



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 2 - Texts and Translations

2008

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Appendix I

Texts and Translations referred to in the Thesis

Translated by John Stephen Wade unless otherwise stated

1. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to [Innocent] Sharp¹

JESUS. AD SHARPUM DISCIPULUM
Quanto sit aetas tua quam pro eruditione, mi puer, proeector, tanto te efflictius remos nunc urgere tuos necessum est, ut non annos modo quibus alios uincis, sed aequales etiam tuos qui te literis longo antecedunt felici (quod aiunt) uento amneque exaeques. Neque enim naturae tuae ingenium, sed ingenio industriam deesse uideo; quam si huic indoli parem adiunxisses, non ita impares in studio hoc literario cursus nunc tui uiderentur. Sed desino tuam suggillare socordiam. Quicquid hic hactenus cessatum est, hoc mihi nolo imputari, qui non melius tuae prospexerim supinitati. Sane tuum erit posthac, quando ego nihil remittam meo, siquid ipse in tuo claudicaueris. Satis huc usque dormitum abs te, satis oscitatum est. Nunc aliam tibi curam aduertendam censeo, ut nucibus tandem nugisque relictis totum te studiis librisque mancipes; qua in re si me audies, neutiquam tibi opem meam operamque defuturam senties.

The text for this and the following twelve letters is taken from *A&M 1870*.²

JESUS [COLLEGE]. TO SHARP, A STUDENT.
The more advanced your age is (other) than on account of your erudition, my dear boy, the more desperately necessary it is for you now to press on your oars, so that you may make yourself equal with not only the years in which you outstrip others, but also your contemporaries who are a long way in front of you in their literature in (as they say) their fortunate wind and stream. For I see that it is not your nature that lacks talent but that it is your talent that lacks application, which if you had linked it equally with this ability, your progress would not now seem to be so unequal in this study of literature. But I cease to taunt you for your laziness. Whatever it is that has been inactive here so far, I do not wish to ascribe it to myself, who could not have better looked out for your indolence. Obviously it will be your own lookout from now on, since I shall forgive myself nothing, if you yourself are in any respect lacking in your own conduct. You have slept enough and you have yawned enough up till now. Now I suggest that you should turn your thoughts to another concern, that of attending to the serious business of life (lit. having finally given up nuts and trifles), you devote yourself entirely to your studies and your books; if you pay heed to me in this matter, you will realise that my support and my attention will not be lacking to you altogether.

2. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to the Bishop of Winchester³

EPISCOPO WINTONENSIS.
1. Quam felix uita haec esset mortalibus, praesul celeberrime, si ita uiuere liceret, ut suis quisque munitus praesidiis nihil haberet quo aliorum uirorum grauaret potentiam. Quod ut Modestiae nostrae ac pudori semper optabile fuit, ita cum id non datur, spes datur tamen id non iniquo animo laturum te, si fortuna adacti praeter modestiam praeter pudorem nostrum secus quam uellemus oneri ac molestiae uideamur tibi. Tibi inquam, possemus enim aliis: uerum cum in petendis auxiliis non solum necessitatis sed et beneuolentiae nonnulla habetur

TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER
1. *How fortunate this life would be for mortals, most celebrated bishop, if each man were permitted to live in such a way that, protected by his own defences, he would have nothing by which he might increase the power of other men. Just as that has always been desirable for our modesty and sense of shame, so when it is not given, yet hope is given that you will bear it with a fair mind, if we seem to you bound by fortune, beyond modesty and beyond our sense of shame other than we would wish, to difficulty and trouble. I say to you, for*

¹ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 83r.

² Letters 1-13 are taken from the transcriptions gathered in *A&M 1870*, 'Life of John Foxe', Appendix XVIII, pp. 56-65.

³ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 84r-v.

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ratio, necessitas ab aliquibus petere, amor ad te accedere maluit.

2. Instituturus apud nos Collegium Regii nominis Cancellarius nobiscum nuper egit, ut abdicatis Collegiis cum caeteris quibus eadem obtigerunt salaria extra Collegia in ipsius gregem remigremus. Quod cuius facit decreto incertum est: si publico, nihil resiliamus; sin suo tantum, rem ad te prius referendam ac cognoscendam censuimus, nihil diffisi quin id ubi cognoveris tuum non aversum in approbanda re experiamur calculum; praesertim cum neque tam multi sumus, neque tam magnis ut alii cumulati salariis, ut uel eorum gregem magnopere augeamus, uel ut mediocriter nobis suppetat. Si Collegia reliquerimus, praesertim his temporibus, tum id expendat prudentia tua, quam iniquum sit, si amicis cognatisque, qui in copiis istis nobis comparandis sese pene ad inopiam redegerunt, nullam nunc pari officio referamus gratiam. Quod quo pacto sedecim aut uiginti aurei queant, nullis aliunde adiunctis praesidiis? Taceo uitae scholasticae caeteras curas ac pene infinita onera, quae quoniam ipse in uita satis expertus es, per te abunde quae quantaque sunt intelliges.

3. Certe uel sola librorum supellex, quam immensa res! quam non exiguum requiret censum saltem qui ex illo sibi bibliothecam exstructurus est! Paulo minus unus Augustinus annum integram pensionem absorbet. Vnde facili tibi coniectura constare potest, num abs re de retinendis Collegiis cogitemus. Iam quod ad solutiones publicas, ut de priuatis nihil dicam, quid ad promotiones graduum, quid ad reliquam uitae munditiem restabit? in quibus non omnia esse amplissima, non nobis tantum dedecori erit. Quid quod etiam apud nos officia nonnulli gerimus, publicisque Collegiorum negotiis praesumus: ut nullo pacto auum hunc inde auelli [permittere] possemus.

Denique non desunt rationes, si liberet Sublimitatem tuam pluribus remorari. Verum cum neque prudentia tua nostris indigeat argumentis nec humanitas precibus, satis est hactenus rem tibi primis quod aiunt lineis aperuisse, ne nostris magis persuasionibus quam prudentia tua aut benignitate in impetrando innixi uideamur.

we could be to others: but since in seeking help some regard is had not only for necessity but also for good will, necessity preferred asking some others, but affection preferred approaching you.

2. *Being about to establish a College of the King's name amongst us the Chancellor recently discussed with us how, after we had resigned from our Colleges we would return with others who had the same salaries outside the Colleges as its staff. By whose decree he is doing this is uncertain: if it is a public one, we in no way withdraw; but if it is only his own decree, we have decided to refer the matter to you first and find out, not at all distrusting that when you find that out, we may know whether your vote will be opposed to approving the matter; especially since neither are we so many, nor paid with such great salaries as others, that either we may increase their staff greatly, or that it may be moderately sufficient for us. If we leave our Colleges, especially during these times, then your good sense may judge how unfair that would be, if we show no gratitude now with equal duty to those friends and relatives, who, in gathering together those resources for us, have almost reduced themselves to a state of indigence. How can sixteen or twenty gold pieces [repay] this, with no assistance from elsewhere to add to them? I am silent about the other concerns and almost endless burdens of a scholar's life, which since you yourself have had sufficient experience of them in your life you will understand abundantly on your own account what and how great they are.*

3. *To be sure even the stock of books, what an immense task! What great wealth it will require at least for the one who is going to build a library for himself for that! One text of Augustine will use up only a little less than a whole year's pension. From where can it be established from you with an easy guess, whether we may think of keeping the Colleges away from the issue. Now with regard to public solutions, to say nothing of private ones, what will be left for the advancements of degrees, what will be left for the remaining elegance of life? in which it will be a disgrace not only for us that everything is not very distinguished. Why? Because even amongst us several of us are carrying out our duties, and we are presiding over public discussions in the Colleges: so that we would in no way be able to allow this old man to be torn away from there.*

Finally reasons are not lacking, if it were to be pleasing for more people to delay your elevation. But since neither is your wisdom in need of our proofs nor is your gentle conduct in need of our prayers, it is sufficient thus far to have revealed the matter to you in its outlines as they say, lest we seem to be relying on gaining our request more by our persuasion than by your wisdom or kindness.

3. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to the Revd. John Harding⁴

COLENDO VIRO M^{RO}. HARDINO J. FOXUS
SALUTEM

In parandis munusculis recte Seneca non quam honorifica sed quam apta ei cui mittuntur despiciendum admonet. Illud enim τῶν χρημάτων σημεῖον (ut inquit Isocrates) ac ostentationis est, hoc grati pectoris ac prodesse uolentis est. At mihi cum neque eximium quicquam dabatur quod te satis dignum mitterem, tum neque aptius occurrit aliud, quo uel animi mei erga te studium testarer, uel quo studiis gratificerem tuis, quam ut nostram hanc de Regno Dei meditatiunculam, amici olim rogatu delineatam, tibi tanquam symbolum aliquod ac pignus nostrae in te uoluntatis destinarem; cum et tu theologus ista libenter accipis, et ego in iisdem uersor libentissime.

TO AN HONOURABLE MAN, MASTER HARDING, JOHN
FOXES SENDS HIS GREETINGS.

In preparing small presents Seneca rightly advises that one should regard not how honourable but how suitable they are for him to whom they are being sent. For the former is a 'sign of worldly goods' (as Isocrates says) and of ostentation, whereas the latter is the sign of a grateful heart and of someone who wants to be useful. But for me neither was anything outstanding being given that I could send which was sufficiently worthy of you, nor has anything more suitable come to mind, either by which I might bear witness to the keenness of my heart towards you, or by which I might gratify your enthusiasm, than that I should send you this little meditation of mine, written some time ago at the request of a friend, as some sort of symbol and pledge of my good will towards you, since both you willingly accept those things as a theologian, and I most willingly engage in the same.

⁴ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 81v.

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4. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to Alexander Nowell⁵

Vt mihi iamdiu in uotis atque in desiderio summo fuit istic adesse tecum (Amicorum suauiissime), ubi Nowellum meum praesens intueri et conuenire possem, ita ubi hoc contigit minus, tamen per literas te uidere et salutare uolupte est, in quibus seu in speculo chartario uicissim Foxum tuum etsi non ad pocula te inuitantem, loquentem tamen ac memorem quidem tui licebit cernere. Siquidem ut uox animi character est, ita uocis rursus interpretes et organa sunt literae. Verum optarim ego, Nowelle mi, non solum literas sed et uocem apud te loquentem dari, ut animi etiam studiique erga te mei itidem ut sermonis gustum queas capere. Verum istud alio posthac spero die. Interea uero id arbitratus sum officii mei interesse pro ueteri amicitiae nostrae consuetudine, per literas tibi salutem dicere.

Just as for some time now it has been in my prayers and in my utmost desire to be there with you, sweetest of Friends, where I could look upon and meet with my Nowell in person, so when this did not happen, yet it is delightful to see and greet you by letter; in which it may be that in a mirror of papyrus you can see in turn your Foxe even if he is not inviting you for drinks, but speaking to and indeed being mindful of you. 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. But I would have wished, my dear Nowell, that not only the letter but also the voice speaking to you are being delivered, in order that you may be able to have a taste of my affection and zeal towards you as well as a taste of my words. But that I hope will happen later on another day. Indeed in the meantime I thought that it was important for our long standing friendship that I send you greetings by letter.

5. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to Richard Bertie⁶

RICHARDO BERTIO J. FOXVS S.

1. Trahit sua quemque delectatio, Ricarde suauiissime. Alii opes, alii honores, admirantur, iisque summum felicitatis suae finem metiuntur. Mihi uero semper id a puero insitum est, ut in aestimandis huius uitae bonis nulla re perinde capiar ac amicorum acquisitione, praesertim qui docti sint literisque amici; hoc tui, Richarde, similes. Quamobrem non putauim nunc committendum, ut amicum tam optabilem, quem mihi humanitas tua ac suauiissima colloquia mihi conciliarunt, nunc silentio meo amitterem; maxime uero cum etiam praesens istic efflagitanti tibi adstipulatus sim, nullam me unquam remissurum si qua huiusmodi contingat ad te scribendi occasionem.

TO RICHARD BERTIE (BENNET?) JOHN FOXE SENDS HIS GREETINGS.

1. His own source of pleasure appeals to each person, my dear Richard. Some admire wealth, others admire honours, and by those they measure the upper limit of their happiness. But it has always been instilled in me from my boyhood that in setting a value on the good things of this life I should be drawn by nothing as much as the acquisition of friends, especially those who are learned and well disposed to literature; in this respect your friends are alike, Richard. And so I did not think that it should be brought about that I should now lose in silence so desirable a friend whom your kindness and most agreeable conversation have endeared to me; indeed especially since also when in your presence I have stipulated to you that I would never give up any opportunity of writing to you if one of this sort were to arise.

2. Verum cum adeo hisce destituimur quorum ad perferendas literas opera uti licuisset, nimirum propter uiae opinor illius insolentiam, haud ita tibi mirandum est, si infrequentius ad te uolent epistolae: rarae enim felicitatis est, si quis in anno hic contingat, qui illas partes adeat. Alioqui, multo prius libentissime ita per literas tibi egissem gratias ut par erat, pro tot istis singularis humanitatis tuae in me officiis; quae quanto maiora meritis meis extiterunt, tanto magis summum quendam ingenii tui candorem declarant, quo erga amicos uti soleas, cum exteros ignotos tanta comitate persequeris.

2. But since we so lack those here whose effort we could use to deliver letters, I mean of course because of the unfamiliarity of that road, so you must not be surprised, if letters wing their way to you rather infrequently: for it is a matter of extreme luck, if there happens to be anyone here in a year to go to those parts. Otherwise, I would have thanked you much earlier very gladly by letter in such a way that it was equal to those so many acts of your outstanding kindness to me; which the greater they surpass my merits, so much the more they show a certain outstanding disposition of your character, which you are accustomed to use towards your friends, when you pursue unknown strangers with such great courtesy.

3. Atque utinam ita uicissim uoluntati responderet facultas nobis, ut in referendis gratis tecum paria facere liceret, tam facile ut mutuam hic propensionem libenter offerimus. Atque ut posthac conabimur sedulo, ita spero interim abunde tibi acceptum in quicquid nunc industriae ac uoluntatis ostendimus. (Lansdowne 388. Fo. 59b)

3. And so I wish that I had the means of responding in turn to your good will in such a way that I could do the same as you in returning thanks, so easily that here we are willingly offering a corresponding readiness. And just as from now on I shall try hard, so I hope in the meantime that you will accept whatever effort and good will I am displaying to you.

6. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to Pinfold⁷

J. FOXVS PINFOLDO.

Cum Amicorum xeniola non tam splendida quam accommoda ei cui

J. FOXE TO PINFOLD.

Since the gifts of friends, my dear fellow, ought to be not so

⁵ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 80r.

⁶ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 59v.

⁷ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 82v.

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mituntur, iuxta Senecae consilium, esse oporteat, Vir optime, atque diuturni iam amoris erga te nostri ceu symbolum aliquod parare uolui; nihil habui accommodatius quod mitterem quam Zaccheum illum Euangelicum; uel quod is in Christo mire studiosus fuit, uel quod corporea statura perpusillus, utrobique tui non dissimilis; qui cum Christi gloriae semper es deditissimus, tum corporis etiam mole non multum discrepas. Quapropter cum Euangelica haec Zacchei historiola propter insignem atque simplicem illius uiri modestiam semper mihi cum primis arcano quodam genio applacuit, tum naturae tuae tam graphice competens, uisum est amici gratia optimum uirum penicillo nostro depingere, tibi que tabulam mittere, in qua non illius solum sed tui ipsius etiam imaginem, et meam in utrumque propensionem, tum et Christi in nos omnes teneritudinem, descriptam contempleris.

much splendid as suitable for the person to whom they are sent, according to the advice of Seneca, and since I wanted to prepare a sort of symbol of my now long standing affection for you, I had nothing more fitting to send than the Zaccheus of the gospel, either because he was wonderfully enthusiastic for Christ, or because he was very small in stature, and in both respects not unlike you, who are both always most dedicated to the glory of Christ and also are not much different in the size of your body. Therefore since this gospel story of Zcacheus, because of the outstanding and simple modesty of that man, has always appealed to me both with with its especially hidden wit and with it so graphically corresponding with your nature, I thought it would be a good idea for the sake of my friend to draw the splendid fellow with my pencil and send you the drawing, in which you may contemplate the image drawn not only of him but of yourself, and my inclination towards both of you, as well as the tenderness of Christ to all of us.

7. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to Master Cheke⁸

M. CHIKEO S.

1. Dici non potest, Chikee doctissime, quantum nunc ex itinere meo capio suauitatis, postquam Inclytam hanc Aulam uestram imo Academiam potius, tot literatis prudentissimisque uiris spectabilem, uidere contigit. Tum multo uero magis, quando istic ita Christum florere uideo, uerisque Christianis dignam cum pari coniunctam Solertia concordiam; ut non modo Angliae nostrae sed et exteris imperiis ferme omnibus uel ad admirandum materiam, uel exemplar alioqui ad imitandum, sustulisse uideatur. Atque ita demum rectissime mihi uidetur conuenire; ubi enim magis oportebat regnare Christum ueramque religionem, quam illic unde omnis Ecclesiae potissimum dependet administratio? undeque quam maxime exempla uel pietatis uel impietatis omnia in uulgus exire soleant? Quae enim possit amnium esse salubritas, fontibus ipsis uitiatas? Quemadmodum rursum capite modo incolumi facilius est partium reliquarum curatio.

2. Verissimumque Platonis illud oraculum iudico, Quales in republica principales, tales reliquos solere esse ciues. Quo magis iam in spem atque in expectationem erigor futurum aliquando, ut nihil exile familia haec Regno publico sit paritura. Quam tunc etiam spem adauget non parum mihi, cum alia multa tum id uero plurimum, cum te ac fortunam tuam (Vir praestantissime) considero, ut interim de M. Tongeo Henseoque uiris optimis nihil dicam; qui cum eum teneatis locum, ut multum apud Principem philosophando prodesse poteritis; praeterea ea prudentiaque doctrinaque accedit ut Respublica sibi non nisi optima quaeque de uobis tandem polliceatur. Vt utrum istas magis in uobis uirtutes decantem, an nobis communem felicitatem gratuler, uix satis intelligo.

3. Verum ut de te interim seorsum aliquid dicam (Chikee eruditissime): dicam equidem pace tua quod sentio (quamquam nunquam id quantum sentio a me explicari possit): dicam tamen unicum quod potero quiddam; quod etiam laudibus tuis a me deberi existimes. Tametsi colloquiis tuis frui satis ad uotum non licuit, tamen simul atque rite te praesentiusque contemplatus sum, mores, uultum, habitumque considerans, (per musas) quanta maiestas, quae ingenii sublimitas ubique!

TO MASTER CHEKE GREETINGS.

1. *It cannot be said, most learned Cheke, how much pleasure I am now taking from my journey, after it has fallen to my lot to see this famous Hall of yours, or rather University, which is noteworthy with so many well-read and very able men. Then much more indeed, since there I see Christ is flourishing and harmony joined with equal cleverness worthy of true Christians in such a way that it seems to have to have taken up not only for our England but also for almost all foreign lands either a subject for admiration or in other respects an example for imitation. And so in this way alone it seems to me to be turning out most properly; for where should Christ and the true religion reign more than there from where in particular all the administration of the Church is derived? and from where the greatest possible examples of either piety or impiety are all accustomed to go out to the common people? For what would be the health of rivers, if their very sources were polluted?*

2. *And I consider that prophecy of Plato to be very true that the rest of the citizens in the state are usually like their leaders. All the more am I now being led into the hope and expectation that sometime it will be the case that this household will in no mean respect make way for a public Kingdom. Then this hope is also greatly increased for me by both many other things and this in particular, when I consider both you and your good fortune (most distinguished sir) to say nothing meanwhile of Masters Tong and Hensey, excellent men, who although you hold that place, by philosophizing in the presence of the Prince you will be able to do much good; furthermore, that wisdom and teaching adds to this so that the state promises in the end only all the best things for itself from you, so that whether I should sing over and over again of those virtues in you, rather than congratulate ourselves on our common happiness, I hardly sufficiently know.*

3. *But to say something in the meantime about you yourself, most learned Cheke, I shall indeed say, with your permission, what I feel (although it could never be explained by me how much I do feel): yet I shall say the one thing alone that I shall be able, what you may think is owed by me also to your praises. Although I am not allowed to enjoy conversations with you sufficiently as I pray, yet at the same time and in a proper way and more effectively I have contemplated, considering your character, appearance and dress, (through the muses) how much excellence and height of talent [there is] everywhere!*

⁸ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 58v.

8. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to [Richard?] Hedley⁹

1. Salutem plurimam, Hedleie optime. Quemadmodum inter reliquas uitae humanae uoluptates plurimum nos delectat cum amicis interdum sodalibusque nostris confabulari, ita sane literarum ista officia atque epistolares amicorum inter se Appellationes nihil aliud uidentur mihi quam praesens quaedam et expressa cum Amicis confabulatio, neque quicquam a uia ipsa lingua differentes, nisi quod haec aures illae oculos tantum exercent. Quamobrem cum praesentiae tuae modo haud datur copia ut coram te conueniamus et colloquamur, per literas tamen ceu animi ac amoris erga te mei nuncias absente te, hoc est pristinae sodalitatis amicorum multo charissimum salutare ac uisere, uolupte est; etsi certe nullum erat scribendi argumentum, tamen uel ut salutem tantum, uel ut silentii ingratitude detergeam.

2. Mira profecto sunt haec tempora in quae incidimus, faciuntque ut mirari satis nequeam quem tandem exitum huic plusquam babilonicae confusio Christi sit additurus. Vsque adeo ubique nunc crescit pecuniae ac terrenarum rerum studium, ut cultus interim diuini uerbi iacet; cui etsi forte perpaucos intentos uideas, ipsos tamen magis hipocrisi quam uero affectu fere afflatos reperiatis. Tum ita passim alget charitas, ac triumphat mundus quasi uideatur clamaturus, aut inquit ille, 'Confidite quia ego uici Christum.' Quo magis te addecet tuique similes omnem adhibere medecinam mundo huic quotidie febricitanti, ut demum reducatur ad sanitatem, si qua adhuc restat spes conualescentiae.

Comoediam illam de Tito et Gesippo hoc autumno in manus cepimus et perfecimus. Huic uix plus profecto duobus mensibus dedimus: uerum adhuc sub manu secundam limam subituram premimus: Eam doctori Henseo, si Deus uolet, destinabimus. Apud uos si qua fuerit sella uacans paedagogica aut uacaturae, siue quid aliud munus utile mihi aut accommodum, quaeso, Hedleie mi, amico ueteri tuique studiosissimo ut prospicias. Vale in Domino.

9. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to Dr. Hensey¹⁰

CLARISSIMO CHARISSIMOQUE VIRO D. HENSEO. J. FOXUS IN CHRISTO

1. salutem. Statueram apud te prolixius accuratiusque de rebus communibus ac priuatis quibusdam commentari, iustoque literarum officio uel affectum erga te testari meum, uel in scribendo audaciam deprecari, ut consueuerunt qui ignoti ad ignotos scribunt, praesertim ad tantos uiros. Sed iuuenis huius plusquam praepostera iter maturandi celeritas prorsus omnem mihi longioris characteris copiam abnuerat: qui tamen quoniam istuc proficisceretur, ne omnino uacuum literarum ad te ueniret, oblata ista occasiuncula¹¹ perfunctorie saltem te salutare ac comicum hoc interim qualecunque carminis donusculum missitare libuit. Comoediam Autumno hoc a nobis conscriptam ad secundam nunc limam hac quadragesima reuocabimus, tibiue Deo annuente destinabimus.

