined over and above his contribution to the Protestant cause with the more obvious and very high-profile vernacular 1563 *A&M*. When Elizabeth succeeded Mary at the end of 1558, he broke off from his work on the *Rerum* to produce a swiftly written, but, as I have shown, a highly effective, Latin congratulatory address in celebration of the accession of Elizabeth, the *Germaniae ad*

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Angliam Gratulatio of January 1559. In sending a copy of this tract to his new Sovereign with an accompanying *Epilogue* addressed to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, together with the dedication a few months later of the *Rerum* to Thomas – his former and soon to be once again patron (see chapter Five) – Foxe was demonstrating a realistic view of the practicalities which would face him on his return to England.

With the *Gratulatio* and the *Rerum* we see Foxe at the height of his powers, producing fluent Latin prose littered with classical allusions, containing Erasmian adages and effective rhetorical passages. Significantly, in the *Gratulatio* Foxe is already, even before he arrived back home, acting as a protagonist for the new Elizabethan regime.

Following his return to London, Foxe both chose, and at times was specifically required, to produce work in Latin. Was this role other than that of a passionate believer in and respected promoter of the Protestant ethic at the start of a new regime? Foxe was certainly valued as a highly skilled Latinist and his talents were employed by the State in the cases of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* and the completion of the response to the Portuguese bishop Osorio started by Walter Haddon. His Latin skills also may have been sought after in a private capacity, such as when a Latin epitaph was apparently commissioned for the tomb of the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury in Sheffield.

In 1965 Frances Yates had seen Foxe as a historian producing ‘religious imperialist propaganda’. She went on to suggest that he was not influenced by the new humanist methods of writing history and that he was an ‘old-fashioned chronicler’. But it is wrong to see him as an old-fashioned chronicler, bearing in mind the way we have seen him absorbed in his humanist agenda on the way one should

write history, and correct to see him as a true humanist who was steeped in classical literature and who directed his interests in many other fields in addition to that of church history. In addition to being a historian, Foxe was a theologian, a dramatist, an educationalist, a polemicist and a poet. As a historian, he wrote at the start of the *A&M*:

quod in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit . . . eo porro autorem ipsum redigit angustiae vt neque falsa narrare sine iniuria historiae, nec verum dicere sine magna sua inuidia odióque multorum liceat.

*the fact that I have had to work on that kind of subject matter which . . . reduces the author himself to such constraint that he may neither tell lies without injustice to history nor tell the truth without incurring great ill will towards himself and the hatred of many people.*¹

making it clear that his history is one which is going to obey the law of Cicero – *the legem historiae*:² the historian must tell the truth and that he must do this despite the pressures from others for him not to do so. Contrary to Yates, I prefer to use the term ‘protagonist’ for what I have shown to be the true nature of Foxe’s role in speaking on behalf of the Elizabethan regime. The term ‘protagonist’ also accords first with Foxe’s feel for drama and his rhetorical skills in preaching, and secondly with his being used, with a certain amount of reluctance, as a propagator of the Protestant ‘line’ of thinking. It is quite clear that there were aspects of the Reformation with which Foxe was not in agreement, such as the issue of clerical vestments (pp. 241-2). Nevertheless, he accepted certain requests from the regime to contribute towards consolidating the Protestant reformation, including the publishing of the *A&M* in 1563, with three further editions appearing in 1570, 1576 and 1583, the preaching of

¹ John Foxe. *Acts and Monuments of matters most speciall and memorable ...* [...] [online] 1563 ed. from hriOnline (2004) last accessed on 27 October 2008 at: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/main/pref_1563_0009.jsp p.0007

² Cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 62: *Nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat?* (‘For who does not know that it is the first law of history that [the historian] must not dare to say anything that is untrue’).

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the Good Friday sermon at Paul's Cross in 1570 and the editing of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* in 1571.