1. Hearty greetings, most excellent Hedley. Just as among the remaining pleasures of human life it delights us very much to talk from time to time with our friends and comrades, so obviously those tasks of literature and appeals by the exchange of letters between friends seem to me to be nothing other than some conversation also expressed with friends, and not differing in any way from the living tongue itself, except that the latter only exercise the ears and the former only the eyes. Therefore since the opportunity is not being given by means of your presence to meet and converse with you in person, yet in the same way by means of a letter you are reporting, although you are absent, that a very dear friend is greeting and visiting you, and it is a pleasure; certainly, even if there was no reason for writing, yet either only to greet you or to wipe away the ingratitude of silence.

2. Assuredly, these times in which we find ourselves are strange, and they are making it that I am unable sufficiently to wonder which outcome finally Christ will add to this more than Babylonian confusion. Eagerness for money and earthly possessions is now increasing everywhere to such an extent that veneration for the Word of God in the meanwhile is at a standstill; even if by chance you may see a very few people intent on this, yet you may find that those very people are infused more by hypocrisy than by real feeling. Then in this way love goes cold in every direction, and the world triumphs as if it seems to be about to shout out, or it says, 'Have confidence, because I have conquered Christ.' All the more is it fitting for you and those like you to apply every medicine to this world which is daily becoming feverish, so that it may finally be led back to good health, if hope of recovery still remains anywhere.

3. This autumn I have taken in hand and finished that Comedy about Titus and Gesippus. Indeed I have scarcely given this more than two months: but it is still under my hand and I am applying a second polishing: I shall be passing it on to Doctor Hensey, God willing. If there is or is likely to be a vacancy for a post as tutor where you are, or any other favour useful or suitable for me, I beg you, my dear Hedley, look out for your old and most eager friend. Farewell in the Lord.

TO A MOST DISTINGUISHED AND MOST LOVED MAN DOCTOR HENSEY IN CHRIST FROM JOHN FOXE

1. Greetings. I had decided to communicate with you at greater length and in more detail about certain shared and individual matters, and by means of the proper service of a letter either to bear witness of my affection towards you, or to plead in excuse for my boldness in writing, as those have usually done in writing to those with whom they are not acquainted, especially to such important men. But the more than inverted speed of hastening the journey had in short denied every opportunity for me of a longer character: which, however, when it set for there was coming to you not entirely empty of literature, and, having been presented with the opportunity of at least greeting you superficially, I decided to send as a sort of little gift this comic poem. Having written the Comedy this Autumn I shall be reviewing it now for a second polishing, and, God willing, will be marking it out for you [i.e.

⁹ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 120r-v.

¹⁰ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 80v.

¹¹ Cf. Plautus, *Trin.* 4. 2. 132.

dedicating it?].

2. Si qua scholae praefectura est apud uos Excestriae, quae moderatorem desiderat, quaeso ut honesto suffragio tuo hic nos adiutos uelis. Neque enim hic ultra Michaelis [festum] Statuto Collegii nostri commorari licebit, nisi in sacerdotale genus memet castrare ac praecipitare uelim. Aut alioqui si in familia tua locum aliquem concesseris qui studia tua interdum forte expectauerit, nulli equidem lubentius meam maniciparem operam. Stipendium nullum capto, pecuniarum ac ambitionis semper natura contemptor maximus. Hunc si dignaberis patrocinio ac clientela tua, quaeso per hunc iuuenem tribus uerbis significes.

2. *If you have anywhere in Exeter a school superintendent post which is short of a director, I ask you to be willing to assist me here with your honourable vote. For by the Statute of our College I shall not be allowed to remain here beyond Michaelmas, unless I am willing to castrate myself and rush headlong into the priestly type. Or otherwise, if you grant me some place in your household which by chance occasionally awaits your studies, to no-one more gladly would I make over my efforts. I seek no stipend, having always been by nature a very great despiser of money and ambition. If you think him worthy of your patronage and and protection, I ask you to indicate in three words through (to?) this young man.*

10. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to the President of Magdalen College¹²

1. Quintus hic iam annus agitur, Reuerende Praeses, quod ego in procellis fluctibusque his accusationum atque iudiciorum iactatus uersor; in quibus et antehac plurimas inimicorum querimonias criminationesque perpessus sum, et istas nunc possem profecto perpeti, si (quod illi antea solebant) uentrem tantum ac latera mea incesserent: uerum cum caput nunc ipsum ac iugulum appetunt, et tempus et res ipsa ut pro me dicam admonent. Dicam pro me tandem igitur, Atque eo sane liberius dicam, quod te in hoc tempore (Praeses clementissime) causae meae cognitorem adeptus sum; cuius tanta prudentia cum summa aequitate coniuncta, ut saepe mihi hactenus in re integra solatio fuit, ita nunc etiam subsidio aduersis periculis meis fore non dubito. Pro qua quidem prudentia ac aequitate tua te obtestor, ut quod semper antehac aduersariis meis in Republica tua ad accusandum iuris concessum est, eodem nunc mihi apud te uti ad defendendum liceat.

1. *Reverend President, this is now the fifth year that I have been tossed about and submerged in these storms and waves of those who are accusing me and judging me; in these I have also hitherto suffered many complaints and charges from my enemies and I should assuredly now be able to suffer them, if (which they used to do before) they only attack my stomach and my sides: but since they are now assaulting my very head and throat, both the time and the situation itself warn me to speak for myself. And so I shall speak for myself at last, and I shall indeed speak quite freely, for the reason that I have got you as witness for my case (most merciful President); your great sense combined with the utmost fairness, that just as you have often had entire sympathy for me in the matter, so I do not doubt that it will now also be there as a help in the dangers facing me. Indeed I beg you for this sense and fairness of yours, so that I may be permitted to use the same to defend myself before you as what has always been granted of right hitherto to my adversaries in your Republic.*

2. Veniam igitur ad causam meam, Dicamque pro fortunis meis necessario, pro causa libere, Te praesente liberrime, Ac iterum dico, te praesente liberrime. Nam perturbabat me illud antea non parum (praeses) quod tamen nunc – cum te adesse uideo – timere desino. Metuebam, ne quemadmodum antea iudiciis istis discernendis non interfuisses, ne, te negotiis hinc tuis auocato, iudicium ad alios deuolueretur. Paratus itaque ueneram ut omni contentionis ui quaestionem hanc cum aduersariis disceptarem. Quod tamen nunc non faciam: te inquam iudicante non faciam; Noui enim imperium et tuum et aliorum. Alios non reprehendo: sed hoc dico – neque enim quod sentio dissimulo – Malle me inquam adpud te causam potius deprecari, quam apud alios uera dicere.

2. *So I shall come to my case, and shall speak of necessity for my misfortunes, freely for my case, in your presence most freely, and I say again in your presence most freely. For that earlier situation was perturbing me not a little (President) which however now – since I see that you are here – I am ceasing to worry about. I was afraid that just as before you had not been present to resolve those judgements, that if you had been called away by your business, the judgement would be devolved to others. And so I had come prepared to discuss this dispute with my adversaries with every force of argument. However, I shall now not be doing this: I say that with you standing in judgement I shall not be doing it: for I know your authority and that of others. I do not criticise others: but I do say this – for I am not concealing what I feel – that I prefer to avert by entreaty to you an unjust case than to speak the truth in front of others.*

3. Atque inde hic quaeso te, (praeses optime) quid naturae tuae ac clementiae tribuam, Animaduerte, quanta mihi in tua humanitate spes posita est, cum tantam mihi de te sumo confidentiam. Si alii iudicia haec administrarent, sic agerem apud illos ut in iudiciis agi solet: sic causam persequerer, ut mihi prius rationes quam ego causae uiderer defuisse.

3. *And so see from here, I ask you (excellent President) what I should grant to your nature and and clemency; and take notice of how much hope I have placed in your kindness, when I take on for myself such great trust concerning you. If others were to administer these judgements, so I would act with them as is usually done in judgements: I would be prosecuting my case in such a way that I would seem to be short of reasons rather than causes.*

4. Sic itaque contenderem. Dicitis me non audiuisset missas: Nego. Templo non interfui: Nostro quidem interdum, fateor: sed in nullo me templo audiuisset, id uero pernego. Hocque tum illi conuincerent, non argumentis et elenchis dialecticorum modo probabilibus, sed certis ueris primis ac necessariis: testes producerent: Accusatorem regio mandato ostenderent. Sed dicitis missarum tempore me libris incumbere: Si arguitis

4. *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. And then let them convict me of this, not not just by credible proofs and refutations from logical questions, but by certain, true, prime and essential (evidence): let them produce witnesses: let*

¹² BL Lansdowne MS 388, foll. 53r-58r.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

omnino, nego; si interdum, fateor: sed sacris tamen, quorum ego lectionem precationi, ne uacillet animus, intermisceo; quemadmodum et Basilius ille magnus consuevit: ibique de uero precandi modo cum illis contenderem. Sed Absens fuerim a matutinis: At hoc mihi a Praeside condonatum est: ex eo me tempore Abfuisse, nego. Sed sero frequenter Accessi: Hoc in sano et otioso crimen est; at in infirmo animo atque aegro, minime. At risi in templis aut petulantior fui. Non abnuerim fuisse hoc quidem leuitatis, in senibus sane indecentis, in iuuenibus certe conuincendae: at crimen fuisse id inficior: illique tum comprobabunt, cum ipsi in templis ridere desinent. <Quid?> at hoc obiicitis, me relictis philosophis theologos sectari: at enim hoc deo potius non mihi obiicitur; quem si ille huc inuitum et nolentem obtortoque (quod aiunt) collo¹³ trahit, Quid? an quisquam tandem uestrum est, qui illius uoluntatem reprehendat?

5. Sicque igitur aut simili modo pro meipso, (praeses) dimicarem, alii si iudicio huic praesiderent; tumque demum causa cederem, cum uictus cederem, aut pro me quid responderem non esset amplius: si illi inquam iudicio praessent, facerem. Te uero praesidente, non facio, nec uolo facere. Atque etiamsi integrum fortassis satis foret, si facerem; tamen remissa penitus controuersia, ad misericordiam potius clementiamque tuam orationem omnem confero; neque nunc apud te uelut iudicem, sed uelut parentem dico.

6. Age, dic te huius controuersiae huius iudicem, quaere quid fecerim, an a sacris abfuerim, ubi fuerim, taceo; an in precibus remissior, aut risu dissolutior fuerim, taceo; nihil respondeo: ne haec quidem colligo, quae pro me uidentur etiam ualitura, si adducantur. En ergo uobis, accusatores mei quicumque estis, confitentem reum, quod nunquam antehac in iudiciis solet fieri! En uobis quod semper optastis, conuicta crimina, reum expugnatum. et adductum etiam si placet supplicio! Quid ultra exposcitis aut optatis amplius? Vide modo ac considera, quaeso te, Praeses clementissime, quo me lenitas tua deduxit et benignitas. Aduersariis me dedi, causam indictam tradidi, crimina confessus sum, ceruicem praebui supplicio exposui. Quid ergo? nullane nunc spes, nullum asylum restat? nullum ergo solatium, nihil habeo quo fretus siem¹⁴? Nihil quidem, si modo istis sis similis hominibus, fateor, Verum cum tu istum animum moresque obtines, quos natura sua non tam tibi proprios quam ab iis diuersos dedit, doctrina adauxit, tuque ipse mutare non potes, plurimum profecto habere me intelligo. Quid id ergo est? Uno uerbo dicam; Clementia tua, (praeses) et misericordia.

7. Quod si modo aliis forte tenue praesidium statioque meis malefida¹⁵ periculis uidebitur, illis uidebitur qui te non nouerunt: mihi qui noueram et expertus sum, tantum est quantum nec illi suspicari nec ego inuenire in illis aut in quoquam potero. Scio (praeses) ac noui te, noui istam praestantem et singularem naturam tuam; quae nisi ea esset qualis et est et esse semper duxi, Nunquam apud te isto modo causam egissem, contra morem et consuetudinem iudiciorum

them point out the accuser by the king's command. But you are saying that I was intent on my books at the time of masses; but if you are claiming that I was doing this in general, I deny it; if it was from time to time, I admit it: but (I have been present) for the sacraments at which I combine reading with prayer, so that my mind does not waver, just as also that famous man, the great Basil, used to do: and there in truth I would contend with them in the manner of praying. But I was absent from mattins. But this was permitted to me by the President. I deny that I was absent from that time. But I frequently arrived late: this is a fault in a healthy and idle mind; but in an unhealthy and sick mind it is certainly not. But I laughed in church or I was quite rude. I would not deny that this was indeed a sign of inconstancy, among old men obviously something improper, among young men certainly to be reproached for: but for it to have been a fault, that I deny: those people will sanction that, when they themselves cease to laugh in church. In addition to this you are objecting that I have abandoned the philosophers and am pursuing the theologians. But this objection should be made to God and not to me: for if he is dragging me in this direction reluctantly and against my wishes and (as they say) with my neck twisted round, what then? Is there any of you who would find fault with His will?

5. And In this way, then, or in a similar manner, I would fight in my defence (President) if others are to be in charge of this judgement; then finally I would give way with reason, since I would be giving way, having been defeated, or what I was answering for myself would not be enough: if they, I say, are in charge of the judgement, I would do it. but since you are the President, I am not doing it, nor do I want to do it. And even if it were perhaps sufficiently undecided, if i were to do it, yet with the dispute completely pardoned, I refer the whole of my appeal rather to your mercy and forgiveness; and I do not speak before you as my judge but as my parent.

6. Come, say that you are the judge of this dispute. Ask what I have done, whether I have been absent from the sacraments, or where I have been, I am silent: on whether I am too negligent in my prayers, or whether I have been too uncontrolled in my laughter, I am silent; make no response: I do not even consider those things which seem that they will be good for me, if they are brought forward. So there you are, my accusers, whoever you are, a defendant confessing, which never before this has been accustomed to happen in court! See, it is what you have always wanted, charges proved, the defendant defeated and even led away for punishment, if that's what you want! What else are you demanding or wanting further? Just see and consider, I ask you, most merciful President, where your gentleness and kindness have brought me. I have given myself to my adversaries, I have handed over the case unsaid, I have admitted the charges, I have displayed my neck and put it out for punishment. What then? Is there no hope now, is there no refuge left? Have I then no comfort, nothing on which I may rely? Nothing indeed, I admit, if you are just like those men. But since you have that mind and character which its nature gave you, not so much your own as different from theirs, your teaching has made it greater, and you yourself cannot change, assuredly I know that I have the most to rely on. So what does that mean? I shall say in one word; your Forgiveness (President) and your pity.

7. But if only to some by chance the presidency will seem to be weak, it will seem "an unsafe anchorage in my time of danger" to those who do not know you: to me who have known and have the experience, it is as much as neither they can suspect nor shall I be able to find in them or in anyone. I know, President, and I know you and I know that excellent and outstanding nature of yours; which if it is not of the sort that it is and I have considered always will be, I would never

¹³ Erasmus, *Adagia* 4. 9. 50.

¹⁴ A frequent variant for *sim* in both Plautus and Terence.

¹⁵ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*. 2. 23 for *statio malefida carinis*, an "unsafe anchorage for ships".

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omnium, Nunquam profecto deserto abiectoque ita defensionis clipeo ad misericordiam tuam procumberem; quae si nullos recepit, frustra facio et uecorditer; si plurimos, non debes sane naturam tuam reiicere in ignoscendo, cum ego meam reiicio in confitendo. Quae tamen si non ita essent, ut neque nossem te, nec causam traderem, nec supplex essem, tamen communis haec humanitatis ratio quam ipsa Natura insuevit hominibus satis profecto mihi auxilium adferret ad sperandum. Nunc, cum ea etiam facilitate natus es, qua te natura tua non modo caeteris admirabilem, sed iis etiam impetrabilem effinxit, qui ne petunt quidem: Non potes tum me reiicere accedentem, non debes supplicantem, multo minus paenitentem.

8. Atenim obstat hic mihi fortassis nonnihil accusatorum meorum autoritas, simulque officii tui seueritas. Volo igitur de utroque isto, Praeses, pace tua pauca dicere. Ac primum de tuo officio. Equidem is nunquam fui qui putauit tollendam esse e Republica seueritatem, cuius si neruos semel incidamus, profecto neque iam aut leges uim suam, aut Respublica incolumitatem tueri amplius poterit, et qui misericordiam admiscet, non is statim seueritati derogat: mea itaque semper fuit existimatio, ut crederem necessarium esse bonum in Republica seueritatem, at uirtutem pulcherrimam in homine misericordiam; ideoque nos si recte facimus seueritatem legibus iudicio uero misericordiam referemus. Seueritatem igitur legibus utcunque tribuamus, certe semper propria iudicis erit misericordia; quam quisquis non adhibeat, uideat ne, dum sese putet officio obsequi, suam contra naturam faciat.

9. Quid enim legibus fere est dissimilius quam uita populi, cum hic Affectibus carere illa affectus tolerare nequeat. Cui si iudicis tum Accedat par asperitas, quid hoc aliud erit, quam ad securim cotem addere ad ciuium ceruices omnium demetendas. Itaque aut sunt aliae leges populo describendae, aut Alia sane iudicis moderatione utendum est ad ciuium retinendam incolumitatem. Quod nisi satis per te ipse intelligeres, Praeses clementissime, nunquam profecto quod semper facis istas misericordiae lenitatisque partes quas te natura docuit tam libenter ageres, nunquam diuinam hanc uocem quam in publico consessu omnes ex te audiuius tam suauius expressisses, qua singuli iubebamur, si quid erroris in uita mutua animaduersum esset, sub amica potius commonitione id supprimendum quam legum ac statutorum rigorem tentandum esse, Quo medius fidius quid sanctius, quid Christianius, dici aut cogitari potuit?

10. Sed uenio nunc ad Accusatores, quorum si modo Autoritatem grauem apud te esse oporteat, tamen hoc uidetur mihi multo tamen sese dignius fore, si Autoritatem suam ad oppressorum potius salutem conuerterent, quam ad opprimendos miseros ac calamitosos abuterentur. Sed fortassis zelo quodam hoc commoti faciunt. Credo equidem; neque enim in praesentia sinistrius de illis quicquam suspicor. Sed parum interim attendunt homines parum periti, quod iniqui in uitam meam censors sunt, dum sibi uolunt esse religiosi. Ac quaeso te me diligenter audias, quo rem ipsam cognoscas clarius. Denuntiatum est mihi non ita multis abhinc diebus, referente id amico meo fidelissimo ac teste simplicitatis meae, quod et ipse luculenter postea uariis indiciis expertus sum, nihil agere me mensibus iis compluribus, ne pedem mouere quidem, quod non a magistris pluribus summa observatione oculisque attentissimis

have pleaded my case before you in that way, contrary to the custom and habit of all trials; assuredly I would never have deserted and abandoned the shield of my defence in such a way and be throwing myself upon your mercy; if this has welcomed none, I am doing it in vain and foolishly; if it has welcomed many, clearly you should not set aside your nature in forgiving, although I am setting aside mine in confessing. However, if it was not the case, so that I did not know you and was not handing over the case, and was not a suppliant, yet this common concern for kindness which Nature herself has habituated in men may assuredly bring me help enough to hope. Now, since you were born also with that willingness with which your nature has fashioned you as not only admirable to the rest, but also attainable by those who do not even ask for (it), you cannot then reject me in approaching you, in coming as a suppliant, much less in coming as a penitent.

8. *Yet surely here some authority from my accusers, together with the strictness of your office, are an obstacle to me. I wish, therefore, concerning each of those points, President, with your permission, to say a few words. And first concerning your office. Indeed I have never been the sort of person who thought that strictness should be removed from the Republic, of which if we once experience the strength, assuredly no longer will either its laws be able to protect any more its power or the Republic its safety, and he who mixes pity with it, does not immediately detract from its strictness: and so it has always been my opinion that I should believe that good discipline is necessary in the Republic, but that the finest virtue in a man is mercy; and therefore if we make strictness with the laws correctly indeed we shall assign mercy to the judgement. Therefore whenever we allow strictness in the laws, certainly mercy will always be a characteristic of the judge; whoever may not employ this, let him make sure that, while he may think that he is following his duty, he is not doing it contrary to his own nature.*

9. *For what is more unlike the laws than the life of the people, when the latter cannot be without feelings and the former cannot tolerate them. If an equal harshness of the judge is then added to this, what else will this be than to add a whetstone to the axe for the purpose of cutting off the necks of all the citizens. And so either some laws must be defined for the people, or clearly use must be made of some other moderation from the judge to retain the safety of the citizens. If you yourself did not understand this sufficiently through yourself, most merciful President, never assuredly would you so willingly, which you are always doing, be acting those parts of mercy and gentleness which nature has taught you, never would you have so pleasantly expressed this word of God which we have all heard from you in public gatherings, by which we were individually instructed, "If any error were noticed in our shared lives, it should be suppressed by friendly admonition rather than that the rigor of laws and statutes should be put to the test. What, I ask, could be said or thought, most certainly, in a more holy and more Christian manner than this?"*

10. *But I come now to my Accusers, whose authority, if it only had to be serious with you, yet this seems to me that it would be much more worthy, if they were to convert their authority to the salvation of their oppressors, rather than using it for crushing wretched and unfortunate people. But perhaps they are doing this through being motivated by some zeal. Indeed I believe this; for I suspect nothing more sinister of them at present. But people with too little skill are paying too little attention in the meantime, because they are unjust censors of my life, while for themselves they are wanting to be devout. And please listen to me carefully, so that you may understand the situation itself more clearly. It has been reported to me not so many days ago, and that by a most loyal friend and witness of my honesty, as I also myself found out later clearly from various indications, that I was doing nothing during the last several months, not even moving my feet, which was not*

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

excipiatur: adeo ut corporis omnes ac etiam digitorum motus quasi ad ungues¹⁶ teneant. Non quaeror uitam meam ab illis obseruari aut custodiri, Siquidem id ipsi facerent, ut custodirent. Verum cum ita custodiunt ut pessudent uitam, aut fortunas mulctent, meque zelo suo irretiant, hoc quis feret aut patietur?

11. Habet uita mea, confiteor, flagitia multa uitaeque plurima, quae non modo obseruatorem sed et castigatorem desiderant: uerum aliud est castigare uitam, aliud uenari crimina. Quod si zelo hoc faciant pii homines, pius profecto praetextus et honestus laudo. Sed quaeso, cur tam anxie cur tam curiose in meam uitam inquirunt meam, aut cur solum in meam, in aliorum non item. An quia caeteri non habent crimina, aut me solum isti diligant, minime, sed quia caeteros non oderunt, non uolunt laedere. Mihi quia fauere nolunt uolunt laedere. Sed quid causae precor, quod mihi minus faueant? An unquam eos dicto aut facto offenderim? Nunquam certe. Sed quia me suspicantur nouae cuiusdam religionis esse, et quasi alterius farinae, suo uidelicet fermento neutiquam conuenientis. Sed unde id suspicantur? Nunquid a me unquam aut contentiosius absurdiusue a me disputatum audierunt? Nunquam. Quid ergo? Quia frequentiore me in sacris literis uident. Hinc illa suspicio est, odium, atque accusatio. Sed hos ego imprimis obtestor, nequid huiusmodi falso sibi persuadeant, nec animos inducant ut suspicentur, huius me ordinis hominum esse, qui fouendis sectis dissidiisque consecrandis appellunt animos: cum nulli uehementius quam mihi doleat tam misera haec ac deformata Reipublicae christianae facies, quae quo sit calamitosior, tanto magis iis enitendum fuit, ut pax potius amissa in Ecclesiam διὰ τῆς εὐμενοῦς παρακλήσεως reduceretur, quam per Accusationes intestina haec discordiae seminaria latius serpendo uagarentur. Quare cum nemo sit me ab disputatoriis hisce factionibus et studio et uoluntate alienior, nemo abhorret aequae, non aequum sane arbitror in me id recidere suspicionis. Vna fides, una ueritas. Vnus Jesus Christus, una salus totius mundi. Aliam ego factionem nec sector nec affecto.

12. Tum quod ad sacrae Scripturae lectionem attinet, si quis hoc mihi uitio esse uertendum putet, is facti huius rationem causamque cognoscat prius: tumque si uidebitur factum, reprehendat. Itaque modo statueram (praeses) obsequutus huic tantae opportunitati, rationem omnem studiorum omnium tibi reddere; uitae aerumnas commonstrare; quibusque calcaribus ad literas euangelicas impulsus sim significare quae satis scio si referrentur, insolita quadam admiratione obstupesceres; simul et factum alba (quod aiunt) amussi comprobare. Verum cum altiore haec repetitionem requirant, taedii causa melius aliud tempus hiscae rebus tibi referendis dabimus. Interim accusatoribus meis id satis sit; quos iterum atque iterum rogatos habeo, ut rem secum rectiore tandem mente reputent: si sibi in suorum corporum affecta aut perturbata ualitudine nulla non cura medicos comparandos putent, cur idem nobis in animi aegritudine non permittendum? cui si ullam ipsi medicinam in aliis literis quam in sacris afferre poterint, sententiam meam repudio. Sin nequeant, iniquum postulant, qui suis corporibus recreandis omnem adhibentes diligentiam, nobis ad animos consolandos concedendam nullam sentiant.

being taken note of by many of the masters with very close observation and very attentive eyes: so much so that they were in possession of all movements of my body and even of my fingers as it were to my fingernails. I am not complaining that my life is being observed or protected by them, if indeed that is what they themselves were doing to protect it. But when they protect in such a way that they ruin life, or damage fortunes, and embarrass me with their zeal, who would allow or bear this?

11. *My life has, I confess, many faults and sins, which need not only someone to observe them but also someone to find fault with them: but it is one thing to find fault with a life, another thing to hunt out charges. But if pious people do this through zeal, their reason is certainly pious and honourable. I commend it, but I ask why they are inquiring so anxiously and with such curiosity into my life, or why only into mine, and not likewise into other people's. Whether it is because the others do not have faults, or because those people picking on me alone. Not in the least. But because they do not hate the others they do not want to upset them. Because they do not want to support me they want to harm me. But what is the reason I beg for them to support me the less? Have I ever offended them in word or deed? Never, to be sure. But because they suspect that I have some new religion, and as it were of the other nature, agreeing not at all of course with their own passion. But from where did that suspicion arise? Surely they have never heard anything more contentious or more absurd discussed by me? Never. What then? Because they see me too often immersed in holy scriptures. From here comes that suspicion, hatred and accusation. But these people I particularly call to witness not to persuade themselves falsely of something of this sort, and not to lead minds to suspect that I am one of the order of people who call upon people's minds by encouraging sects and eagerly pursuing divisions: when no-one grieves more deeply than I do at this so wretched and spoiled appearance of a Christian State, which the more disastrous it is so much the more those people have had to strive, that the peace which has been lost in the Church was being led back through εὐμενοῦς παρακλήσεως rather than that these internal seminaries of discord being spread more widely by gradual seeping. Therefore since no-one is more averse to these sorts of disputatious factions both in keenness and willingness than I am, no-one abhors them as much as I do, obviously I consider in to be unfair to fall back on that suspicion against me. There is one faith, one truth. One Jesus Christ. One salvation for the whole world. I am neither striving after nor affecting another faction.*

12. *Then, as far as concerns the reading of Holy Scriptures, if anyone thinks that this should be turned against me as a fault, let that man first find out the reason and cause for this action: and then, if he decides, let him criticise the action. And so I had just decided, President, having yielded to such a great opportunity as this, to declare to you all the reasoning behind all my studies; to reveal to you the troubles of my life and to show by what spurs I have been driven on to the gospel writings; I know well enough that if these are reported with a certain unusual admiration you would be amazed; at the same time you would also approve of the deed with (as they say) 'an unmarked rule'.¹⁷ But since these things require deeper discourse, for the sake of tedium we shall give some better time for referring these matters to you. Meanwhile that is sufficient for my accusers; having questioned them repeatedly, I hold them to think over the matter again to themselves with a more appropriate attitude: if they think that doctors must with all care be obtained for them in the affected or disturbed state of health of their bodies, why should we not be allowed the same in our sickness of mind? If they themselves can apply any medicine for this in other writings than holy scripture, I withdraw my opinion. But if they cannot, those who are applying all care to restoring their*

¹⁶ Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* I.v.91: Ad unguem.

¹⁷ Erasmus, *Adagia* I.v.88.

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bodies and feeling that none should be granted to us for comforting our minds are asking for something that is unjust.

13. Verum enimvero et alii sunt praeterea etiam in hac republica tua adolescentes, et praecipue quidem Crouleius et Cowperus meus, quos oratione mea praeterire non debeo; qui cum in eadem sunt causa in qua ego sum, iisdemque aduersariorum odiis infestantur, simili item paenitentia in perfugium hoc mecum misericordiae tuae se recipiunt. Omnes utique nos confisi huic lenitati clementiaeque tuae uitae nostrae non defensionem sed confessionem, neque solum confessionem sed etiam accusationem, afferimus; fatemurque tibi, cum singuli sua habent complura uitia et labes satis graues, tum unum hoc est omnibus nobis commune, quod siue imperitiae siue incogitantiae nostrae imputatum uolumus. Etenim cum singulari hactenus pietate uestra tum tua maxime tum etiam aliorum magistrorum, hoc nobis indultum fuit, ut libere atque impune iam diu licuit nemine uestrum reluctantante diuinas nobiscum literas pertractare, nos tamen impunitate hac uestra tam immodeste abusi sumus, uti id in contentionem potius contemptumque uestrum, quam in necessitatem ullam nostram fecisse uideamur; quum uidelicet neque ea a nobis obedientia neque charitas comitasue erga uos ostensa est, quantam uobis ostendendam esse ex literis sacris uestro etiam beneficio agnouimus – facinus ingens, dices, et animaduertendum; sed et ipsi confitemur.

14. At ingens rursus misericordia lenitasque tua, (praeses clementissime) quae non tam solet sceleris grauitatem, quam committentis paenitentiam plaerumque ponderare. propter quam ergo misericordiam tuam simul et spem nostram quam erga te non immerito maximam gerimus, efflictim abs te modo rogitamus, ut errati huius ueniam culpaeque nostrae liberationem impetrare liceat: non profecto rogaturi, si non et puderet flagitii et paeniteret. Quod si ullum tempus dari tibi hactenus uoluisti, in quo hanc generosam naturae tuae indolem et benignitatem ciuibus tuis testatam redderes, eorumque animos insigni aliquo beneficio aliquando tibi deuincires, age nunc, te quaeso (praeses mitissime) Hocque caeteris illis monumentis misericordiae tuae quae in hoc Collegio plurima abs te et egregia erant, uelut perpetuum aliquod et palmarium adiace, quod libenter omnes nos perpetuo commemoremus. Dato hoc poenitudini petitionique nostrae, Sine tandem ut misericordia tua acquiescamus, qui alioqui spem subsidii nusquam inuenimus. Ne te ostendas hic difficilem, quem natura ipsa finxit facillimum. Crede mihi, nihil tam populare quam bonitas, nulla rursus in iudice spectabilior quam facilitas, nulla re Christum assertorem nostrum Christiani referimus magis quam ignoscentia.

15. Age ergo quaeso te praeses sanctissime, redige nos in gratiam non tuam modo sed eorum etiam quorum uoluntates uel culpa nostra iusta, uel sinistra alioqui suspicione sua, in nos offensae sint. Nihil est enim quod magis cupimus, si fieri potest, quam ne schismata aut disputatoriae ullae factiones in Collegio hoc tuo, imo Jesu Christi, gliscant. Vna quippe spes, Vna Vita, Vnum nomen per quod omnes salvi facti sumus. Quin ergo, ueternum hoc discordiae abiiciamus, quasique Patris unius omnes filii fraterna dilectione nos mutuo prosequamur, mutuisque amplexibus inuicem cohaerentes communi pariter studio Patri Deo gratias agere enitamur, qui uictoriam nobis per filium suum Jesum Christum donauit, in quo faeliciter beateque ac et perpetuo uiuimus semperque uicturi sumus. Amen.

13. *But there are also other young men besides in this republic of yours, in particular my friends Crowley and Cowper, whom I must not overlook in my speech; who since they are in the same cause as I am and are being attacked by the same hatred of adversaries, so they with like repentance are retreating with me to this refuge in your mercy. In any case all of us trusting in this gentleness and mercy of yours are informing you not of the defence but of the acknowledgement of our lives, and not only the acknowledgement but also the accusation; and we confess them to you, both as individuals who have many faults and sufficiently grave defects, and this one that is common to us all, which we are willing to have put down either to our inexperience or misunderstanding. For both by this outstanding piety of yours thus far, and especially by your own and also that of the other masters, there has been this favour for us, that for a long time now it has been permitted, with none of you opposing it, to study the holy scriptures freely and with impunity, but we have abused this impunity of yours so impudently that we may seem to have done it in opposition to and in contempt of you rather than for any need of our own; clearly since neither obedience nor love or courtesy have been shown towards you by us, we know how much ought to be shown to you from holy scripture and also from kindness – a huge crime, you will say, and one that should be noticed; but we ourselves also admit it.*

14. *But again your tremendous compassion and gentleness (most merciful President) which is accustomed generally to reflect upon not so much the seriousness of a crime as the repentance of the one committing it. Because of this compassion of yours therefore and our hope then which we are exhibiting not undeservedly towards you, we are desperately only asking you to permit us to obtain pardon for this mistake and to be delivered from our failure: assuredly we would not be about to ask for this, if we did not feel shame and regret for our disgrace. But if you wished for any time to be given to you thus far in which you could display the witness of this generous character and kindness of your nature to your citizens, and bind their minds to you at some time by some outstanding kindness, come now, I beg you (most gentle President) and add this to the rest of those monuments of your compassion which are in great numbers and outstanding in this College from you, as something everlasting and a masterpiece, which we may all gladly commemorate in perpetuity. If this is given for our repentance and petition, finally allow us to be satisfied with your compassion, who would otherwise nowhere find hope of relief. Do not show yourself to be difficult here, whom nature herself has made very easy-going. Believe me, there is nothing as democratic as goodness, none again more notable in a judge than ease, in no matter do we Christians refer to Christ as more our protector than in forgiveness.*

15. *Come then, I ask you, most saintly President, take us back not only into your own favour but also into that of those whose wishes, or our just censure, or their own otherwise sinister suspicion have been thrust against us. For there is nothing we desire more, if it can be done, than that there should not be any increase in the schisms or disputatious factions in this College of yours, or rather that of of Jesus Christ. Indeed there is one hope, one life, one name through which we have all been saved. And so rather let us throw off this lethargy of discord, and let us all as if the sons of one father honour ourselves in turn with brotherly love, and uniting in turn with mutual embraces and equally with a common enthusiasm let us strive to give thanks to God the Father, who gave us victory through his son Jesus Christ, in whom we live and shall always live happily, blessedly and for ever. Amen.*

11. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford
to John Cheke¹⁸

CLARISSIMO VIRO M. CHICHEO J. FOXVS VITAM
AETERNAM

1. Trahit sua quemque oblectatio. Mihi semper e puero insitum erat, ut in expetendis huius uitae bonis haud alia re magis capiar quam doctorum familiaritate. Quae res quantum affecerit animum meum uel id declarat, quod uix ulla Angliae plaga sit, quam pedibus non perreptaerim, doctos uiros, maxime siqui essent insigniores, inuestigandi studio; quos etsi hactenus nec paucos nec incelebres contigit reperire, quibus etiam tribuere multum soleam; tamen nescio quo pacto animus ne iis quidem omnibus adhuc expleri potuit, nisi te simul aliquando (Chichee omnium doctissime) conuenirem. Qui etsi antea fama non eras incognitus, tamen simul atque te praesentius contemplatus sum, mores atque humanitatem tuam considerans, tantum in te omnia fama tua superiora perspexi quantum abest ut dignis encomiis uirtutes unquam tuas proueham.

2. Nam ut de humanitate tua nihil dicam (dicturus tamen aliquando), uel ex ipso aspectu atque uultu tuo, (per musas) quanta maiestas, quae ingenii sublimitas, ubique in ore et in oculis relucens, quam heroica indoles ac generositas, emicant. Vnde abunde dabatur aestimandi copia, quae quantaque esset uirtus in te recondita, unde haec specimina tam feliciter luxuriabant. Quibus naturae animique bonis si industria par accesserit, aut me fallit augurium, aut ingens aliquod patriae orbique miraculum tandem aliquando sis editurus; quo enixius nunc tibi enitendum sentio, non solum propter hominum expectationem tantam, uerum et pro natura ipsa, quae ueluti ducem te prouinciae literariae designauit, ut Spartam idcirco hanc omnes tuam,¹⁹ ac literas toto iam orbe profugientes, in fidem ac clientelam tuam recipias; quae nisi abs te tuique similibus uindicentur, quid superest nisi ut scribamus epitaphium Musis Gratiisque nunquam reuicturis.

3. Quippe ita nunc ubique obsidet imo occupat omnia barbaries artesque quaesturiae, ut nullus sit locus liberalibus Oxoniae, nisi quod pubes se mouere incipit: ab aliis usque adeo Scotiis indormitur sordibus ac formalitatibus, ut si cum illis agas de fontibus Scripturae Euangelicae aut libris literisque serioribus te putent insanire. Quae sane unica uidetur mihi causa totius in religione nostra superstitionis; quae cum nihil aliud sit quam morbus rationis ac iudicii caecitas, tum quo pacto possunt non caecutire, qui nunquam se ad lucem rectoris literaturae expergefaciunt? Verum de his posthac latius commentabimur. Haec in praesentiarum habui, quibus et meam exprimere sollicitudinem erga honesta studia, et pariter tuum uellicare animum ad rem gerendam uolui. Vale feliciter.

4. Atque ne omnino sine appendice adueniret epistola, adiecimus qualemcunque otii nostri exercitium, non quae tuis conueniret auribus, sed quam, nuper ad Theologum quendam sumpta ex statura illius occasione conscriptam, huc in sequente pagina ad supplendum uacuum retulimus. Christus Celsitudinem tuam diu nobis ac Reipublicae Literariae incolumem bonisque omnibus quotidie florentem prouehat.

JOHN FOXE WISHES LIFE ETERNAL TO THE MOST
DISTINGUISHED GENTLEMAN, MASTER CHEKE

1. His own pleasure attracts everyone.. It has always been ingrained in me from boyhood that in seeking out the good things in this life that I be not taken by any thing more than by close acquaintance with learned men. How much this situation has affected my mind is even made clear by the fact that there is scarcely any region of England which I have not crawled over in my eagerness to seek out learned men, especially those who are rather distinguished. Although I have so far I have happened to find not a few of them and they not uncelebrated, to whom I also am accustomed to attribute much; yet by some agreement or other the mind could not even for all be satisfied, unless I meet with you sometime, Cheke, most learned of all men. Although you were not unknown by reputation before, yet as soon as I looked at you more closely and considered your character and humanity, I perceived that everything in you was as far superior to your fame as it was beyond my capacity ever to proclaim your virtues with worthy praise.

2. For to say nothing of your kindness (yet I shall speak of it sometime), even from your very aspect and appearance, (by the Muses), how much majesty, what loftiness of talent, shine out, beaming everywhere in your face and in your eyes, what heroic character and gentlemanliness. From where was given in abundance the opportunity to judge what and how great is the virtue which is hidden in you, from where these proofs were so fortunately abounding. If equal industry is added to these good things of nature and mind, either prophecy deceives me, or you are about to publish some huge miracle for the country and the world; I feel that you must now strive more zealously than this, not only on account of such great expectation from people, but also for nature herself, who has marked you out as the leader of the province of literature, so that for this reason you may adorn this Sparta of yours, and receive the literature which is now fleeing from the whole world into your trust and patronage; unless this is rescued by you and people like you, what will remain except that we write an epitaph for the Muses and Graces who will never be victorious again.

3. For now that everywhere barbarity and mercenary arts so besiege or rather seize hold of everything in such a way that there is no place for honourable behaviour at Oxford, except what the young men are beginning to promote, others are so careless of Scottish meanness and character, that when you debate with them about the sources of the Gospel writing or more serious books and letters, they think that you are mad. This seems to me clearly to be the only reason for the whole of the supersition in our religion; since this blindness of reason and judgement is nothing other than an illness, then how can those who never rouse themselves to the light of more correct literature not be blind? But we shall comment on this matters more extensively later. I had these matters for the present, by which I wanted both to express my concern towards honourable studies and equally to rouse your mind to carrying out the matter. Farewell and good luck.

4. And so that the letter might not arrive entirely without a supplement, we have added a sort of little exercise of our leisure, not one that might be suitable for your ears, but one which having recently been written to a certain theologian, the opportunity have been taken as a result of his standing, we have returned here for the empty space to be filled up on the following page. May Christ carry forward your highness to be safe and sound for us and the republic of letters for a long time and every day flourishing for all good men.

¹⁸ BL Lansdowne MS 388, foll. 58v, 111r, 118r-v.

¹⁹ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. v. 1. Cf. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* IV. 6.

5. Dum haec absoluerem, iamque literas essem obsignaturus, nunciatum est mihi ab ipso hoc Zaccheo cui carmen donauerim, nouam hic scholae literariae apud nos parari erectionem, Regio nomine et stipendio, eiusque moderatorem designandi ius penes esse doctorem Coxeum uestrum. Quod si uerum sit atque ille alteri non concesserit, quaeso memineris Foxi tui, Vir humanissime, alioqui e Collegio ad Michaelis [festum] proximum propter rem presbyteralem emigraturi. Quod si mihi Scholae huius praefecturam uir optimus deligauerit, effecturum me confido, ut cum ego me multum, tum pubes Oxoniensis illi plurimum se debere faterentur. Iterum uale.

5. While I was finishing this off and already about to seal the letter, it was announced to me by this very Zaccheus to whom I have presented a poem, that the building of a new school here for literature is being prepared for us, with the King's name and a stipend, and that the right of choosing its governor is in the hands of your Dr. Cox. If this is true, and he has not granted it to someone else, I ask you to remember your Foxe, most kind Gentleman, as otherwise he will be emigrating from the College next Michaelmas on account of the priestly business. But if the excellent man choses me to be in charge of the school, I am confident that I would bring it about that both I and the youth of Oxford would admit that they owe very much to him. Again goodbye.

12. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to Richard Bertie²⁰

OPTIMAE SPEI IUVENI RICHARDO BERITIO J. FOXUS
PACEM ET VITAM

1. Scripturienti ad te epistolam iamque meditati argumentum aliud, Richarde optime, repente allatum est ab amicis – Regiam munificentiam scholae hic cuiusdam apud nos moliri institutionem; huicque negotio praefici doctorem Coxeum uestrum, in cuius manu sita sit moderatorem quem uelit discernendi autoritas. Quo factum est, ut mutata rerum occasione mutatum quoque epistolae argumentum, nimirum pro nuncupatoria petitoria mihi scribenda fuerat.

2. Quamobrem siquid in hac re possis (Richarde humanissime), quaeso eam hic mihi accomodes operam in functione hac potiunda qualem amicis praestas tuis, quibus iuuandis natus sis et libenter iuuare soleas. Ipsum illud cum M. Chikeo egi etiam in epistola obiter, ipsius efflagitans opem, quod potui, in eadem re: in qua si tu etiam neruos intenderis tuos, futurum est ut uobis non tam multum sim debiturus, quam libenter effecturus etiam fortassis aliquando. Quod si parem uobis non referat gratiam, promptissimum tamen referendi declarat animum. Sunt in manibus paginae aliquot ad te mittendae, quas ubi rescripserimus mitemus propediem, missuri etiam ad Benettum alias. Spero me habere ex Solomonis Ecclesiaste argumentum Comoediae nec inutile nec inamaenum, quod simul atque lambendo paululum conformabimus tibi perpoliendam atque absoluendam commitemus.

3. Herum tuum, optimum uirum, salute cumulabis plurima. Huic etiam de nostris impartiemus, cum licebit per otium. Salutabis meos istic amicos omnes, praecipue Principis coquum primarium. Literae ad amicos nostros si ad tuas manus peruenerint, singulas quaeso tradendas cures diligenter. Christus indolem tuam indies in maius prouehat, Richarde dulcissime. TUUS FOXUS.

TO RICHARD BERTIE A YOUNG MAN OF EXCELLENT
EXPECTATION J. FOXE HOPES FOR PEACE AND LIFE

1. As I was writing a letter to you and now thinking about some proof, excellent Richard, suddenly it was brought to me by friends – that the royal generosity of a school here is being set in motion amongst us; that your Doctor Coxe is being put in charge of this business, in whose hand is placed the authority of deciding whom he wants as its manager. Because of this it has happened that with the change of circumstances comes also a change in the

2. Wherefore if you are able in any way (most kindly Richard) I ask you to apply here for me the sort of effort in gaining possession of this post that you provide for your friends, for the helping of whom you have been born and are accustomed willingly to help. That very point, by the way, I have also discussed with Master Cheke in a letter, demanding his help in the same matter, as far as I was able: if you also direct your energies in this, it will be the case that I shall be not so much in your debt as willingly to perform [the same for you] sometime perhaps. But if he does not show you equal gratitude, yet he declares a very ready mind for showing it. There are in hand several pages to be sent to you, which, when we have re-written them, we shall send very soon, being about to send some others also to Bennett. I hope that I have an argument for a Comedy from Solomon's Ecclesiastes which is neither unprofitable nor disagreeable, and which, as soon as we fashion it by caressing it a little, we shall entrust to you for polishing and bringing to completion.

3. You will heap very many good wishes on your master, an excellent man. We shall also bestow our own on him, when leisure permits. You will greet all my friends there, especially our Prince's chief cook. If letters to our friends reach your hands, I ask you to see to it carefully that each is delivered. Christ exalts your character to greater heights each day, sweetest Richard. YOUR FOXE.

13. Letter from John Foxe in Oxford to Tindall²¹

1. Magna nos sollicitudine atque errore liberauit huc nuper adueniens Ottilius noster, Tindalle charissime; omnes enim ad unum periisse te credebamus; parumque abfuit quin tibi exequiae decernerentur, si quisquam esset qui tres obolos litaret pro anima tua. Quidam te a Lincolnensibus suspensum,

1. My very dear Tindall, the recent arrival here of our friend Otley has freed us from great anxiety and error; for all to a man we thought you had died; it nearly got to the point of the last rites being decreed for you, if there had been anyone who would offer three pennies for your soul. Some people thought

²⁰ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 83v.

²¹ BL Lansdowne MS 388, fol. 119r-v.