To draw the threads together, I have examined the importance of Latin in the literary output of John Foxe and have demonstrated, through an analysis of a representative sample of the many different genres in which he wrote, not only that he was an extremely skilled Latinist, but also that he was very much in demand at different stages of his life as an exponent of those skills. His expertise was the result of a thorough education on humanist principles, based on the acquisition of linguistic skills through immersion in the standard classical texts studied in Tudor grammar schools and at Oxford and training in the methods advocated by Erasmus and Melancthon for memorising and using appropriate rhetorical devices. The demand for these skills came both from his reformist colleagues during the period of their exile and later from senior figures in the Elizabethan regime. In the early part of his career his skills were employed in his capacity as a private tutor in Latin, then as a writer interested in theology, educational theory (including the medium of drama) and ecclesiastical history. The faith of his colleagues in his ability to produce a vivid and effective account of the sufferings of the Marian martyrs was more than justified. However there was a clear understanding that this had to be in English for its maximum effect in England and consequent continued support of the people. There is no real evidence for a fervent desire among the ordinary people for a change in religion in 1559.

Having undertaken this very full examination of the impact of Foxe's Latinity and in particular the impact of his period in Basel upon the way in which he

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understood the humanist project, we are now in a position to examine in closer detail the later Latin works that Foxe wrote. That has not been the work of this thesis which has concentrated on the exile period. This constitutes a future agenda which will focus on Foxe's final work, the unfinished *Eicasmī*, published by Samuel Foxe in 1587 after his father's death. This untranslated commentary on the Apocalypse has been to some extent noted in the work of Richard Bauckham, but little detailed notice has been taken of either the *Eicasmī* or its untranslated substantial predecessor, the *De Christo Justificante* of 1583. Up to this point in time all of Foxe's Latin works from 1577 were translated into English, by James Bell and Richard Day. This process seems to have come to an end with the death of John Daye, six months after the 1583 *A&M*. The *Eicasmī* was printed by G. Bishop in 1587 by Foxe's son Samuel and I would suggest that there is more work to be done on Foxe's Latin writings, in particular on his apocalyptic thought.

We have seen that Foxe's natural language of thought was Latin; that he was an accomplished Latinist; that he developed an intellectual network with other Latin writers; that his Latin, both spoken and written, was the key to unlocking the distinctiveness of his exile; and that, on his return to England, he continued to make use of his Latin as a protagonist in the Elizabethan regime. The exile period in Switzerland, in particular, saw the full realisation of Foxe's international status as a Latin scholar in what may well have been the most fulfilling intellectual phase of his life. This was certainly the most intense period of his writing in Latin – and in many different genres. His final return to London, leaving aside the enormous amount of time and energy spent on creating four successive editions of his massive vernacular martyrology, still saw him creating fresh Latin works, now often as a protagonist on

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behalf of the Elizabethan regime but also, when his failing health allowed him, a major commentary – sadly unfinished – on the book of *Revelation*, a work which had increasingly influenced his thinking in his later years.

Having examined Foxe's Latin works in general and those from the period of his exile (1554 – 1559) in particular, this thesis has shown beyond all doubt that the widespread view over the centuries, prevalent even among many of his contemporaries, that John Foxe was simply the church historian who wrote the *Acts and Monuments*, is completely wrong. James Mozley's 1940s re-assessment of Foxe, while containing a useful appraisal of some of his Latin writings – though with very little comment on his Latinity – nevertheless listed all Foxe's works aside from the *A&M* as 'Foxe's minor works'.³ Many of these so-called 'minor' works are the scholarly output of an important literary figure of his age, one who was effectively, if at times reluctantly, a protagonist on the stage of the Elizabethan regime. In the mid-1960s Frances Yates totally misrepresented Foxe's scholarly presentation of his material, as well as misinterpreting his role in the Elizabethan regime, and she failed to appreciate his humanism. Foxe's humanist pedigree has been demonstrated much more recently by John King, but with no detailed attention paid to his Latin writing.

John Foxe is most certainly a neglected Latin writer, whose final work at least, the *Eicasmī*, a commentary on the Apocalypse and which remains untranslated, merits a detailed study, which will be the object of my post-doctoral research. Foxe was a true humanist and a son of the Renaissance, in the tradition of Erasmus and his

³ Mozley, Appendix B, p. 243.

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disciples, and his scholarly work ranged widely from history and theology, through education and polemic, to verse and drama.