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quidam a Judaeis crucifixum, alii ob haeresim, alii ob aes contractum, tractum in carcerem existimabant. Simon coriarius cordatoris aliquanto spei nihil horum esse, sed in monasterium tuum pertaesum huius saeculi resumpta alicubi ueste reuersum, autumabat. Mea longe ab iis diuersa opinio fuit, ut qui te pascendis hominibus iam diu defatigatum putau iam coruos pascere. Nam quid aliud te quaeso auspicari potui, cum tanto tempore neque nos reuiseris nec sillabam scripseris. Equidem te uehementer laudo, cum istoc animo, qui ita ab ineunte aetate amicos tuos contemnere didicisti, qui si ita quaestum strepitumque huius mundi posses contemnere, iam pridem huc coniiicio esses reuersurus. Sed mitto tibi atque ignosco ista; atque tandem uirum te repertum esse gaudeo.

you had been hanged by the people of Lincoln, others that you had been crucified by the Jews, some thought you had been hauled off to prison for heresy, others thought it was for debt. Simon the tanner in somewhat wiser expectation believed that it was none of these, but that, weary of this age, you had again resumed your vestments somewhere and gone back to your monastery. My opinion was very different from theirs, as one who thought that for a long time you have been tired of feeding men and were now feeding the ravens. For what else could be deduced, I ask you, when for such a long time you have neither visited us nor written a syllable. Indeed I praise you loudly with that spirit of yours who, from your entering upon life have learned to despise your friends in such a way, and who, if you could despise the profit and noise of this world, I reckon would long ago have returned here. But I let you go and I forgive you for these; and I am pleased that you have been found a man at last.

2. Eram ante plusculos hos dies apud Lucium illum, ac salutau; sed nihil aliud quam salutau, quippe non plusquam biduum apud eum commoratus: hominis ingenium ac mores non tam probo quam admiror, quo nunquam in uita quicquam uidi magis candidum ac magis aureum. Nec minus illa placet capiti suo respondens per omnia familia, talis qualem optare queam; denique nihil non ad uotum atque sententiam animi mei faciens. Sed nosti domus illius situm quam undique deserta, montibus lucisque ab omni pene luce hominumque confluxu interclusa: Deinde uicinum habet amnem quidem, sed undis perpetuo ferme stagnantibus, nisi quod singulis annis semel domum ipsam perluit, ut Nilus Aegyptum: Postremo habet Faulknerus cubiculum quod non hircum sed cloacum olet tam insuaui, ut opus sit exectis naribus quisquis ibi habitare uelit.

2. I was with that Lucy fellow a few days ago and paid my respects; but I did nothing other than pay my respects, since I stayed with him for no more than two days: the nature and character of the man I do not so much approve as admire, as I have never in my life seen anything brighter or more splendid. No less pleasing was his family, corresponding in everything to its head, being such as I could wish for; in short, adding up to the prayers and aspirations of my heart. But you know the situation of that house, how it is deserted on all sides, cut off by hills and lakes from almost all light and the gathering of people. Then it has indeed a nearby stream, but with water which is almost perpetually stagnant, except that each year it washes the house itself once, as does the Nile wash Egypt. Finally, Faulkener has a bedroom which emits a smell not of armpits but a sewer, so disagreeably that anyone wanting to live there would have to have his nose cut off.

3. Scripsit ad me nuper Hugo Latimerus satis benigne duos aut tres mihi menses offerens, si ad ipsum commeari libeat: sed eo nunc omnia mea tendunt consilia, ut scholam mihi aliquam publice instituendam comparem, cui rei solum me liberum integrumque seruo. Quod siquid tua in hac re possit opera uel apud heram uel alios, uel Otileum hunc, iuua te quaeso quod potes. Cupio uehementer ad te uenire et conuenire, sed deest pecunia. Salutant te nostri omnes. Candidum illud Caput uestrum, si est apud uos, meo nomine iubebis esse saluum.

3. Hugh Latimer wrote to me recently in a kindly enough way, offering me two or three months, if I want to go and stay with him; but now all my plans are heading in the direction of obtaining for myself some school to set up publicly, for which situation alone I am keeping myself free and vigorous. But if there is any possibility of something resulting from your help in this matter or that of your mistress or others, or Otley, I beg you to help in whatever way you can. I earnestly want to come and meet you, but I haven't the money. Say hello in my name to that White Head of yours, if he is with you.

14. Comoedia Magdalensis

IOANNIS FOXII TITVS ET GESIPPVS, COMOEDIA *Transcribed and translated by John Hazel Smith²²*

ACTVS PRIMVS. SCENA PRIMA *Titus. Phormio.*

ACT ONE. SCENE ONE Enter Titus and Phormio.

[TITVS.]

Ain Phormio? Daturne Gesippo hodie
Nuptum Sempronia?

PHORMIO. Indubie.

TITVS. Certum est tibi

An diuinas forsitan?

PHORMIO. Sybillae quod aiunt

Cumanae folium.

TITVS. Qui scis?

PHORMIO. Imo tu qui ne scias

Qui ex ipso plus audisti millies quam tota

Cantatur ciuitate.

TITUS. What, Phormio? Sempronia is marrying Gesippus today?

PHORMIO. Without a doubt.

TITUS. Are you sure, or maybe you're guessing?

PHORMIO. As they say, it's a leaf of the Sibyl at Cumae.

TITUS. How do you know?

PHORMIO. But how would you not know, since you've heard from Gesippus himself a thousand times more than is sung about in the whole city?

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TITUS. Is there no delaying the wedding from happening today?

²² J. H. Smith (ed.), *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe the Martyrologist*, Renaissance Text Series (London: Cornell University Press, 1973).

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

- TITVS.** Nec mora ulla est, nuptiae
Quin ipsae coeant hodie?
- PHORMIO.** Hodie.
- TITVS.** Ergo hodie
Titus totus interiit.
- PHORMIO.** Hem, quid ais?
- TITVS.**
Te appello qui solus meae conscius es
Aegretudinis.
- PHORMIO.** Quid mali est, here, obsecro?
Quae oris haec nutatio? Quae nam haec suspiria?
Numquis morbus est?
- TITVS.** Vtinam.
- PHORMIO.** Quamobrem istuc?
- TITVS.**
Emori cupio.
- PHORMIO.** Ergo dicas quid rei siet.
- TITVS.**
Ne istud roges, Phormio.
- PHORMIO.** Non rogem
Autem? Quis te roget igitur, nisi tu esse putes
Qui magis te ex animo saluum uelit atque incolumen
Quam ego? Aut dicas, quaeso, ubi meum unquam tibi consilium
Defuit, si unquam quicquam fuit ubi tibi opitularier
Licuit.
- TITVS.** Scio, sed nunc aliud est.
- PHORMIO.** Imo quicquid est
Effunde, neque enim ita uelim cogites, tuam ad
Te ipsum quam ad me magis salutem pertinere. Dic.
- TITVS.**
Ah non desinis.
- PHORMIO.** Non sane nisi expressero.
Dic.
- TITVS.** Obtundis.
- PHORMIO.** Sane si medelam speres—
- TITVS.**
Neque faciam.
- PHORMIO.** Minus torquebit te.
- TITVS.** Nihil
Est.
- PHORMIO.** Quasi non prodat te uultus tuus,
Index satis locuples.
- TITVS.** Nihil est inquam.
- PHORMIO.** Age,
Age, si nihil est quin eas ad sodales intro
Atque Gesippo tuo adsis ut par est in nuptiis.
- TITVS.**
Veh misero mihi, nequeo continere amplius.
- PHORMIO.**
Iamdudum desiderari scio praesentiam tuam.
- TITVS.**
Mi Phormio.
- PHORMIO.** Quid ais?
- TITVS.** Nae ego
Inauspicato natus sum in uitam hanc.
- PHORMIO.** Deus
Bonus mala prohibeat.
- TITVS.** Qui utinam
Quoquo pacto peremptus essem cum huc primum
Tetulissem pedem!
- PHORMIO.** Miror quidnam sit rei.
- TITVS.**
Vis dicam tibi?
- PHORMIO.** Si lubet.
- TITVS.** Dicam. Semproniam
Illam Gesippo hodie meo nupturam nostin',
Phormio?
- PHORMIO.** Quid ni?
- TITVS.** Os illius, habitum
Atque formam—sed quid eam praedicem tibi?
- PHORMIO.** Audio.
- TITVS.**
Deinde Gesippum illum unice animo meo
Semper charissimum, huic qui datur in coniugem?
- PHORMIO.**
Perge.
- TITVS.** Qui nisi is esset, facile ego in hac
- PHORMIO.** It's today.
- TITUS.** Then today is Titus totally undone.
- PHORMIO.** Well! What are you saying?
- TITUS** [to the heavens]. I call upon you, who alone know of my sickness.
- PHORMIO.** What on earth is wrong, master? What's this shaking of your head? What are these sighs? Is this some sickness?
- TITUS.** I wish it were.
- PHORMIO.** Why?
- TITUS.** I want to die.
- PHORMIO.** Then tell me what's the matter.
- TITUS.** Don't ask me that, Phormio.
- PHORMIO.** Don't ask indeed! Who should ask you, then, unless you think there's someone more sincere than I am in wishing you safe and sound! Or tell me, please, when was my counsel ever wanting to you if there was ever any way at all in which I could help you?
- TITUS.** I know, but this is different.
- PHORMIO.** Well, whatever it is, out with it. I wouldn't want you to think that your well-being means more to you than to me. Tell me.
- TITUS.** Ah, you don't stop.
- PHORMIO.** Not until I've wrung it out of you. Tell me.
- TITUS.** You keep hammering away.
- PHORMIO.** Well, if you would look for a cure—
- TITUS.** I won't.
- PHORMIO.**—it will torture you less.
- TITUS.** It's nothing.
- PHORMIO.** As if your face weren't a sign to betray you.
- TITUS.** It's nothing, I say.
- PHORMIO.** Come, come, if it's nothing, why not go in to your companions to be with your friend gesippus at his wedding, as is proper?
- TITUS** [aside]. Oh woe is me, I can't hold it in any longer.
- PHORMIO.** I know they wanted you there long ago.
- TITUS.** My Phormio—
- PHORMIO.** What?
- TITUS.** Truly I was born under an evil star.
- PHORMIO.** May the good lord prevent evil.
- TITUS.** Would that I had been killed somehow as soon as I came here.
- PHORMIO.** I wonder what's the matter.
- TITUS.** You want me to tell you?
- PHORMIO.** If you will.
- TITUS.** I'll tell you. Phormio, you know Semproniam, who is marrying my friend Gesippus today?
- PHORMIO.** Of course.
- TITUS.** Her face, her bearing, her figure—but why should I praise her to you?
- PHORMIO.** I'm listening.
- TITUS.** Then you know that Gesippus, who's marrying her, has always been singularly dear to my heart.
- PHORMIO.** Go on.
- TITUS.** If it weren't he, I'd look after my own interests in this matter without any

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

Re prospicerem mihi.
PHORMIO. Quid tum postea?
TITVS. Vah, tardus es,
 Phormio.
PHORMIO. Au, perquam pol Tite ut ais
 Tardus sum. Iam intelligo. Ausculta in aurem.
TITVS.
 Ita amet me deus, Phormio.
PHORMIO. Et me. Sed quid hic
 Me iam uelis facere?
TITVS. Gladio me tuo
 Interimas atque eximas miseriis.
PHORMIO. Istud
 Hostibus meis fiet potius.
TITVS. Aut siquid aliud,
 Aliud innire queas remedii.
PHORMIO. Conclamatum est.
TITVS.
 Saltem ut proferantur nuptiae in diem alterum
 Dum aliquo me concedam praecipitatum.
PHORMIO. Here,
 Non tam bardus nec tardus sum qui incendia
 Tua non intelligam. Vtinam tam facile dare
 Lenimen queam. Quin agam sedulo
 Manibus pedibusque facturus omnia quo iuuem
 Te. Tu quiesce interim et da cogitandi locum.
TITVS.
 Fiet.
PHORMIO. Ego consulam locos meos dialecticos.

ACTVS PRIMVS. SCENA SECVNDA

Gesippus. Dromo. Syrus. [Pythias. Stephanio.]

[GESIPPVS.]
 Quis tandem finis cerimoniarum? Citius decem
 Elephanti pariunt quam unas isti parturiunt nuptias.
 Tam sancti sunt in nugis, ipsa in re remisissimi.
 Quin mihi aut cito dent aut non dent uxorem prorsus?
 Me enecant isto taedio. Nec pater usquam apparet gentium
 Nec quicquam paratum dum ad nuptias manus non admolior.
 Atqui iam opus est ut faciam. Heus, heus, Dromo
 Et Syre, exite ad me ilico.
DROMO. Quis euocator hic?
 Here, tun' accersisti?
SYRVS. Here adsumus. Numquid imperas?
GESIPPVS.
 Syre, Stephanio et Pythias fac sis huc uocentur ocyus.
SYRVS.
 Abeo.
GESIPPVS. Tu, Dromo, curriculo perfuge ad forum, obsonium
 E macello comportatum ad nuptias. Cape argentum hoc atque,
 Audin'? si quas rariores nosti gulae delicias, nihil
 Desit lautitiarum ita uti scis conuenire conuiuio.
DROMO.
 Factum puta.
GESIPPVS. Stephanio, te praeficimus rei
 Culinariae.
STEPHANIO. Accipio.
GESIPPVS. Syre, adduc nobis qui choraules siet
 Et hymenaeum cantitet, deinde qui choreas saltitent
 Et tripudia. Vt omnia perstreperent hilaritate.
SYRVS. Curabitur.
GESIPPVS.
 Tua, Pythia, cura est ut intus niteant omnia
 Splendeantque in aedibus; componantur ad munditiem; rosas
 ac lilia quoqueuersum
 Interspergito. Limina sertis ormentur, et atria
 Fronde. Fument accensis thura Sabea focis. Tum
 Peristroma illud ex Arabia e cistula euoluas ac
 Thoro insternas geniali, quod mea adueniens
 Demeretur Sempronia. Deinde quid aliud uolui
 Dicere? Sed nihil refert. Haec interim exequitor.
PYTHIAS.
 Fiet, domine.
GESIPPVS. Abite. Nunc pater mihi ubi

hesitation.
PHORMIO. Go on.
TITUS. Bah, you're slow, Phormio.
PHORMIO. Oh! I'm very slow indeed, as you say, Titus. Now I understand. Listen.
 [He whispers in Titus' ear.]
TITUS. Yes, Phormio, god love me.
PHORMIO. And me. But now, what would you like me to do about it?
TITUS. Kill me with your sword and deliver me from my miseries.
PHORMIO. That would be better done by my enemies.
TITUS. Or, if you can devise something else, or some other remedy—
PHORMIO. It's hopeless.
TITUS. At least if the wedding were put off to another day while I run off somewhere—
PHORMIO. Master, I'm not so stupid or so slow that I don't understand what's
 burning you; would that I could as easily give you a balm. But I'll set to work, hand
 and foot, doing everything I can to help you. Meantime you be calm and allow yourself
 room for thought.
TITUS. All right.
PHORMIO. I'll consult my places of logic. [Exeunt.]

ACT ONE. SCENE TWO

Enter Gesippus.

GESIPPUS. Is there any end of these ceremonies? Ten elephants bear young faster
 than these people produce one wedding. They're as neglectful of the substance of the
 business as they are scrupulous about trivia. Oh, that they would either give me a wife
 quickly or not give me a wife straightaway. They're killing me with this irksome delay.
 My father is nowhere to be seen, and nothing is prepared unless I put my own hands to
 work on the wedding. But now I must do it.— [Shouts.] Hey there, Dromo and Syrus,
 come out here to me.

Enter Dromo and Syrus.

DROMO. Who's calling? Master, did you call?

SYRUS. Master, here we are. What is your command?

GESIPPUS. Syrus, call Stephanio and Pythias here at once.

SYRUS. I'm on my way. [Exit.]

GESIPPUS. Dromo, you run to the forum on the double to get provisions for the
 wedding from the butcher. Take this silver, and—are you listening?—if you know of any
 rare delicacies for our palates, let no luxury be wanting that you know is suitable for our
 banquet.

DROMO. Consider it done. [Exit.]

Enter Syrus, Stephanio, and Pythias.

GESIPPUS. Stephanio, I place you in charge of kitchen operations.

STEPHANIO. I accept.

GESIPPUS. Syrus, bring me the flute player and the singer of the wedding hymn and
 the dancers. How everything will resound with merrymaking.

SYRUS. It will be taken care of.

GESIPPUS. Pythias, your job is to see that everything in the house is shiny and
 sparkling and elegantly arranged. Scatter roses and lilies everywhere. Decorate the
 doorways with garlands and the halls with boughs. Make Sabaean incense smoke in the
 burning hearths. Unroll the Arabian carpet from its basket and spread it on the bridal
 couch, because my Sempronia deserves it when she comes. Then what else did I want to
 tell you? Well, nothing important. For now, look after these things.

PYTHIAS. It will be done, my lord.

GESIPPUS. Get going.— [Exeunt all but Gesippus.
 Now I must hunt for my father to speak to him, wherever he is—and I don't quite know
 where to look. But just in time he's coming with my father-in-law.]

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

Vbi est conquirendus est, ut conueniam, nec satis
Vbi quaeram scio. Atque eum quam opportune cum socero
Aduenientem. 30

ACTVS PRIMVS. SCENA TERTIA. Simo. Chremes. Gesippus.

[SIMO.]

Quin tu istas gratias omitte, Chreme, quasi hactenus
Inter nos non norimus, aut quasi gratiae id mihi
Adponi aequum sit pro officio ego quod facio. Siquid meum
Vsquam uides tibi aut tuis quod expetendum sit, uel id
Deberi a me tibi, Chreme, credito—itque pro mutua 5
Ac inueterata hac uitae simul quae mihi iam diu
Tecum incoepit consuetudine.

CHREMES. Perbenigne et dicis et facis,
Simo. Eandemque uicissim tibi cationem recino: si quid
fortuna habet

Nostra ubi quid tibi gratiae referre possumus, me rebusque
Meis utere ut uoles. Numquid nunc rei aliud restat reliquum? 10

GESIPPVS. Cesso compellare.

CHREMES. Quis hic loquitur? Gesippe?

GESIPPVS. Pater,
Teipsum querito.

CHREMES. Qua de re?

GESIPPVS. Hodie uis uxorem me ducere
Annon? Iam aduesperascit.

CHREMES. Ohe ut hic prurit ad nuptias!

Quin iam uenio. Tu interim praecurre domum, ibi ut
Concinnentur omnia ita ut decet conuiuas excipi luculenter.

GESIPPVS. Hanc 15
Modo edictionem dedi Pythiae ad accurandum!

CHREMES. Laudo. Nunc
Ad Semproniam ergo ingredi, ut sese exornet ne sit in
Mora cum opus sit accersier.

GESIPPVS. Admodum.

CHREMES. Sed heus
Insuauem fortassis tibi operam praecipimus. Ibit
Pro te, censeo, alius. Tu parcas calcibus.

GESIPPVS. Ne pauas, pater! 20
Ego hoc defungar optime!

SIMO. Gesippe, etiam respicis.
En Gesippe, pactas hic tecum decem argenti drachumulas,
Quid ais?

GESIPPVS. Quidnam facturus?

SIMO. Ea lege, ad me rursum uti
Redeas absque osculo.

GESIPPVS. Quin hercle dato.

SIMO. Enimuero hercle accipe.

GESIPPVS. Nolim tantum tibi damni, Simo.

SIMO. Viden' uero?

CHREMES. Mira res, 25
Quid fert adolescentia.

SIMO. Ita est.

CHREMES. Satis iam Simo a nobis, quod ad
Hanc rem attinet, spero esse definita omnia, nisi te quid aliud
Moratum habet.

SIMO. Nihil.

CHREMES. De dote uti dudum conuentum est.

SIMO. Dos ut dixi triginta talenta tibi: accersas ubi lubet.

CHREMES. Cedo dextram. Porro hoc te rogo, Simo, ut haec inter nos
affinitas

Stabili nunc foedere inita, magis magisque augescens indies,
Perpetua postmodum aetate cum nostra succrescat simul. 30

SIMO. Imo sic opto et uolo, Chreme.

CHREMES. Sed quando supputabimus?

SIMO. Tuo fiat arbitratu.

CHREMES. Quin iam censeo opportunissimum,
Intus si uelis apud nos.

SIMO. I prae, consequar. 35

ACT ONE. SCENE THREE. Enter Simo and Chremes.

SIMO. Never mind the thanks, Chremes. As if we didn't know this between ourselves long ago, or as if it were right to attribute to my graciousness what I do out of duty. If you see anything at all of mine which you or your family should want, please consider that I owe it to you, Chremes—that's the result of this mutual and long-standing familiarity which began between your life and mine at the same time long ago.

CHREMES. Your words and actions are very kind, Simo, and I sing the same refrain to you in turn: if it is my good fortune to have anything by which I may show something of my gratitude toward you, use me and my goods as you wish. Now, does anything else remain to be done?

GESIPPUS [aside, coming forward]. I'll speak to them.

CHREMES. Who's speaking here? Gesippus?

GESIPPUS. Father, I've been looking all over for you.

CHREMES. What about?

GESIPPUS. Do you want me to get married today or not? It's almost evening already.

CHREMES. Oho, how he itches for the wedding! Well, I'm coming now. Meantime you run on home to arrange everything there as it should be for receiving guests splendidly.

GESIPPUS. I've just ordered Pythias to see to that.

CHREMES. Very good. Now then, go have Semproniam get dressed so she won't keep us waiting when it's time to call her.

GESIPPUS. Yes indeed.

CHREMES. But als, maybe we're rushing you off on an unpleasant task. I think someone else will go for you. You save your shoes.

GESIPPUS. Have no fear, father. I'll take care of this best.

SIMO. Gesippus, look here now. Here's a deal with you for ten silver drachmas, Gesippus, what do you say?

GESIPPUS. What do I have to do?

SIMO. The condition is that you come back to me without giving her a kiss.

GESIPPUS. Well, by Hercules, give them to me.

SIMO. Well, by Hercules, take them.

GESIPPUS. I wouldn't want to do you such an injury, Simo. [Exit.

SIMO. Did you see that?

CHREMES. It's miraculous what youth does.

SIMO. It certainly is.

CHREMES. Simo, I hope we've finished everything that we have to do in this matter—unless there's something else to hold you back.

SIMO. Nothing else.

CHREMES. The dowry is as we agreed before?

SIMO. As I said, a dowry of thirty talents for you. Ask for it whenever you wish.

CHREMES. Let's shake on it. And, Simo, I beg you that this alliance between us, begun now in this firm contract, may increase from day to day, growing more and more firm even as our days do grow, and on in perpetuity.

SIMO. I earnestly hope so too, Chremes.

CHREMES. When shall we do our reckoning?

SIMO. Whenever you wish.

CHREMES. Well, I think now is a very good time if you want to go into my place.

SIMO. Lead on, I'll follow. [Exeunt.

15. *Expostulatio Iesu Christi cum Humano genere, c. 1550*²³

Translated by
Barrie Hall

Dedication

Dedication

[...]

Aliis quid accidit nescio, Mihi habitum huius sæculi consideranti tantam in nonnullis crudelitatem, in aliis infidelitatem <perfidiam written above>, in plærisque securitatem cum summo luxu, in omnibus fere auaritiam, ea uidetur rerum omnium corruptela ut omnem humanam superans curationem, Diuinam plane uocem e cælo fulminantem aut etiam iudicium potius flagitet. Quæ et si non dubium est quin in ministris suis quotidie mundo concionatur, concionatura etiam ad consummationem seculi. Nobis tamen in præsentia uisum est in libello hoc Christum ipsum loquentem inducere, qua dexteritate nescio, hoc certe fine ac studio ut Christianas ecclesias, quantum dabatur, ab hoc ueterno ad maiorem sui curam excitaremus. Quod si minus contingat assequi, nos tamen sedulitate nostra perfunctos sufficiat καδδύναμιν ἔρδειν. Interim libellum qualis qualis est sub tui nominis nuncupatione (præsul ornatissime) exire malui, non tam id captans ut eo ceu muneris uice fauorem tuum demerear. Verum quum Doctissimi iudicii te uirum audiui a multis, ex omnibus te unum eligere statui cuius censuræ tutissime inniti queam aduersus scorpionum quorundam morsus a quibus nihil est fere in rebus humanis tutum. Bene uale præsulum decus in Christo pastorum principe, qui amplitudinem tuam sanctissimosque in ecclesia labores tueatur prouehatque in omnibus.

[...]

What the experience of others has been I do not know but, as I consider the state of this world, the very great cruelty of some people, the infidelity of others, the indifference and excessive luxury of very many, and the avarice of almost all, the universal corruption seems such as to surpass all human curing and to call out rather for the divine voice thundering clearly from heaven, and even for the divine judgement. And even if there is no doubt that this divine voice preaches daily to the world through its ministers, and will continue to do so until the end of the world, nevertheless it seemed to me timely in this little book to introduce Christ himself speaking; with what felicity I know not, but certainly with the aim and intention of rousing the Christian churches, as far as that is possible, from this lethargy to a greater concern for themselves. If I fail to achieve this, I shall at all events be satisfied with having employed all my assiduity to work to the fullness of my powers. In the meantime I have preferred that the book, such as it is, should go out under the mention of your name, most distinguished bishop, not so much seeking by it, as by way of a gift, to win your favour but, having heard from many that you are a man of most learned judgement, I have determined to choose you out of all men as the man on whose most saving criticism I may lean against the bites of certain scorpions from whom practically nothing in human affairs is safe. Fare you well, glory of bishops, in Christ the prince of pastors, and may He in all things protect and advance your excellence and your most holy labours in His Church.

2. [...] At hic conscientiam uestram appello quotquot estis mortalium. Quæ unquam uestra merita philtraque erga me tanta extiterunt? Quæ illa unquam præstita in me officia, nisi ista forte officia putetis scelera, impietates, blasphemias, idolorum turpissimos cultus quibus me quotidie ad uindictam prouocastis, hostibus quam amicis similiores, exitio digniores quam beneficio si pro dignitate uestra remunerandi essetis.

2. [...] *But here I appeal to the conscience of all you who are mortal. What very great services and kindnesses did you ever show to me? What duties did you ever do to me, unless you perhaps reckon as duties crimes, impieties, blasphemies and the most shameful worshippings of idols by which you daily provoked me to vengeance, being more like enemies than friends, more deserving of destruction than of benefit, if you had to be remunerated according to your deserts?*

3. Cæterum non potuit, ut uerum fatear, pietas [sic] mea persequi, quo uestra prouocauit impietas. Videbam enim conditionis uestræ statum nimis deplorandum. 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. [...]

3. *But, to tell the truth, my piety could not take vengeance to the extent that your impiety provoked it. For I saw that the state of your condition was greatly to be deplored. It grieved me that so noble a creature 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.*

44. Age tu Episcopus dictus es! et nomen papæ euellis e tuo libro, at fastum papæ luxum dignitatem, sublimes titulos, sublimiores animos, sæuitiam ferociam retines in tua uita. Non ferendas in illo putas tot mundanas possessiones, Et quid tua nobis mantica continet si aperiatur nisi possessiones et si non illi in genere pares, in specie certe illi non dissimiles. Antichristum dicis illum quia papa est. At non papæ nomen Antichristum facit, sed mores papæ, insolentia, magnificentia, opes, tyrannis, doctrina, odium ac persecutio Christianorum, quorum si in tuo episcopatu ipsissimæ relucet idææ, iam quid inter te et papam interest quantumuis papæ nomen abradis e calendario. Enimuero quod dicis nemo mecum sentit qui non fateatur Antichristum esse illum sed quid illum primitus e Christiano Antichristum reddidit, nisi opes, amplitudo, fulgor, rerumque affluentia ac luxus uitæ. usque adeo numquam conuenire potest regno dei cum regno mundi huius. Et tu te

44. *Come now. You are called a bishop, and you tear the name of pope from your book, but in your life you cling to the pride of the pope, his luxury, pomp, elevated titles and even more elevated airs, his savagery and his ferocity. You think it unendurable in him that he has so many worldly possessions, and what does your (tua?) baggage hold for us, were it to be opened, if not possessions, not indeed equal to his in genus, but certainly not unlike his in species. You give the name of Antichrist to the man who is the pope. But it is not the name of pope that makes him the Antichrist but the morality of the pope, his insolence, magnificence, wealth, tyranny, doctrine, hatred and persecution of Christians, and, if these men's actual ideas shine out in your episcopacy, there is now no difference between you and the pope, however much you erase the name of pope from the calendar. For, as you say, no one's thought is pure unless he confess that that man is the*

²³ J. Foxe, *Expostulatio Iesu Christi in Humano Genere*, [CD-ROM] unpublished transcription by Hitchens, W. J. (Sheffield, 2002).

sincerum Christi atletam cum iis titulis ac latifundiis fore cogitas? Appellaris dominus quasque id parum sit additur gratiae regibus peculiare, aut certe æquale cognomentum non nisi cum Satrapis uersaris, Mulo sublimis ueheris, indueris mutatoris, sericis ac holosericis, tantum trahis famulitium, dormis in plumis, totus auro fulges, tot palatiis redundas tot diffuis latifundiis.

45. [...]

Quamquam ut supra præfatus non is sum qui omnia ad meæ paupertatis modulum exæquans, quemquam e suis pellem possessionibus, Moderata enim quæ sunt per se ferri possunt temporibus multa concedenda. porro bonis indulgere et soleo et possum plurima. Boni enim facile sibiipsis præscribent modum etiam in summa copia. Mali ex summa inopia haurient iniquitatis materiam. Venio itaque ad Mercatores cæterosque. Sed quid ego singula hominum genera persequare, quando sic omnium ordinum publica quasi coniuratio conspirare uidetur ad omnia flagitia, ut neque quem potissimum in secer e singulis, neque quid uniuersis præcipue obiciam satis constat.

Antichrist, but what is it that originally changed him from a Christian to the Antichrist unless it was wealth, magnificence, splendour, superabundance of possessions and luxury of living? To such an extent is it impossible for the kingdom of God to come together with the kingdom of this world. And do you think you will be a pure athlete of Christ in conjunction with these titles and estates? You are termed lord and, as if that were not enough, there is added the term 'grace' which is peculiar to kings or at least equal to them. You move about among satraps, you are carried high on a mule, you are clothed in changes of vestment, silks and whole silks, you bring with you a vast number of attendants, you sleep on down, you shine all in gold, you have excess of palaces, you overflow with estates.

45. [...]

And yet, as I have said before, I am not the one to level all things against the measure of my poverty and drive any one from his possessions. For what is in moderation may in itself be tolerated, and much must be allowed to the times, and furthermore I am accustomed and able to grant very many things to the good. For the good will easily prescribe a measure for themselves even in the greatest abundance. But the bad will drain matter for iniquity from the greatest want. And so I come to the merchants and the rest. But why should I enumerate individual classes of people since there seems thus to be as it were a public conspiracy on the part of all men to work all wrongdoing, so that it is not certain which individual I should single out in particular for censure or what I should especially lay as a charge against all together.

16. Letter from John Foxe in London to William Cecil, 1551²⁴

*Illustri cum primis grauissimoque
senatori D. Cecilio I. Foxus s.*

*John Foxe to the most illustrious and most weighty
member of the Council, Lord Cecil, greetings.*

Honorable uir salutem. Saepe multumque uariis amicorum appellationibus fatigatus sum, ut compendiarium aliquam traiectionem in prima grammatices rudimenta commonstrarem his qui nunc in adultiori aetate incipiunt capescere bonas literas. Sunt enim huiusmodi permulti qui cum aetatem hactenus sine literis praeterierunt, nunc quo grauius suam deplorant inscitiam hoc impensius sectantur quod perdiderunt. Qua in re etsi dubium non est quin uulgaris illa grammatices aeditio abunde queat sufficere, tamen cum haec aetas expeditiori quodam filo ad ducendum egeat, tum neque in illa grammatica uel ordinem illum, qui ad memoriam, uel breuitatem, quae ad celeritatem discentium facit, inesse perspiciebam. Visum est ex illa, quam perpetuo ceu gnomone sequimur, tabularem quandam rerum seriem deliniare, in qua facilius cuiusque fere rei dispositionem, situmque intelligere licebit, cuicumque libebit huic linguae animum appellere. Cum enim nulla fere lingua est, quae non suas habet tabulas, siue hebraicam, seu graecam spectes literaturam, in primis sane conuenire duxi, ut Latina nec sua defraudaretur descriptione: praesertim quum nos non nouam instituimus grammaticam, sed ueterem dumtaxat, in tabularem formam redigimus, nisi quod pauca quae ad superioris perfectionem desiderari uidebantur, obiter aspersimus. Iudicium ac censuram rei cum aliis doctissimis quibusdam, tum praecipue Leonardo Coxo exquisitissimae in iis rebus sententiae commisimus. Nunc quoniam haud scio an citra superiorum consensum tutum sit huiusmodi aliquid in uulgus emittere. tuum hic suffragium appellare uisum est (illusterrime idemque absolutissime uir) ut si res digna uidebitur inuentis manibus, tuo permissionis assensu, iisdem hac frui liceat. aut secus. Opto tibi omnia eximiis tuis uirtutibus digna. Raptim ex officina typographica. Tuus ad omnia obsequia addictus I. Foxus.

Honourable sir, greetings. I have often been much wearied by a variety of appeals from friends that I should show those who now in their mature years are beginning to engage with good letters some compendious way of passing to the first rudiments of grammar. For there are many of this sort who have spent their years thus far without letters and now pursue that which they have lost with an earnestness as great as the emphasis with which they bemoan their lack of knowledge. In this matter, although there is no doubt that that grammar which is widely available in published form might amply suffice, yet years like theirs need some easier thread to guide them, and I saw clearly that that grammar did not have such an arrangement as conduces to memory or such brevity as conduces to speed on the part of the learner. It seemed a good idea to use that grammar, which I follow constantly as a pointer, to outline a tabular series of the material in which whoever pleases to apply his mind to this language will be able more easily to understand the order and arrangement of almost anything. For since there is almost no language which does not have its tables, whether one looks at Hebrew or at Greek letters, I have thought it particularly fitting that Latin letters should not be cheated of their own description, especially since we are not introducing a new grammar but simply reducing the old one to tabular form, except that on the way we have added a few small things which seemed desirable to complete the earlier work. We have entrusted judgement and criticism of the project to a number of most learned men, including particularly Leonard Coxe whose views in this matter are especially choice. Now, since it is perhaps safe to publish something of this kind without the consent of my superiors, it seemed right to appeal for your support here, most illustrious and most distinguished Lord, so that, if the project seems worthy of the hands it has found, those same

²⁴ Additional MS 34727, West Papers Vol. I, fol. 2.

hands may, with your consent and agreement, have the use of it, or not. I desire for you everything worthy of your outstanding virtues. In haste from the printer's workshop. Yours to command in every duty, John Foxe.

17. Letter from John Foxe in London to Peter Delaenus January 1554²⁵

1. Salutem et gratiam in christo domino mi petre iterum atque iterum charissime. Quantum me impotens animi dolor a scribendi labore retrahit, tantum rursus singularis tuus candor ac summa pietatis officia in me prestita ad agendas gratias excitarunt, ut cum nihil neque officiosius debeam, nec lubentius queam suscipere, idem tamen nihil fere animo magis inuito aggressus sum. Quo minus defuturam hic ueniam tuam spero, si hanc officii partem in agendis gratiis, quas tu tam studiose promeritus sis, ego minus accurate exequar. Id alias fortasse (uolente christo) expectabis opportunius, in praesentia satis erit hac qualicunque salutatiuncula te uelut classico extimulare ad rescribendum. quod ut facias quam citissime etiam atque etiam te rogo.

2. In primis me precibus tuis adiutes quaeso apud christum. in quo obnixissime te obtestor ac hortor ut rem grauiter agas, omnino quod possis, posito hominis metu. quandoquidem huc res rediit tua ut cum sanguine²⁶ duntaxat ac carne tibi pugna sit, minimum sane hic esse existimo quod metuas. Vtinam ita res ferret, ut non solum laborum sed et periculorum tuorum queam esse particeps. Interim mi Petre ita in periculis sis audax ut²⁷ in audacia sis prouidus quatenus permittit officii condicio, sicque labores, ut diu etiam labores in domino. Nec dubium quin laboribus tuis qui te huc excitauit pariter adfuturus sit, qui tragicos hos rerum humanarum tumultus in laetiores aliquam Τὴν μεταβόλην uersurus sit breui spero. sed tum breuissime quum humana spes deficit maxime. Dominus iesus perpetuis fidei ac gratiae suae auctibus irriget pectora nostra, qui adolescentiam tuam ac labores tueatur ac sospitet in omnibus.

Tuus J. Foxus.

Addressed:
Fratri et Amico
singulari Petro

Endorsed, evidently in the handwriting of Peter Delaenus:
Acceptae prid[i]e
Calendas Februar-
rii.

18. Address to the Nobles, c. March 1554²⁸

1. Frequens hic per omnium ora ac aures iactatur non suspicio modo, sed constans certissimaque praedicatio, id uos, summi sanctissimique patres, moliri, ut sanguinariae leges illae *Sex Articulorum* titulo inscriptae, quondam bene sopitae, nunc demum uelut ex orco reuocentur ad superos. Quod si uerum sit, quam uobis plausibile, ac quibusdam sit gratum, ignoro;

1. Greetings and grace in Christ the Lord, my dear Peter, again and again most esteemed. As much as my uncontrollable pain of heart drags me away from the work of writing, so much again have your singular candour and outstanding duties of piety displayed towards me encouraged me to give you thanks, so that whereas there is nothing that I ought more dutifully or am able more willingly to undertake, yet even I have tackled almost nothing with a more unwilling heart. This makes me the less expect that your pardon will be lacking here, if I carry out less minutely this part of my office in giving you the thanks, which you have so studiously merited. On another occasion you will perhaps (Christ willing) look forward more opportunely to that office, but for the present it will be sufficient with this little greeting of sorts to encourage you as if by the trumpet call to write back. I ask you over and over again to do this as quickly as possible.

2. In particular I beseech you before Christ to assist me with your prayers. In the which I beg and urge you most earnestly to attend to the matter zealously, as you certainly can, laying aside the fear of men. Since your circumstances have come down simply to a battle with flesh and blood, there is surely very little in my view which you have to fear. If only it may turn out that I may share not only in your labours but also in your dangers. Meanwhile, my dear Peter, may you be bold in your dangers but cautious in your boldness, as far as the situation of your office permits, and may you so labour that you may also labour long in the Lord. There is no doubt that he who has inspired you up to now will equally be present in your labours and I hope that he will soon transform these tragic upheavals in human affairs into some happier turn of events. But then most swiftly when human hope is most wanting. May the Lord Jesus nourish our hearts with everlasting increase of his trust and grace, may he guard your youth and labours, and may he preserve you in all things.

Your John Foxe

Addressed:
To my Brother and excellent friend
Peter

Endorsed:
Received 31 January

²⁵ J. H. Hessels, (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).

²⁶ Eph. vi. 12.

²⁷ MS. *etiam* after *ut*, but crossed out.

²⁸ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 123r-v.

certe, quam reipublicae funestum ac ominosum sit futurum, satis iam pridem declarat publicus maeror, tristissima rerum fere humanarum ac luctuosa facies, optimi cuiusque gemitus; nec tacita solum suspiria, sed ubertim ex doloris acerbitate prorumpentes lachrimae, quotidiana bonorum fuga, totius denique reipublicae (si tamen respublica aliqua sit) squallor, ut interim taceam conscientiarum occulta indicia ac uulnera, in omnibus fere horror, in nonnullis etiam funera ac mortes ex rerum perturbatione contractae.

2. Quae si calamitates tot tantaeque quidem illae, quantas uix in ulla unquam republica conspeximus, ex concepta rerum imagine atque recordatione duntaxat ipsa ciues adeo perstringunt uestros, quid uos futurum tandem existimatis, suspiciendi domini, exhibitis iam rebus ipsis, ubi in exhibendis tanta sit trepidatio? ubi intollerabilis ipse legum rigor, et acutissima acies ceruicibus iam incumbit ciuium? ubi tot milia hominum non uitae libertatem, quam iam amiserunt, sed uitam ipsam cogentur deserere? Nec iam uita, sed et conscientia etiam erepta hominibus; – ne Deo quidem supplicare licebit pro arbitrato suo, sed ad libidinem paucorum. Quae quum ita sint, uel deteriora etiam quam a me referri queant, considerabit prudentia uestra quae documentis nostris non eget, quid pro communi salute rerum consilia uestra potissimum flectenda sint.

3. Haec etenim iam ipsa aguntur tempora quibus uobis iam in manu situm est, foelices nos uelitis, an perditos. Si tam uilem habeatis ciuium uestrorum sanguinem: – si nihil uos moueant tot hominum gemitus, quaerelae, lachrimae, bonorum miseriae, si parum sit uobis una ab iisdem legibus accepta clades: – age denuo reuocetur Troianus equus in urbem, quo soli, uel cum paucis, regnum hoc possideatis! Sin uero ulla subit animos uestros reipublicae charitas, si quod patriae studium maneat, si quid preces nostrae, si quid bonorum supplices manus, si quid denique reipublicae, si quid ecclesiae christianae (quam aduolutam genibus uestris existimetis) flebilis quaerela ualeat, efficite modo, pii proceres, pro summa pietate, ut pluris sit apud uos salutis publicae conseruatio, quam priuata quorundam sollicitatio, nec quid possit pro imperio autoritas, sed quid aequitas potius ciuibus debeat uestra, uelitis considerare.

4. Nihil enim in omni officiorum genere fieri aequius arbitror, quam ut quorum uos patria patres conscripsit ipsa, eos in filiorum loco ascitos tueamini, quique suam ad uos omnem reuerentiam ac dignitatis authoramentum transferunt, iidem a uobis salutis ac tranquillitatis uicissim accipiant suae incolumitatem. Quod si communis patriae respectus uos minus attingat, at quid uobis ipsis dignum, quid generosa ac heroica sanguinis uestri nobilitas tacito quodam sensu uobis suggerat, attendite. Nam quum inter humanos omnes affectus nil sit tam hominis proprium quam clementia, qua diuinae naturae imaginem maxime referre uel infimi etiam uidentur homines; quid tum a uobis expectari conuenit, illustrissimi heroes, qui quo sublimiorem honoris in his terris gradum sortiti estis, hoc expressius supremo huic imaginis diuinae archetypo respondere omnibus modis decet? Porro, habetis ad hoc reginam, ut nobilissimam, ita ad sana et salubria quaeque obsequacem principem. Habetis et cancellarium, ut doctrina praestabili, ita natura non improbum, si quorundam absint consilia.

from hell to heaven. If this be true, I do not know how worthy of applause it will be to you, and how pleasing it will be to certain people; to be sure, how mournful and ominous it will be for the state has for a long time now been sufficiently declared by the public grief, the very sad and sorrowful appearance for the most part of human affairs, the groans of all the best men, and not only silent sighs, but also tears pouring out in floods in the bitterness of grief, the daily flight of good men, in short the squalor of the whole commonwealth (if there is still a commonwealth): to say nothing in the meantime about hidden judgments and wounds of consciences, in the case of nearly all men there is horror, in the case of some even funerals and deaths brought about as a result of the disorder of affairs.

2. If these calamities (and they are as many and as great as we have scarcely ever seen in any state), are taking hold of your citizens to such an extent from the conceived image and very recollection itself simply of events, what do you think will happen, I ask you, esteemed Lords, if and when the deed is actually done when there is such great alarm at the doing of it? when the very unbearable inflexibility of the laws and the most sharp point of the sword now lie on the necks of the citizens? when so many thousands of people will be forced to abandon not just the freedom of life, which they have already lost, but life itself? It is not just life now, but even conscience also which has been stolen from people; nor indeed will anyone be permitted to pray even to God in accordance with his own free-will, but at the caprice of a few individuals. Since these matters are so, or even worse than can be mentioned by me, your good sense which does not need our proofs will consider what direction your counsels for the common safety of things ought especially to take.

3. For now is the very time when it is for you to determine whether you want us to be happy or ruined. If you regard the blood of your citizens as of so little value: – if you are in no way moved by the groans, the complaints and the tears of so many men, the miseries of good men, if one disaster received from the same laws is too little for you: – come now, let the Trojan horse be recalled afresh into the city, by which you alone, or with a few people, may take possession of this kingdom! But if indeed any love for the state comes into your minds; – if any enthusiasm for your country remains; – if there is any power in our prayers, in the suppliant hands of good people, in short in the tearful complaint of the state, of the Christian church (which you may suppose to have been grovelling at your knees²⁹); – only make sure, pious nobles, as befits your great piety, that you value the conservation of the public safety is worth more to you than the private soliciting of certain people; and that you are willing to consider not what influence your authority can do for the vested powers, but rather what your just conduct owes to the citizens.

4. For I think that nothing is done more fairly in every type of duty than that you should protect those whose very country conscripted you as its senators, adopting them in the place of sons, and that the same people who are transferring all their respect and the weight of their authority to you should in turn receive from you the security of their own safety and tranquillity. But if the common respect for your country affects you the less, yet pay heed to what is worthy of you yourselves, what the honourable and heroic nobility of your blood supplies to you with a certain quiet understanding. For since among all human affections nothing is as characteristic of man as clemency, by which even the lowest of men seem especially to reflect the image of the divine nature, what then is it appropriate to expect of you, most illustrious heroes, who as you have attained a higher rank of honour so you ought the more clearly to correspond in all ways to this supreme archetype of the divine image? Furthermore, you have in addition a queen who is a prince both most noble and obedient to all that is sound and serviceable. You also have a chancellor who, just as he is distinguished in learning, so he

²⁹ For very similar expressions, cf. Velleius Paterculus, 2.80; Livy, VIII, 37; Livy XXVIII, 34.

is not perverse by nature, provided only that the counsels of certain people are absent.

5. Verum ut inter animantium genera, quaedam noxia, alia ad hominum usus, creata existunt: rursus sunt, quae in hoc tantum dicas nata, ut reliquis molestiam ac perniciem moliantur: sic, in humanis rebus, nulla respublica nec uitae genus est, quod suas non habet uomicas et κακοβούλους. Atque hi sunt potissimum, qui relligione praeposteri, natura saeui, alteri ecclesiae, alteri reipublicae exitiales existunt. Quibus quum bene esse non possit nisi perturbatis rebus, turbam, quantum queant, intendunt ad saeuitiam; mitissimos principum animos, hoc est reipublicae fontes, uitiant; consilia instillant, non quae honesto, sed quae uentri suo ac quaestui seruiant: simile quiddam exercentes in humanis rebus, quale Ate tribuit Homeric narratio. Deinde quo tutius laedunt³⁰ sub umbra nobilitatis ac aulae se occultunt, quo si quid adueniat aduersi, se postremo feriat: si quid boni sit, ipsi primi sint ad carpendam messem. Et quoniam iuxta imperitorum legem nihil his recte fieri uidetur, nisi quod ipsi faciunt, ad arbitratum suum uniuersam religionem, cum ipsa Scriptura, corrigendam putant. Quicquid ipsis non placet haereticum est. Nil eis placere potest, quod non ilico alba amussis sit quantumlibet a scopo alienum.

5. But just as among the different types of living creatures there are some which are harmful and others which are created for man's needs, while again there are those which you may say are born only for this, that they strive for trouble and destruction for the rest: so, in human affairs, there is no commonwealth or type of life, which does not have its own plagues and ill advisers. And there exist in particular these who are perverted by religion and savage by nature, and are fatally destructive, the one party to the church, the other to the state. Since there can be no benefit for these people unless things are in chaos they are directing the mob, as far as they can, into violence; they are damaging the very gentle minds of our princes, that is the fountains of the state; they are instilling suggestions, not to serve the good, but to serve their belly and profit, exercising the sort of thing in human affairs that the Homeric narrative attributes to Ate. Then in order that they may the more safely do their harm they conceal themselves under the shadow of their nobility and the palace, so that if anything adverse arrives it may strike them last, but if anything good occurs they may themselves be the first to reap the harvest. And since in accordance with the law of the inexperienced it seems to these men that nothing is happening correctly except what they themselves are doing, they think that all religion, together with Scripture itself, should be brought into line with their own thinking. Whatever does not seem right to them is heretical. Nothing can satisfy them that is not instantly a white rule,³¹ however alien it is from the target.

19. *Commentarii* of 1554: Dedication and Opening of Book I³²

Original Dedication (Thomas Howard?)

Opening paragraph (original manuscript text)³³

Cum tot hodie ubique passim reperiuntur ~~scriptores et~~ summo ingenio ~~[...]~~^a facundi scriptores, qui in gentium urbium ac populorum historiis describendis, rebusque suae cuiusque patriae exornandis ~~amplificandisque~~^b sunt delectati, miror profecto in tanta copia ac industria hominum τῶν ιστορουντων, tam paucos habere ecclesiam christi qui res suas gestas in historiam redactas ac stratagemata in luce prodita in admirationem imo utilitatem potius^c hominum consecrare uelint. praesertim quum tot^d nominibus illustriora sunt quae hic geruntur^e in ecclesia quia uel ab a principe et autore^f deo profecta, quam quae ab hominibus^g ~~nee paulo uberiorem~~ dicendi seseque explicandi materiam ~~sane maiorem~~ apud

Original Dedication (Thomas Howard?)

Opening paragraph (revised text)³⁴

Cum tot hodie passim reperiuntur summo ingenio parisque facundie scriptores, qui in gentium urbium ac populorum historiis describendis, rebusque suae cuiusque patriae exornandis [. . .] sunt delectati, miror profecto in tanta copia ac industria hominum τῶν ιστορουντων, tam paucos habere ecclesiam christi qui res suas gestas in historiam redactas ac stratagemata in luce[?] prodita in admirationem uel utilitatem potius hominum consecrare uelint. praesertim quum tot nominibus illustriora sint quae hic geruntur ecclesia mirabilis administratio, qui in humana quacunque in ecclesia quia uel(?) a principe et autori quantumuis alioqui illa [. . .] poli[. . .]a comperiet(?) deo profecto, quia quae ab hominibus [

³⁰ This should read *laedant*.

³¹ Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* I.5.88.

³² Note that there are two separate dedications, a manuscript version in BL Lansdowne MS 335 and a printed version in J. Foxe, *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum . . . Liber primus* (Strassburg: Rihelius, 1554), consulted in a microfilm copy supplied by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, call number 8^o F 7 Th.Seld.

³³ BL Lansdowne MS 335.

³⁴ See note 22 for full bibliographical details of the printed text.

lectores^h fructum ~~inueniet~~ⁱ quisquis in hoc tractandi genere
elaborare non grauabitur.

. .] ut summa dicendi lectoribus fructum properat, quisquis in
hoc tractandi genere laborare non grauabitur.

^a parisque inserted above.

^b labore inserted above.

^c potius inserted above.

^d quotidie nobis offerre inserted above.

^e ecclesia mirabilis administratio, quam in humana quacunque
inserted above.

^f quantumuis alioqui [. . .] spectabili policia [. . .] comperimus
inserted above.

^g quae ut summa inserted below.

^h lectoribus inserted above.

ⁱ asserant(?) inserted above.

Printed Dedication

(Christopher Württemberg)³⁵

Opening paragraph (Sigs. a ii – a iii)

1. In ea nunc tempora incidimus, ut mus in picem
(Christophore Germanici nominis non infimum decus) ut
mirificum quendam, prorsusque supra humanam foelicitatem,
se artificem praestet oportet, qui monendo, aut scribendo,
quicquam hodie opis adferre possit, rebus sic undique
exulceratis. Vusque adeo uniuersae Reipub. Christianae
partes, nescio quo pacto in δυσκρασίαν quandam infoelicem, ac
immedicabilem inciderunt, sic per omnes uenas, ac
abditissimam corporis medullam se spargente contagio, ut
uicta iam humana medicina, solum in supremi medicini
misericordia sita esse res uideatur.

1. We have now fallen on such times, as the mouse came into
the pitch, when the artificer must show himself to be someone
extraordinary and utterly beyond human misfortune, who by
advising or by writing can bring some help today to things that
have been everywhere made so much worse. To such an extent
have the factions of the Christian state by some pact or other
fallen into an unfortunate and incurable δυσκρασίαν ('bad
temperament'), with the infection thus spreading itself
throughout all the veins and most hidden marrows of the body,
in such a way that human medicine has now been defeated and
the matter seems to be sited only in the pity of the medicine of
the supreme being.

Sigs. A i – B iii

1. 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

1. Although it is generally agreed that before the time of
Wycliffe there were some, whom the holy spirit has never
ceased continually to arouse in our Churches, who laboured in
the same cause and struggle as our countryman Wycliffe to
remove the errors of our age which are daily growing
stronger. In this varied collection of people are recorded in
the memorials of history Berengarius in the time of the

³⁵ J. Foxe, *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum, maximarumque, per totam Europam, persecutionum, à Vuicleui temporibus ad hanc usque aetatē descriptio. Liber primus ... Hiis in calce accesserunt Aphorismi J. Vuicleui, cum collectaneis quibusdam, R. Pecoki Episcopi Cicastrensis, etc* (Strassburg: Rihelius, 1554). The text of this work was taken from a microfilm copy of the original book in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, marked 8^o F 7 Th.Seld.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

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 coepisse exordia uidetur uniuersum hoc persecutionis incendium.

2. Post hos igitur, quos modo commemorauimus diuinis auspiciis in harenam prosiliit magnus ueritatis antistes I. Vuicleuus insignis Theologus, nec minus in omni philosophiae genere exquisite uersatus. Quod non solum ex doctissimis illius scriptis, ac diatribis, sed ex Vualdeni etiam acerrimi ipsius antagonistae confessionem elucet, qui in epistola ad pontificem Martinum 5. se supra modum ait obstupuisse ad assertiones eius praegrandes, et ad autoritatum loca taxata cum uehementiis rationum, sic enim Vualdenus. Ex iis qui rerum seriem ac tempora obseruarunt, constat hunc effloruisse Vuicleuum, circa annum 1371. principatem apud nos Edouardo 3. Sic etenim ex G[ulielmo] Caxtono in Chronicis legimus.

3. Anno, inquit, 1371. Rex Edouardus Anglorum tertius in suo parlamento aduersabatur clero: Haereticorum uoces libenter audiuit, cum quibusdam e suo consilio: Et sinistras opiniones sequebatur aduersus clerum: Propterea fortunam ex tunc aduersam sensit. Et mox, Anno Domini. 1372. ad Romanum inquit pontificem scripsit, ne amplius intromittat aliquo modo in suo regno de beneficiorum reseruatiōibus, et distributionibus, ut etiam episcopi sui gaudeant libertate pristina, et confirmentur a suis metropolitanis, ut olim retroactis temporibus etc. Tantum ille. Caeterum de articulo annorum non est quod haec curiositas magnopere nos habeat anxios. Illud modo est extra omnem ambiguitatem, in corruptissimo rerum hominumque statu, pariter ac deploratissimis religionis tenebris, in lucem hunc prodiisse, in quem recte id competere potest, quod de Simone quondam Oniae filio proferebat Ecclesiasticus. Quasi stella matutina erat in medio nebulae, et quasi luna plena in diebus suis et quasi sol refulgens effulsit in templo Dei.

4. Hunc itaque in modum rebus desperatis perpetuo succurrit Deus, semper adiutor in opportunitate, iuxta psalmi uaticinium. Id nunquam dilucidius quam in uergente hac Ecclesiae senecta, hoc est postremis huius mundi temporibus eminuit, in quibus tam deprauatus rerum humanarum tum maxime religionis status uidebatur, ut sicut apud medicos lethargus, nihilo secus apud theologos, res haec omnem humanam medelam exierat. Solum Christi nomen remansit apud Christianos, at Christi uera ac efficax doctrina tam erat plerisque ignota, quam illius nomen receptum omnibus. De fide, de consolatione, de fine et usu legis, de Christi officio, de nostra impotentia, de spiritu, de peccati latitudine, de uera operum perfectione, de gratia ac gratuita Christiani hominis iustificatione et libertate, in quibus ceu cardine, summa nostrae professionis uertitur, nulla tradebatur mentio.

5. Theologia ad paucos atque intra scholas redacta ad arguitas delapsa est. Pro Paulo, pro Petro Aquinas ac Scotus successit in manus hominum. Mundus relicto spirituali euangelicae philosophiae uigore ad externas ceremonias ac humanas traditiunculas totus obstupuit. In his omnes fere constituebantur Christianae perfectionis numeri, ex his omnis pendebat consequendae salutis fiducia, his ita omnia tribuebantur, ut uix aliud in templis conspiciebatur, in concionibus tractabatur, in uita agitabatur, praeter umbraticas quasdam ceremoniis cumulas, nec unquam cumulandi finis. Nihil populus colere docebatur, nisi quod uidebat, nihil fere uidens quod non colebat.

6. Ecclesia supra quam dici potest a Germana ac apostolica degenerans institutione nomen quidem retinuit, at rem amisit,

emperor Henry III in 1051 and John Scotus who removed the truth of the body and blood from the Sacrament, Bruno of Anjou, Okleus the second, the Waldensians, Marsilius of Padua, John of Gent, and Ockham, with some others from his school, yet since there are either not so many of these, or they are indeed obscure, we shall start the narrative with Wycliffe from whom this universal fire of persecution seems to have derived its first beginnings.

2. After these then, whom we have just mentioned, with divine auspices there leapt into the arena the great high priest of the truth John Wycliffe, the famous theologian, who was no less excellently skilled in every kind of philosophy. This is clear, not only from his most learned writings and discussions, but also from the admission of his most bitter enemy Walden, who in a letter to Pope Martin V says that he was more than astonished at his very powerful assertions and the passages of the authorities he had appraised together with the strength of his reasoning. So Walden. From those who have observed the sequence and time of events it is agreed that this Wycliffe flourished around 1371 during the reign of Edward III. For this is what we read in the Chronicles of William Caxton:

3. 'In the year 1371 Edward III of England in his parliament was opposed to the clergy: he willingly listened to the voices of heretics, together with some of his Council, followed perverse opinions against the clergy, and therefore, after that, suffered ill fortune. And then in the year 1372 he wrote to the Bishop of Rome to say that he should no more send into his kingdom persons in any way concerned with the reservations and distributions of benefices, that also his bishops should enjoy their former freedom and be confirmed by their metropolitans, just as in times past etc.' That is what Caxton said. But with regard to the precise date in the years there is no reason why we should be very curious or anxious about this. This alone is beyond all doubt, in the most corrupt state of affairs among men, and equally in the most deplorable darkness of religion, that there stepped forward into the light this man, for whom what Ecclesiasticus said about Simon son of Onias can rightly be appropriate: Like the morning star in the middle of the cloud, like the moon being full in her days and like the glittering sun, he shone in the temple of God.

4. And so God continually helped him in this way in desperate circumstances, always a helper in an opportune time, according to the prophecy of the psalm. That never appeared more clearly than in this declining old age of the Church, that is in the latest times of this world, in which the conditions of human affairs and especially of religion seemed so depraved that, just as lethargy among the doctors, even so among theologians this matter has gone past all human remedy. Only the name of Christ remained among Christians, but the true and powerful teaching of Christ was as unknown to most people as his name was accepted by all. Of faith, of consolation, of the end and use of the law, of the office of Christ, of our incapacity, of the spirit, of the extent of our sin, of the true completion of works, of grace and the free justification and freedom of a Christian man, on which, like a hinge, the sum of our profession turns, no mention was made.

5. Theology came down to a few and within the schools it was reduced to logic chopping. Instead of Paul, instead of Peter, Aquinas and Scotus came in turn into the hands of men. The world, abandoning the spiritual strength of the learning of evangelical philosophy, was totally amazed at foreign ceremonies and little human traditions. In these almost all the divisions of Christian perfection were set, on these all assurance of gaining salvation depended, and to these all things were assigned, in such a way that scarcely any other thing was seen in the temples, was discussed in the meetings, was conducted in their lives, except certain secluded ceremonies all in a heap, and there was no end to the heaping up. The people were taught to worship nothing except what they saw, seeing almost nothing that they did not worship.

6. The Church degenerating beyond what can be said from the true and apostolic institution indeed kept the name, but lost the

plusquam in phalaraisimum collapsa, ubi Christi simplicitas ac paupertas in tyrannidem uersa est ac strepitum uitae. Pro dotibus apostolicis ac continuis laboribus ignauia et ambitio arripuit sacerdotes. Accedebant ad haec monachorum mille formae ac factiones, plane omnis superstitionis seminaria. Interim in Sacramentis quanta deprauatio, quam horrendi abusus irrepserunt, dum simulachra rerum ac symbola pro rebus ipsis colere, quaeque ad memoriam duntaxat sunt parata, eadem in adorationem conuertere cogebamur. Denique in religione Christiana nihil usquam sincerum, nec sanum, quod non aliqua admista uitiatat superstitione.

7. Tum quot laqueis, quot pedicis quotidie succrescentium ceremoniarum astringebantur ad libertatem redemptae conscientiae, ut minimum uideri poterat inter Christianismum et Iudaismum interesse, nisi quod Iudaeorum non paulo tolerabilior uisa est conditio. Ex fontibus nihil petebatur. Meris hominum decretis ac commentitiis ritibus, ceu naribus circumducebatur Christiana gens, quo uolebant pontifices, non quo uolebat Christus. Omnia erroribus ac tenebris conferta confusaque sunt. Nec mirum quum populus prophanus longe submotus a sacrariis mysticae scripturae, tantum ea haurire satis habuit quae a pastoribus tradebantur, nec quicquam fere tradebant ei, quod non e Roma profectum est, cuiusque pars aliqua tendebat ad quaestum sui ordinis.

8. Fides christiana nihil aliud putabatur, quam ut cuique persuaderetur, Christum aliquando passum, hoc est, ut omnes id scirent quod nec ignotum est daemonibus. Hypocrisis pro mira pietate habebatur. Adeo omnes affixi externis liturgiis ducebantur, ut uix aliud saperent uel ipsi etiam, qui absolutissimam sibi uendicabant huius philosophiae professionem. Quod nec in plebaeis solum doctoribus, sed et in summis Ecclesiae primoribus uidere licuit, quorum omnis fere religio clauderetur in diebus, in cibis, in uestibus, aut rhetoricis quibusdam circumstantiis locorum, rerum, ac personarum. Hinc tot uestiendi formae, tot colorum ac ciborum discrimina, tot locorum peregrinationes, quasi id agere Iacobus potuit Compostellae, quod non Christus posset Cantuariarum, aut non idem esset Deus ubique efficax, aut nisi pedibus quaesitus inueniri haud poterat.

9. Sic totius anni sanctimonia fere in quadragesimam transferebatur. Nulla terra sancta erat nisi Palestina, quam corporeis uestigiis calcavit 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 Reipublicae ditiones, operae precium fuerit relicta superiorum temporum monumenta perlegere. Perinde quasi parum constaret fides Euangelica lignea illa cruce destituta, nunquam destiterunt praesules Romani scribendo, monendo, expostulando, principum animos euocare ad belli materiam.

10. Hinc Ricardi inuictissimi regis facta in Hierosolimam expeditio, qui mox eodem captus itinere, ac Caesari deditus, uix triginta marcarum millibus redimi poterat. In eadem expeditione Fridericus Romanus Imperator augustissimae uirtutis, in amne submersus interiit anno 1189. Quin et Philippus Gallorum rex uix sine luculentis damnis in patriam incolumis rediit. Tanti erat sanctae urbis crucisque recuperatio. Haec una omnium oculos, omnium mentes ac deuotionem tenuit. perinde ac si nihil aliud, aut nusquam esset crux Christi, nisi quae esset Hierosolimis. Tanta huius erat temporis superstitione, quae nihil sapiebat, nisi quae externa fuerant. quum longe aliis rationibus, altioribus mysteriis ingreditur religionis nostrae professio.

11. Quid erat causae cur Vrbanus se dolore conficeret quod

substance, having more than fallen into tyranny, where Christ's simplicity and poverty have been turned into the despotism and din of life. Instead of apostolic gifts and continual labours laziness and ambition seized hold of the priests. Added to this were a thousand forms and factions of monks, plainly the breeding grounds for every superstition. Meanwhile what great depravity and horrifying abuses crept into the Sacraments, while we were being forced to worship the images and symbols of things in place of the things themselves, and to turn what had been prepared only as a memorial into a worship. Finally in the Christian religion nowhere was there anything sincere or pure which some admixture of superstition had not corrupted.

7. Then with how many snares and fetters of the daily increasing ceremonies were consciences which had been redeemed to liberty being bound, so that very little difference could be seen between Christianity and Judaism, except that the condition of the Jews seemed not a little more bearable. Nothing was sought from the sources. The Christian people were being led by their noses, as it were, by men's unadulterated decrees and fabricated rites, where the bishops wanted, not where Christ wanted. Everything was filled and confused with errors and darkness. It is not surprising since the common people, far removed from the sacred repositories of holy scripture, thought it sufficient to taste only what was delivered to them by their pastors, and the latter passed on almost nothing which had not set out from Rome: some part of which tended towards profit for their own order.

8. The Christian faith was thought to be nothing other than that each person be persuaded that Christ had once suffered, that is to say that all should know that which is also known to the devils. Hypocrisy was regarded as wonderful holiness. All were led so attached to outward liturgies that even those who claimed for themselves a most complete profession of this philosophy could scarcely understand any other thing themselves. One could see this not only in the common doctors but also in the top leaders of the Church, whose whole religion was almost confined to days, foods, vestments or certain rhetorical circumstances of places, events and persons. Hence there were so many forms of vestments, so many differences in colours and foods, so many pilgrimages to places, as if James at Compostella could do that which Christ could not do at Canterbury, or God did not have the same power everywhere, or could not be found except by being sought on foot.

9. In this way the holiness of the whole year was almost transported into Lent. No land was holy except Palestine, on which Christ walked with his corporeal footsteps. Everyone fought for the cross at Jerusalem, as for the only and very great citadel of our faith. As to what great disturbances, what great tragedies this has stirred in all dominions of the Christian commonwealth, it would be worthwhile to read the monuments left of earlier times. As if the faith of the Gospel could not hold without that wooden cross being sought, the Roman popes have never ceased, in writing, in warning, and in demanding, to stir the minds of princes to the matter of war.

10. This was the reason for the expedition made to Jerusalem by the most invincible King Richard, who was soon captured on that same journey and handed over to the emperor, and could scarcely be ransomed for thirty thousand marks. On that same expedition Frederick the Roman emperor, a man of the most excellent virtue, drowning in a river died in the year 1189. Also Philip the King of France returned safely to his homeland, but hardly without considerable losses. The recovery of the holy city and cross was worth so much. This one cross held the eyes, the minds and the devotion of all. As if there were no other thing than that, or that the cross of Christ were nowhere except in Jerusalem. So great was the superstition at that time, which understood nothing except the outward appearances, when the profession of our religion enters by far other reasonings and deeper mysteries.

11. What was the reason why Urban tormented himself with

Antiochia cum sancta cruce e manibus Christianorum amitteretur. Sic enim reperimus in annalibus, quod ubi Hierosolima cum rege Guidone et cruce Domini in Sultani potestatem redigeretur, Vrbanus rei grauitate nimium ictus, curae magnitudine occubuit, cui successit Albertus, qui Gregorius octauus dicitur, cuius instinctu receptum est a Cardinalibus, ut abiectis diuitiis et delitiis omnibus praedicarent crucem Christi et mendicando omnium primi acciperent crucem, aliosque praecederent in terram Ierusalem. Sic enim habent historiae uerba. Vnde haud obscure liquere potest non stupido lectori, in quantam crassitiem id temporis degenerauit spiritualis doctrinae Euangelicae cultus. Iam in hoc ipso primatu Romani pontificis quanta caecitas et caligo eadem haec inuoluit tempora? Quasi uero ad rem ipsam magnopere faceret Petri ac Apostolorum successio.

12. Quid refert in quo loco sedit aut non sedit Petrus? Magis id refert, ut quisque studeat pro uirili petri imitari confessionem. Atque hic demum mihi gnesius uidetur successor Petri, aduersus quem inferorum portae non praeualebunt. Quod, si in euangeliis Petrus typum gerit ecclesiae confitentis, quod omnium fere suffragiis receptum est, quid tum dementius, priuata usurpatione ad unum id astringere, quod tanta latitudine ad tam multos pateat. At finge Petrum cathedram fixisse Romae, finge idem fecisse Antiochiae, quid hic Petri locus faceret ad remissionem peccatorum, ad interpretationem scripturae, ad ligandi et soluendi clauis? Quae si non loci sed Spiritus Sancti sint opera ac fidei Christianae, nimis profecto inepte ad Romanam sedem eadem quasi intra parietes a nobis restringuntur: nisi nusquam sit fides, nusquam spiritus energia praeterquam Romae.

13. Quid illud retulerit, ubi Petrus inseruiebat suo Domino? Nobis id quaerendum potius, qua in re Petrus suo domino approbatus sit, aut quamobrem, ut nos ad idem brabium pariter, eademque uia, quatenus situm in nobis fuerit, enitamur. Quod si Petro singulare aliquod indultum a Christo priuilegium suspicamus, quod non idem caeteris item apostolis communicatum sit, idque ob priuatum aliquem hominis affectum, cuiusmodi multi in nobis dominantur affectiones, longe fallimur: Sin propter diuinam, sublimem, ac expeditam confessionem quam Petrus non solus, sed unus omnium nomine expresserat, iam non is qui in cathedram succedit Petri, illico exprimit fidem Petri, sed quisquis proxime exprimit Petri fidem, quacunque sedet cathedra, merito Petri successor habendus est, sicque successor est ut nihil tamen hinc humani splendoris ac gloriae corroget: Functio est, non gradus, Ministerium non magisterium apostolatus. Quemadmodum nec inter ipsos, opinor, apostolos ulla erat dignitatis, aut loci praeminentia, sed una omnes mente, eodem spiritu Domini non suum agebant negotium, sic ut qui minor inter ipsos foret, pluris haberetur apud Christum testem. Quocirca et horum successio laudem quidem apud Deum, apud mundum uero nullam dignitatem, emerebatur. Quo pacto enim ut praeclare apud Eusebium proconsuli respondet Polycarpus, cum mundanis, diuitiis, aut terreno fastigio cohaeret illorum professio, qui pro Christo omnia habent pro derelictis?

14. At horum temporum pontifices nescio qua ambitione ecclesiasticam functionem prorsus in mundanam politiam immutarint, ut quemadmodum princeps principi, ita pontifex pontifici iure haereditario in cathedram succedat, qui terrenis opibus, et satellitio, mundano more muniatur, quique sic sibi uendicat principatum, ut ad eum unum omnis rerum potestas ac summa redeat. Caeterarum ecclesiarum nihil ualebant pastores, nisi quantum ab ipso permittebatur. Solus hic non

grief because Antioch with the holy cross was lost from the hands of the Christians? For so we find in the annals, that when Jerusalem together with King Guido and the cross of the Lord was brought into the power of the Sultan, Urban was stricken by the gravity of the situation so that he died because of the greatness of his concern. He was succeeded by Albert,³⁶ who is called Gregory VIII, at whose instigation it was accepted by the Cardinals that, setting aside all their riches and all their pleasures, they would publicly proclaim the cross of Christ and in asking for alms they would first of all take up the cross and go before the others into the land of Jerusalem. These are the words of the history. From this it can be evidently clear to the sensible reader into what a great mist spiritual reverence for the doctrine of the Gospel degenerated at that time. Already in this very primacy of the Bishop of Rome how great was the blindness and the fog which enveloped these times, as if indeed the succession of Peter and the Apostles was of great importance to that very matter.

12. What does it matter in which place Peter sat or did not sit? It matters more that everyone should strive to their utmost to imitate the confession of Peter. And indeed this man seems to me to be the true successor of Peter, against whom the gates of hell will not prevail. But if the Peter in the gospels portrays the type of the professing Church, which is accepted by the opinions of almost all, what then can be more foolish than through private usurpation to bind to one man that which with such breadth lies open to so many? But let it be that Peter did establish his chair in Rome, let it be that he did the same in Antioch, what could this place of Peter do for the remission of sins, for the interpretation of scripture, for the keys for closing and opening? If these be the works not of the place but of the Holy Spirit and of the Christian faith, surely the same are too foolishly bound by us to the see of Rome as if within its walls, unless there be faith and power of the spirit nowhere except Rome.

13. What did it matter where Peter served his Lord? We ought rather to ask in what respects Peter was approved by his Lord, or why, so that we may strive equally for the same reward, and as far as we are able in the same way. But if we suppose that some special privilege was granted by Christ to Peter, which was not likewise granted in the same way to the rest of the apostles, and that on account of some private affection for the man, many of which sort of affections reign among us, we are very mistaken. But if on account of a divine, sublime and ready confession which Peter had expressed not alone, but as one in the name of them all, now it is not the one who succeeds to the chair of Peter who instantly shows the faith of Peter, but whoever shows the faith of Peter the nearest, in whatever chair he sits, must be rightly regarded as Peter's successor, and he is his successor in such a way however that he collects no human splendour and glory from this, for the apostleship is an office, not a degree, a ministry, not a mastership. Just as among the apostles themselves, in my opinion, there was no pre-eminence of rank or position, but they all with one mind and with the same spirit went about the Lord's business, not their own, so that he who was the lesser among them was the more regarded before Christ as witness, where for the succession of these also deserved praise indeed before God, but in truth no rank before the world. As Polycarp excellently answered the proconsul, according to Eusebius, he asked: 'how can the profession of those who regard everything as forsaken for the sake of Christ agree with worldly riches or earthly rank?'

14. But the bishops of these times because of some ambition or other changed ecclesiastical ministry absolutely into a worldly policy, so that, just as prince succeeds prince, so bishop succeeds bishop in his chair by hereditary right, to be protected in a worldly manner with earthly wealth and a guard, and in this way to appropriate for himself the leadership, so that all the supreme power should come to him alone. The pastors of the rest of the Churches had no power,

³⁶ The 1563 version has Lambert here.

ecclesiis, sed et regnis praesidebat omnibus. Solus terrori erat cunctis. Caeteris Christi ministris parum aut nihil tribuebatur. Ab uno pendebant ac petebantur omnia. Nusquam erat excommunicandi ius, nusquam relaxandi autoritas, nusquam interpretaendi potestas, nisi in Romana basilica. In hac igitur tanta rerum perturbatione ac confusissimis ignorantiae tenebris, cum nulla propemodum scintilla relicta uideretur purioris doctrinae, exortus est diuinis auspiciis Vuicleus hic, in quo primum uoluit dominus mundum expergefacerere plus nimio humanarum traditionum somniis insepultum. Habetis igitur Vuicleui tempora. Nunc de conflictu ac concertationibus paucis accipite.

15. Cum ergo Ioannes hic iam diu Oxoniae sustinisset theologiae professionem, uidissetque ueram Christi theologiam tot pontificiis spurcitiis, tot monachorum sectis, tot errorum tenebris adulteratam, diu apud se deliberans ac deplorans, occulto gemitu publicam orbis inscitiam postquam diutius ferre non potuit, tandem succurrendum putauit rebus sic periclitantibus. Ac quoniam sine magna perturbatione uidebat tam periculosam camerinam tentari haud potuisse: nec subito reuelli posse, quae longa consuetudine iam inueterata omnium animis insederant, paulatim sibi hoc negotium tractandum existimauit, sicut ille e cauda equina pilos euulsit. Itaque a minutioribus exorsus, sic sibi aditum patefecit ad grandiora, ut primum in λογικοῖς ac metaphysicis tentarit aduersarios, disputans de ideois, de ampliacione temporis, ac esse intelligibili creaturae, aliisque id genus haud ita magni momenti subtilitatibus, quae tamen nonnihil praemunirent uiam de grauioribus disputaturo. In iis ergo determinauit I. Kenyngamus Carmelita aduersus Vuicleuum.

16. Ex his initiis factus est gradus ad altiora. tandem uentum ad Sacramentum eucharisticum, qua in re plurimum uir pius desudauit, publice in scholis adtestans, principalem esse suam ut (loquebatur) intentionem, ut in hac materia ecclesiam reuocaret ab idololatria. Atqui hoc ulcus tangi sine magno orbis dolore nequibat. Primum uniuersa monachorum ac mendicantium colluies in rabiem efferebatur, qui ceu crabrones aculeatis morsibus, miserum undique adorti sunt, ἐγχετ' ἑ ἀόρι τε, quod aiunt, pro suis dimicantes aris uel haris potius. Post hos tum sacerdotes, mox episcopi rem capescebant. postremo quum nec horum potentia satis ualere uidebatur aduersus prorumpentem ueritatem, ad fulmen pontificis tanquam ad triarios concursus est. Haec enim extrema esse anchora solet in istiusmodi procellis, ubi monachorum clamores, ac pharisaica improbitas parum proficiunt.

17. Aduersus hos igitur tam multos potentissimos aduersarios unus hic Vuicleus causam sustinuit Sacramenti satis faeliciter, tum ex diuinis literis, tum ex Doctorum autoritate, sed maxime uetustiorum. Nam recentiores, hoc est qui a mille Christi annis scripserunt hoc argumento reiecit, quod diceret post hosce annos solutum esse Satanam. Ex eo tempore magis obnoxiam esse erroribus humanam uitam: simplicissimam uigere in scripturis ueritatem: ad hanc amussim excutienda quaecunque humana sunt, tum potissimum quae recentioribus iis annis hominum commenta prodiderunt. Haecque causa est cur neotericos istos decretistas respuerat, tantum innixus scripturis ac priscis scriptoribus: Ex iis fortissime astruens in Sacramento corporis quod pane celebratur nequaquam consistere accidentia sine subiecto id est, non adesse Christum absque pane, quemadmodum uulgus id temporis sacrificulorum somniabat.

18. Quae autem illius fuerint argumenta, ne tam longa digressionem lectorem differamus, alio in libro tardius fortasse, at oportunius, Christo concedente, exequemur. Veritas hic

except only what was allowed by him. He alone presided over not only the Churches but also the kingdoms. He alone was a source of terror to all. Very little or no regard was paid to the rest of Christ's ministers. All things depended on him and all things were sought of him. Nowhere was there the right to excommunicate, nowhere authority to release, nowhere the power to interpret, except in the basilica in Rome. And so in these greatly disturbed circumstances and very confused darkness of ignorance, when there seemed to be almost no spark of purer doctrine left, there rose up through God's providence this Wycliffe, in whom first the Lord wanted to awaken the world which had been buried utterly in the dreams of human traditions. And so you have the times of Wycliffe. Now hear in a few words of the conflict and controversies.

15. *When therefore this John had maintained the profession of theology now for a long time in Oxford, and had seen the true theology of Christ adulterated by so many filthy pontifical inventions, by so many sects of monks and the darkness of so many errors, for a long time thinking to himself and lamenting, with hidden groans at the public ignorance in the world, after he could bear it no longer, he finally thought that he must help matters that were in this sort of peril. And since he saw that such a dangerous meddling could not have been attempted without great trouble, and that what had been deep seated now in the minds of all through long usage could not suddenly be removed, he considered that he should tackle this business gradually, just as that man pulled out the hairs from the horse's tail. And so beginning with the smaller matters, he so made a way for himself to the greater ones, that at first he attacked his adversaries in logic and metaphysics, disputing with them about ideas, about the extending of time, about the intelligible substance of a creature, and about other such subtleties of no great importance, which however paved somewhat the way to future disputation on greater matters. In these then the Carmelite John Kenyngham maintained his thesis against Wycliffe.*

16. *From these beginnings the step was taken to higher matters. Finally it came to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in which matter the holy man exerted himself very greatly, testifying publicly in his lectures, that it was his principal intention (he said) in this matter to call the Church back from idolatry. But this sore could not be touched without great pain to the world. First all the dregs of the monks and begging (friars) were made wildly mad, who like hornets with their stinging bites attacked the poor man from all sides, with spear and sword, as they say, fighting for their altars, or rather for their pigsties. Then after them the priests, and next the bishops took up the matter. Lastly, when their power seemed not to have sufficient strength against the truth which was breaking out, there was a rush for the thunderbolt of the Bishop of Rome as though to the third rank. For this is usually their final anchor in storms of this kind, when the shouts of the monks and pharisaical wickedness achieves too little.*

17. *And so against so many very powerful enemies this Wycliffe alone pretty successfully maintained the cause of the Sacrament, both from God's scripture and from the authority of the Doctors, but particularly the most ancient ones. For the more recent ones – that is those who wrote after 1000 AD – he rejected, on the grounds that Satan had been free after these years. From that time he said that human life had been more liable to errors, that the most simple truth was vigorous in the scriptures: all human matters should be examined by this rule, especially those which published men's fabrications during these more recent years. And this is the reason why he had rejected these modern decretists, relying only on the scriptures and ancient doctors, most strongly asserting from these that in the Sacrament of the body which is celebrated with bread the accidents do not consist without the subject, that is that Christ is not there without the bread, just as the common priestlings dreamed at that time.*

18. *But what his arguments were, so as not to hold up the reader by such a long digression, we shall follow up later perhaps, but more opportunely, in another book, but more*

primum (ut uere apud comicum est) opidoquam magnum odium conciliauit Vuicleuo apud plerosque, at potissimum monachos, ac lautioris fortunae praesules, Caeterum praesidio regis Edouardi satis adhuc communitus aduersus horum morsus ac impetus uidebatur, quoad Rex uiueret. Quanquam et in huius postremo anno, comprahensus est Vuicleuus, per Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, instigante pontifice, atque ad silentium adactus praesente duce Lancastriae et D. Henrico Perseo. Ast iterum nactus hic procerum quorundam patrocina silentium hoc breui ruperat. Tandem ubi abreptus Rex, successit in habenas regni, Ricardus filius circa annum 1377. Cuius animum natura alioqui generosissimum, nunquam cessabat Gregorius pontifex, per literas, per episcopos, per bullas, sollicitare ad persequendum Vuicleuum, eiusque commitiones. Exemplar epistolae etiamnum extat ad Regem scriptae.

opportunely by the grace of Christ. Here first the truth gained Wycliffe exceedingly great hatred (as is rightly said by the comic poet) from most people, but especially the monks and bishops of wealthier fortune. However, with the protection of King Edward he seemed so far sufficiently defended against the bites and attacks of these men, as long as the King lived, although in the last year of his reign Wycliffe was arrested by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the instigation of the Pope, and driven to silence in the presence of the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Henry Percy. Yet this man having obtained the patronage of certain nobles broke this silence once more briefly. Finally, when the King died, his son Richard succeeded to the kingdom around the year 1377. Pope Gregory never stopped tempting his mind which was otherwise very generous by nature, through letters, bishops and bulls to persecute Wycliffe and his companions. A copy of a letter which he wrote to the King is still extant.

**20. Commentarii of 1554: Second extract:
The Story of Robert Riggs, Vice-Chancellor,
Hertford and Philip Repington.³⁷**

Sigs. E vii – F iii

1. Ac de Herfordo et Repyngtono supra insparsimus quaedam. Nunc hic locus admonet, ut historiam altius pleniusque repetitam persequamur. Quanquam ne hic quidem satis licebit indulgere prolixitati. Non enim locos tractamus communes, sed catalogum scribimus, ubi de omnibus potius quam omnia dicendum sit. Herfordus ergo hic quum diu fauebat fouebatque Vuicleui partes, primum in suspicionem uenit apud aduersarios, mox ubi liberius profiteri coeperat quaedam, quae ad defensionem Vuicleui tendebant. Hinc infestiores iam illi, Carmelitae ac religiosorum ordines redditi, non paucas impegerunt haereses ex ipsius excerptas sermonibus, ac in certam formam per notarios redactas, opera cuiusdam Petri Stokisei carmelitae: ut hoc hominum genus semper ad lites ac clamores accinctum est, quasi uni huic officio natum, alioqui prorsus inutile. Huiusmodi quiddam de araneorum natura tradunt physiologi, quod hae quicquid sit in herbis laetiferum, exugunt, ac in uenenum conuertunt. At cucullones isti hoc nomine omnes araneas antecedunt, qui non solum, quod in homine est pessimum uenantur, ac rodunt, sed ex opinionibus ὀρθοδοξίας, schismata conficiunt, ac haereses. Tanta est artis procliuitas, natura ubi adiuuat.

1. Of Hertford and Repington we have made some mention above. Now this place advises us to follow up what has been said in more depth and detail, although not even here shall we be allowed to be long winded. For we are not dealing with commonplaces but are writing a catalogue where we must speak of everything but not say everything about it. And so this Hertford, after he had for a long time favoured and supported Wycliffe's part, came into his enemies' suspicion, first when he began rather too freely to profess certain things which tended towards the defence of Wycliffe. At this the Carmelites and other religious orders became quite hostile towards him and pressed upon him not a few heresies which they had picked out from his sermons and had been compiled into a definite form by secretaries, through the efforts of Peter Stokes, a Carmelite: a man of this kind is always ready for disputes and arguments, as if born only for this purpose, but otherwise quite useless. Physiologists write something of this kind about the nature of spiders, that, whatever there is in herbs which brings pleasure, they suck it out and turn it into poison. But those hooded ones surpass all spiders on this account, for they hunt and gnaw not only at what is the worst in a man, but out of orthodox opinions they make schisms and heresies. So great is the proclivity of art, when nature assists it.

2. Demum anno 1382 euenit ut Nicolao publice in Coemiterio Fridesuidae sermocinandum esset ad plebem, festum erat assensionis. Hic iterum Herfordo noua intentantur schismata, quod publicitus Vuicleuum tueri ausus sit: uirum fidum, bonum ac innocentem. Iamque appetebat festum Corporis, quo die, ut diximus, expectabatur Repyngtoni concio. Erat hic canonicus Licestrensis, iamque primum gradum fecerat ad Doctoratum, quo tempore concionem ad Braclenses quandam habuit, ob quam pharisaeis inuisus, suspectusque reddebatur. Caeterum ob ingenii niueum quendam, quem omnibus ubique prae se tulit, cum pari comitatum modestia, candorem, uel superauit, uel temperauit certe hanc Nemesin: moxque in Doctoratum publica theatri approbatione adoptatus est. Qui simulatque iam sumpta Doctoris persona, in scenam tandem, fabulam saltaturus, prodiit: coepit protinus bene caelatum ac dissimulatum ingenium prodere, publice attestatus, Vuicleuum se in omni materia morali defensurum. De re uero sacramentaria Pythagorisare uelle, donec Dominus afflasset cleri animos.

2. At length in the year of our Lord 1382 it happened that Nicholas was to preach openly to the people in the churchyard of St. Frideswide on Ascension Day. Here again they began to attack Hertford with new schisms, because he dared publicly to defend Wycliffe, a faithful good and innocent man. Now the feast of Corpus Christi was approaching, on which day, as we have said, a sermon was expected from Repington. This man was a canon of Leicester, and had already taken his first step towards a Doctorate, at which time he preached a particular sermon at Brodegates on account of which he became hated and suspected by the pharisees. But owing to the sort of brilliance of intellect, which he everywhere displayed to all, accompanied by a similar modesty, he either overcame or at least checked this Nemesis: soon he was admitted to his Doctorate by public approbation of the theatre. As soon as he had assumed his role as a Doctor, he finally came forward on the stage to play his part and immediately began to show what he was thinking, which had been well hidden and disguised; he publicly confirmed that he would defend Wycliffe in all moral matters. But concerning the Sacrament he wished to imitate Pythagoras, until the Lord had inspired the minds of the clergy.

³⁷ Bibliographical details as in the previous extract.

3. Hunc ergo Babylonii, quum breui concionaturum intellexerant, subuertentes ne ulcera religionis non satis ciuilitate perfricaret, cum Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi egerunt, ut hoc ipso die, sub concione Philippi, in publico totius collectae uniuersitatis consessu, conclusiones Vuicleui, priuatim condemnatae, publice diffamarentur. Satis astutum commentum, siquid tamen humana astutia polleret aduersus consilium Domini. Breuiter. Data res est Pet. Stokyse. Hic triarius erat pseudosacerdotum miles, ac unicus gallinae filius albae.

4. Simulque datae literae ad cancellarium uti is patrocinio suo adesset Petro in publicandis conclusionibus. Cancellarius erat hoc tempore, (ut praediximus) Rob. Ryggaeus, qui occulte, sed sedulo, quicquid potuit, adnitebatur in promouenda euangelii causa. Is acceptis Archiepiscopi literis, simul intellecta Carmelitae impia molitione, maiorem in modum exacerbatus est in fraterculum, exostulans cum eo, suique similibus, nec immerito, de perturbato uniuersitatis statu, quodque per eos priuilegia ac immunitates huius scholae eneruari diceret: affirmans, nec Episcopo nec Archiepiscopo super uniuersitatem illam imperium, ne in haeresis quidem actione futurum. Demum habita deliberatione, Cancellarius cum procuratoribus, aliisque regentibus, et non regentibus, aperte nec dissimulanter dictitabat, nullo se pacto Carmelitae in hoc negocio affuturum. Quid multis? Conscendit ad concionem Philippus. Vbi inter caetera haec praecipue sutorio atramento notata sunt. Quod assereret Dominos temporales debere prius recommendari in sermonibus quam papam, uel episcopos. Deinde quod dux Lancastriae multum hac in causa afficeretur, uelletque istiusmodi quoscunque in clientelam complecti: praeter alia quae in Vuicleui laudem ac defensionem attingebantur.

5. Exacta demum concione Philippus se in ecclesiam Fridesuidae recepit, stipatus amicis quibusdam (utque inimici insimulabant) tecte sub uestibus ab armatis. Carmelita metu martyrii, non ausus prorepere, sese intra templi asylum continuit. Cancellarius et Philippus in aedis prostibulo sese excipientes suauiter, dimissa concione, recesserunt ad sua. Nec parua inde laetitia per totam academiam ex ea concione consequuta est. Nec interim conquiescit irrequietus Carmelita, sed primum per commentaria totam rei gestae seriem Archiepiscopo exponit, sua pericula exaggerat, implorato ipsius subsidio, nihil praetermittens, quod Archiepiscopi animum satis sua natura efferuescentem, ceu oleo caminum posset excitare.

6. Ad haec post triduum ipse minas, ac haereses spirans, gladiatorio spiritu, uiam in scholas affectat, probaturus (si musis placet) papam et episcopos oportere ante dominos temporales recommendari. Haec dum magno conatu sed maiori risu agit in scholis frater de carmelo, ascitus per literas ad Archiepiscopum Londinum proficiscitur. Nec mora. Sequitur Cancellarius cum Brytuuello, purgaturus se, et suos, contra Petri criminationes. Examinati deinde de conclusionibus damnatis, consentiunt tandem, digne damnatas esse. Cancellarius uero de contemptu literarum accusatus, quum refellendo non erat, suppliciter flexis genibus ueniam petiit.

7. Quam demum opera (ut diximus) Vuitoniensis, licet aegre, quum exorasset, ac demum dimitterentur cum mandatis quibusdam, ac suspensione haereticorum, statim Philippo et Herfordo excommunicationis mandatum exponit. Illi mox ad Ducem Lancastriae confugiunt praesidii causa. Adsunt ilico pontificii, ueluti serpentes semper Christi insidiantes calcaneo.

3. And so when the Babylonians had realised that he was soon to preach his sermon, causing upset so that he should not scratch the sores of religion in a thoroughly rough manner, they arranged with the Archbishop of Canterbury that on this very day a little before Philip's sermon Wycliffe's conclusions, which had been condemned privately, should be defamed publicly in a public meeting of the whole university. A sufficiently cunning shift, if indeed any human cunning could prevail against the counsel of God. To be brief. The matter was entrusted to Peter Stokes. He was a third-rank soldier of the false priests and the only son of a white hen.

4. At the same time a letter was given to the Vice-Chancellor that he should be at hand for Peter with his patronage in publishing the conclusions. The Vice-Chancellor was at this time (as we said earlier) Robert Riggs, who privately, but assiduously, was striving, as far as he could, to promote the cause of the gospel. When he received the Archbishop's letter, and at the same time realised the wicked undertaking of the Carmelite, he was greatly exasperated with the little brother, not undeservedly finding fault with him and those like him, for having disturbed the public order of the university: he said that through them the privileges and liberties of this place of learning were being weakened, declaring that neither the bishop nor the archbishop had any authority over that university, nor indeed would they have in any action over heresy. Finally, after holding discussions, the Vice-Chancellor, with his proctors and other regents and non-regents, openly and without concealment asserted repeatedly that he would in no way assist the Carmelite in this business. To be brief, Philip went up to deliver his sermon, where among other things this was especially noted in shoemaker's black, that he declared that the Lords temporal should in sermons be commended in prayer before the Pope or bishops; then that the Duke of Lancaster was very much disposed to this cause and that he wished all those of that kind to be brought under his protection, besides many other things which related to the praise and defence of Wycliffe.

5. When the sermon was over, Philip went back into St. Frideswides Church, accompanied by some friends (and as his enemies suspected) protected by weapons under their vestments. The Carmelite, through fear of martyrdom, did not dare to creep forward but kept himself within the sanctuary of the church. The Vice-Chancellor and Philip, exchanging friendly greetings in the church porch, sent the congregation away and returned to their own homes. There followed then not a little joy throughout the whole university as a result of that sermon. But meanwhile the restless Carmelite was not inactive, but by his report related the whole series of events to the Archbishop, exaggerated the dangers to himself, and begged for his help, overlooking nothing which might stir up the Archbishop's mind, which was violent enough by its own nature, like adding oil to the furnace.

6. In addition to this, three days later, breathing out threats and heresies with the courage of a gladiator, he himself took his way into the schools, intending to prove (if it please the muses) that the Pope and the bishops ought to be prayed for before the Lords temporal. While the brother from Carmel was doing this in the schools, with great effort on his part but amid greater mockery, having been summoned by letter he set out to see the Archbishop in London. There was no delay. The Vice-Chancellor followed with Brightwell, to clear himself and his followers against the charges of Peter. Then having been examined concerning the condemned conclusions, they finally agreed that they had been worthily condemned. The Vice-Chancellor indeed, having been accused of contempt for the letter, since there was no way of showing the charge to be false, begged for pardon in a humble way upon his knees.

7. When he had finally with the help of Winchester (as we have said) though with difficulty been allowed to obtain this and they were finally being dismissed with certain instructions and the suspension of the heretics, he at once published the order for the excommunication of Philip and Hertford. They then fled to the Duke of Lancaster for protection. The papists

Quibus tamen dux, primo satis se difficilem, acerbumque praebuit. at postea, nescio quo pacto uictus a pontificiis, clientes miseros destituit. Ii ab hoc asylo repulsi, atque ad Archiepiscopum religati, ubi iam multis molestiis ac carceribus affecti essent, tandem ad palinodiam duplicem adacti sunt. Quoniam priorem ambigam proposuerunt, circa Domini annum 1382. Quorum alter uariis postea sacerdotiis donatus est. Repingtonus uero episcopus Lincolniensis, demum ex episcopo persecutor est factus.

were there immediately, like snakes always lying in wait at Christ's heel. The Duke at first however showed himself to be difficult and sharp enough to them, but later he was won over by the papists somehow or other and abandoned his poor clients. When they, having been driven away from this protection and returned in chains to the Archbishop, had now been inflicted with many tortures and imprisonment, they were finally driven to a double recantation, since the earlier one they had made around the year of our Lord 1382 was in doubt. The first of them was later endowed with a number of priesthoods, while indeed Repington was made Bishop of Lincoln, and finally became from a bishop a persecutor.

8. Erat autem eodem in numero et causa id temporis I. Astonus artium candidatus, et eleganter doctus. Is etsi in priore confessione non renuebat, panem uirtute uerborum sacramentalium uere idem corpus esse Christi numero, quod de uirgine susceptum est, attamen quia de subiecto et accidente rogatus non responderat simpliciter et catheticis, secundum traditionem Romanam de transmutata panis substantia, custodiae seculari traditus, inde in carceres abductus, unde haud unquam emersisse dicitur, extinctus est. Sed de isto postea.

8. There was moreover in the same number and cause at that time John Aston, a Bachelor of Arts and excellently learned. Although in his earlier confession he did not deny that the bread by virtue of the sacramental words was truly the same in number as the body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, yet because he had not answered when asked, simply and categorically, concerning the subject and accident according to the tradition of Rome about the transmutation of the substance of the bread, he was handed over to the secular guard, led from there to prison, from where he is said never to have come out but died there. But more on that later.

21. Commentarii of 1554: Third extract: A further example of Foxe's own composition in Latin: A denunciation of the execution of heretics.³⁸

Sigs. F v – G viii

1. Nunc ad istos flectemus orationem, qui ad extrema perdurantes ad uitae usque iacturam, agnum secuti sunt, quocumque iret. Atque hic inprimis liberet, si causae breuitas pateretur, paucis cum humana crudelitate expostulare, Postquam sic mortalium genus, excusso omni humanitatis sensu, usque adeo ad ferream aetatem, uel ferinam potius immanitatem degenerauit, ut nunquam aeque opinor a rerum primordiis, locus Plautino prouerbio fuerit. Homo homini lupus. Atque inter hos lupos omnium immanissimi sunt, qui agni se titulo maxime, uestiunt, quosque potissimum pacis commendat professio.

1. Now we shall direct our speech towards those who enduring to the last have followed the lamb, wherever he went, right up to the loss of their lives. And here I would like particularly, if the brevity of the matter would allow it, to expostulate in a few words on human cruelty, now that the human race has in this way shaken off all sense of humanity, and has so far degenerated to the Iron Age, or rather to the Beastly Age,³⁹ that never since the beginning of the world, in my opinion, has there been equally a place for the Plautine proverb, one man is a wolf to another man.⁴⁰ And among these wolves the cruellest of all are those who clothe themselves particularly with the label of 'lamb', and whom the profession of peace most commends.

2. Olim apud Israelitas Christi ac apostolorum temporibus cultus ac religio Dei in pharisaismum commutari coepit. nunc pharisaismus in phalarismum (nescio quo pacto) abiit inter Christianos. Quanquam huius uero incommodi minima profecto portio in eos recidit, qui Christi studio uim ac iniuriam perferunt. Nam cum caeteri omnes mortui sunt, soli hi demum uere uiuunt, qui in Christo moriuntur. Rara itaque nec nisi paucorum dignitas est, atque adeo, si rem integri reputemus, hoc solum habet aerumnosissima alioqui uita haec nostra felix, si cui quid contingat pro Christo pati. Iterum hoc idem repeto. Nihil est in mundo hoc uere magnum, nisi Christi nomen, proque nomine ipsius τὸ πάθειν τι.

2. Formerly among the Israelites, in the times of Christ and the apostles, the worship and religion of God began to be changed to pharisaism. Now the pharisaism has passed, somehow or other, into phalarism,⁴¹ among Christians and yet a very small portion of this harm indeed falls back on those who suffer violence and injustice through their zeal for Christ. For when all the rest are dead, the only ones in the end who truly live are those who die in Christ. It is therefore a rare dignity and one which falls to a few, and indeed if we reflect anew on the matter, this otherwise most wretched life of ours has this felicity alone, if it befalls anyone to suffer anything for Christ. Again I repeat the same. There is nothing truly great in this world except the name of Christ, and to suffer something for his name.

3. Vnde non absurde a Paulo, gloriae tributum est, non solum quod per illum fiduciam, sed et afflictionem sustineamus. Vt cunque hominum iudicia rem metiuntur, nulla uerior est uita, quam quae Christo ceu depositum committitur, nulla absolutior gloria, quam pro filio dei uiolari. Sed gloria haec humanis sensibus mundi huius coeno obuolutis, minus adhuc

3. Consequently it is not inappropriately granted by Paul as a matter of glory that we should not only sustain confidence through him but also sustain affliction. However the judgements of men measure the thing, there is no truer life than that which is entrusted to Christ as a deposit, no more absolute glory than to die for the son of God. But this glory

³⁸ Bibliographical details as in the previous two extracts.

³⁹ See Section 1 English. An obvious pun on *ferream* and *ferinam*.

⁴⁰ See Section 1 English. Erasmus, *Adagia* I.i.70.

⁴¹ See Section 2 English. Another pun on *pharisaismus* and *phalarismum*. Phalaris was 'a tyrant of Agrigentum (c. 570 – 554), notorious for the bronze bull in which he roasted his victims' (OLD). Has Foxe adapted this pun from Cic. *Att.* 7.20.2, where he has *Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus?*

apparet. Apparebit aliquando, ac citius forsitan, quam expediet quibusdam, nisi matura poenitentia, ad meliorem frugem resanescant. Quod quo facilius fieri possit, pace tua liceat (amice lector) paulisper cum his τοῖς μαρτυροφονταῖς agere, quo uel admoniti respiciant: uel si minus uelint, ipsi saltem nephariam crudelitatem suam, ac strages hominum, uelut e theatro productas, magno pudore suo, uel inuiti contueantur.

4. Praeclara profecto mimi uox illa, prophani alioqui hominis: Principi, inquit, turpia sunt non minus multa supplicia, quam medico multa funera. Et quid tum dicemus reuerendis istis ecclesiae praesidibus? Si principes sint, unde tot in Christi caulas inuecta supplicia? Si medici, unde tot ouium funera? Verum priusquam litem hanc adoriar, iterum iterumque te moneo (pie lector) quod et subinde mihi in hoc argumento repetendum est. Primum ne quid hic ita interpretaeris, quasi dogmatibus usque improbatis fomentum praebeam. Vt haereticis qui ueri sunt non faueo, ita falsis sane episcopis multo minus. Rursus, ut neutris horum, neque his ad tyrannidem, nec illis ad errorem licentiam laxo, sic neque potestatem etiam gladii ciuilibis hic uellico, qui haud frustra gestatur a magistratibus.

5. Habent ii suas leges, suos iudices, adeoque necessaria in republica supplicia: sine quibus nulla uitae societas nec disciplina constat mortalibus. Tantum mea querimonia eos attingit, qui, quum supra reliquam uulgi sortem spiritualem uitae perfectionem profitentur, deberentque omnis pietatis ac clementiae magistri esse, uix ullos fere iis ipsis, ira, odio, malitia, uindicta, omnique tyrannidis genere uirulentiores conspicias. Quis primus in orbem Christianum has inuexit palinodias fasciculos, ignes, ac rogos exurendis uiuis hominum corporibus opinione aberrantium, nisi religiosorum coetus, ac uiri ecclesiastici, quorum potissimum erat mederi, non extinguere errantes: exemplo summi praeceptoris qui uenerat non per dendis, sed seruandis omnibus.

6. Nunquam tam bene actum est cum humanis opinionibus, quin aliqui interdum lapsus et errores se intermiscant, modo primam illam ecclesiae puritatem excipiamus. Nec tamen quilibet error statim haereticum facit, nisi obstinata accedat et peruicax contentio. Neque hic etiam scio, an extrema tentanda, sed haereseos qualitas uidenda est, uidendum quid suadeat regula euangelica, quid cuiusque deceat professionem. Olim non recipiebatur inter haereses, nisi quae blasphemiam, aut fidei periculum grauius inueheret, ubiue Christi maiestas laederetur. Cuiusmodi erant Donatistae, Manichaei, Apollinaristae, et Arriani.

7. Et tamen ea tum episcoporum erat moderatio, ut ne sic quidem caesaris praesidia implorarent, nisi haereticorum caede, ac schismate, omnia miscentium ceu necessitate quadam huc pertraheret improbitas. Quemadmodum cum ex aliis tum ex Augustino perspicue liquet, cui adeo potestatis prophanae non placuit imploratio, in negotiis istiusmodi, ut apud Dulcitium tribunum se etiam aduocatum interponeret, ne quem letaliter istorum feriret. Idemque apud praesidem agit, opinor, Macedonium, existimans haud aliis armis, hoc in genere agendum, quam uerbo Dei, precibus, doctrina, aut si

appears still the less to our human senses which are overwhelmed by the filth of this world. It will appear some time, and perhaps sooner than will be expedient for some, if they do not become sound again to produce a better fruit by an early repentance. So that this may happen the more easily, by your leave, dear reader, let me talk for a little while with these 'slayers of martyrs', so that, either being admonished they may repent, or if they are not willing they may at least look even with reluctance upon their own wicked cruelty and slaughter of people, presented as it were in the theatre, with great shame on their part.

4. *Assuredly that is a wise saying from an actor, otherwise a pagan: it is no less a disgrace for a Prince to be responsible for many punishments than for a doctor to be responsible for many deaths. And what shall we say then to those reverend prelates of the church? If they be princes, why are there so many punishments brought into the sheepfolds of Christ? If doctors, why are there so many deaths of sheep? But before I address myself to this dispute, I warn you again and again, good reader, of what I must also from time to time repeat in this argument: first that you do not interpret anything here in such a way that I as it were provide kindling to up to now wicked dogmas, for as I do not favour heretics who really are heretics, so even less do I favour false bishops. Again, just as I allow licence for neither of these, neither the former for tyranny, nor the latter for their error, so also I do not here pluck at the power of the civil sword, which is not in vain borne by the magistrates.*

5. *They have their laws, their judges and their punishments, which are so necessary in a commonwealth, and without which no society nor discipline of life remains for mortal men. My complaint only touches those, who, although they profess a spiritual perfection of life above the rest of the lot of the common people, and ought to be the masters of all goodness and mercy, yet with difficulty would you see almost any more virulent in their anger, hatred, malice, vindictiveness and every kind of tyranny than those very men. Who was the first that brought into the Christian world these recantations, faggots, fires, and pyres for the burning of living people on the supposition of 'being in error' if it was not the gathering of religious men and the men of the church, whose particular duty was to correct those in error, not to kill them, according to the example of the supreme teacher who had come not to destroy but to save all men.*

6. *Never have human opinions been so well handled, but that from time to time some lapses and errors become intermingled – provided we except that first purity of the church. However, neither does any given error immediately make a heretic, unless stubborn and determined controversy is added, nor do I know whether here also the extremities should be attempted, but the sort of heresies should be looked at and it should be considered what the rule of the Gospel advises, what and whom its profession befits. Formerly it was not received among the heresies, unless it contained blasphemy or brought more serious danger to the faith, or where the majesty of Christ was harmed. Such were the Donatists, the Manichaei, the Apollinaristae and the Arians.*

7. *And yet the moderation of the bishops at that time was such that they would not beg for help even from the Emperor, except that the wickedness of heretics, who were combining everything with slaughter and schism, by a certain necessity, dragged them here. As it clearly appears from both Augustine and others, whom the imploring of profane power so displeased in negotiations of that kind that he even put himself forward as an advocate with the tribune Dulcitius⁴² that he would not strike down any of them with death. And he did the same thing, in my opinion, with the governor*

⁴² See Section 7 English. The Donatist bishop, Gaudentius, a contemporary of Augustine, wrote c. 420 to the tribune Dulcitius, who was attempting to enforce anti-Donatist laws, explaining his Christian life 'as obedience to the law in terms of cultic purity'. cf. Tilley, Maureen A. "Sustaining Donatist Self-Identity: From the Church of the Martyrs to the Collecta of the Desert." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5.1 (1997): 21-35.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

malum foret insanabilius, exclusione ecclesiastica. Quod autem sententiam postea reduserat, rei magis successu quam iudicio suo ductus, Parum id nostrorum temporum saeuitiam subleuat. Principio quo successu suam hanc in membra Christi tyrannidem exerceant, pyracmones hi Babilonii, res ipsa docet. Porro hos ipsos in quos tum saeuitum est Manichaeos ac Donatianos quales fuerint, inspiciamus, quos nomine haereticos, reipsa furiosos sicarios, ac praedones fuisse ignorat nemo. ut res non iam ecclesiae officium, sed tribunalitiam magis potestatem, etiamsi taceret ecclesia, spectare uideretur.

8. Quo factum est, ut temporum periculosa malignitate, eo tandem adigerentur episcopi, ut necessario leges Caesariae essent in auxilium aduocandae. Tumque nec aliud leges illae minabantur, quam ducibus tantummodo capitis poenam, quemadmodum in Cod. lib. de Manichaeis, et Samaritanis uidere est. Discipulis multa pecuniaria dicebatur. His uero qui neglectis principum legibus contemptius persisterent, profligatio statuebatur. Quid quod nec ullae id temporis scholae Academicae (quas appellamus) erigebantur, quae obuias se hisce malis opponerent. Contra nulla nunc fere regio est, quae non suis communita academiis existat, unde paratissimum esse praesidium possit, si tantopere ab haereticis metuamus. Et quod tandem hominum nunc quorundam moribus accidit, qui relictis academiis, relictis argumentis, quibus ut facilius, ita rectius reuinci possent, obliti denique omnis mansuetudinis, quam tantopere nobis literae commendantur Christi et Apostolorum, nulla utique ratione, nisi crucibus, fasciculis, et ignibus agendum cum haereticis arbitrantur. Et quis demum usus fructusque academiarum fuerit, si haud aliter, quam uinculis, et fustibus, tuendam ueritatem ducimus.

9. Atque haec hactenus de haereticis adduximus, quasi hoc ipsum uere sint, quod nunc falso insimulantur. Iam uideamus illa cuiusmodi sint, de quibus tantis tragoediis, totque incendiis tumultuantur papicolae uentres. Inter tot qui recentiore hac aetate ambusti sunt, quis tandem tres mihi proferat, qui palam de Deo aut senserint aut dixerint impie, qui Christi diuinae naturae uel unicam detraxerint, qui ullam in spiritum sanctum blasphemiam docuerint, Denique qui in ullo fidei articulo minus orthodoxe dissenserint? Tantum de circumstantiis quibusdam locorum, temporum, ac personarum, atque de humanis traditionibus omnis haec perturbata est camerina.

10. Quid hoc adeo retulerit, si quis pie adoret Christum in coelo, etiamsi non adoret in sacramento. Quid magni hoc momenti sit, si cum Christo ac Paulo panem uocemus corpus Christi, etiamsi non concipiamus cum scholis, accidens ibidem suo cassum subiecto consistere? Quid si sacerdoti non retegamus peccatorum confessionem, si apud Christum uere confessi conuertimur ad resipiscentiam? Quid si relicta operum fiducia, quid si spretis pontificum indulgentiis iusticiam in Christo unice pontifice ac indulgentiam reponimus, num minus propterea fides nostra suis constabit articulis ab Apostolis tradita? Quid si antiquatis diuorum imaginibus, Christum unicum in spiritu, ac ueritate colamus, an minus eo Christiani erimus, aut Christus non unus satis pro

Macedonius,⁴³ considering that action should be taken in this kind of matter with no other weapons than the word of God, prayers and teaching or, if the evil were incurable, with exclusion from the church. But the fact that he had afterwards changed his mind, led on more by the success of the matter than by his own judgement, very little alleviates the cruelty of our own times. To begin with, with what success these Babylonian servants of Vulcan are exercising this tyranny of theirs on the members of Christ, the matter shows. Moreover let us examine those very people against whom they raged at that time, as to what sort of Manichaeans and Donatists they were: there is no one who is unaware that they were heretics in name, but were in fact raging assassins and robbers, so that the matter no longer seemed to belong to the office of the church but more to the power of the tribune, even if the church were to keep quiet.

8. By this it was brought about that through the dangerous wickedness of the times, the bishops were finally driven to the point that of necessity the laws of the Emperor had to be invoked in assistance. And then those laws threatened nothing other than the death penalty alone for the leaders, as is seen in the book of laws concerning the Manichaeans and Samaritans. The disciples were told to pay a large fine. Indeed for those who ignored the laws of the princes and persisted quite despicably ruin was decreed. And what is more there were no University schools (as we call them) erected which might oppose these evils. Now, on the contrary, there exists almost no region which is not armed with its own universities, from where there can be a most ready protection, if we are so afraid of heretics. And what finally happens now in the characters of certain men, who setting aside the universities and setting aside the arguments by which just as they can be defeated the more easily, so they can be defeated the more rightly, finally forgetting all clemency which the letters of Christ and the Apostles so greatly commend to us and using no kind of reason, they think that heretics should be dealt with by nothing except crosses, faggots and fires. And what in the end is the use and profit of the universities, if we consider that truth is to be protected by nothing other than chains and clubs?

9. And this is the attitude we have taken so far with regard to heretics, as if they are indeed this very thing which they are now being falsely accused of being. Now let us see what sort of things they are, about whom the papal bellies⁴⁴ are ranting with such great tragedies and so many fires. Among so many who have been burned in this quite recent time, who in the end can show me three, who have openly either felt or spoken wickedly about God, who have taken away even one part of Christ's divine nature, who have taught any blasphemy against the holy spirit, or finally have dissented in less than an orthodox manner in any article of faith? But all of this stench is troubled only about certain circumstances of places, times and people and about human traditions.

10. Why does it make so much difference, if anyone dutifully worships Christ in heaven, even if he does not worship him in the sacrament? Why is this of great importance, if with Christ and Paul we call the bread the body of Christ, even if with the schools we do not conceive an accidental happening coming about without its own subject? What if we do not reveal to the priest the confession of our sins, if having confessed truly to Christ we turn to repentance? What if we lay aside our trust in works? What if we despise the indulgences of bishops and place righteousness and favour in Christ our only bishop? Surely our faith will be no less established with its own articles, having been handed down by the Apostles? What if, having

⁴³ See Section 7 English. Macedonius was condemned for heresy by the Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 381, when it clearly defined the divinity of the Holy Ghost. There is also a reference to Macedonius being deposed as bishop of Constantinople in 360. cf. Wendy Mayer, 'John Chrysostom as Bishop: The View from Antioch' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 55, No.3, July 2004, p. 458.

⁴⁴ See Section 9 English. Foxe's rhetoric against the traditional church can be very strong – this is an example of his protestant 'calling card'.

omnibus? Euangelium duo tantum sacramenta nouit, ea si quis sola amplectatur, aut pie tractet, exclusis interim iis, quae ex humana institutione subnata sunt, quid inde, res Christiana perferet incommodi? Sic scriptura Dei concubinam non permittit, uxorem permittit quibuslibet, modo unam, modo uni, utrum modo astrictius obligare, Deine⁴⁵ uoluntatem, an uotum hominis conueniet? Siue, interrupto illegitimo uoto sacerdos uxorem appellare quam concubinam malit, qu

rejected the images of the saints, we worship Christ alone in spirit and truth, shall we be the less Christians therefore, or is not Christ alone sufficient for all? The Gospel admits knowledge of only two sacraments, and if anyone embraces or piously performs these alone, to the exclusion in the meantime of those which have sprung up from man's institution, what harm from this will Christianity sustain? In this way the scripture of God does not allow a concubine, but it does permit anyone at all to have a wife, but only one each. Do you consider that it is the will of God or the vow of a man which binds more strictly? Or, if a priest, having broken his unlawful vow, prefers to call her with whom he has become intimate a wife rather than a concubine, what then does this deserve, exile and imprisonment?

11. Porro nec ideo, opinor, statim collabatur Ecclesiae regimen, aut Ecclesiasticorum ordo, si unus Italiae episcopus, excusso primatu, quae nulla scriptura uendicat, in reliquorum ordinem ac numerum episcoporum redigatur. Atque illa haec tam grandia sunt blasphemiae piacula, ob quae tantis furoribus exagitantur Christiani in Christianos. Hic iterum refrendenda, toties illa repetita admonitio, nihil a nobis in leges politicas, dictum aut cogitatum: at in hos duntaxat, quos quum omnium mitissimos esse, professione conueniebat, natura omnium sunt saeuissimi. Constitutiones id declarant ipsorum, in Decretalibus lib. 5. quibus iubetur haereticus in errore conuictus, sed quo pacto conuictus? autoritate magis, quam scripturis, seculari tradi potestati. Nec id hactenus satis, quod gladium secularem sanguine imbuant, ni et ipsum per se acutum satis, sua etiam malitia exacuant.

11. Moreover I do not for that reason think that management of the Church or the order of the clergy will immediately collapse, if one bishop from Italy, setting aside his primacy, which no scripture asserts,⁴⁶ were to be reduced to the order and number of the other bishops. And these are the great sins of blasphemy for which Christians are being roused against Christians with such great fury. Here again that admonition so often repeated must be renewed that nothing must be said or thought by us against the politic laws, but only against those whom although it would be agreed were the most gentle of all by profession, yet they are the most savage of all by nature. Their constitutions declare that in the 5th book of Decretals, whereby a heretic convicted in error (but how is he convicted by authority rather than by scriptures?) is ordered to be handed over to the secular power. Nor is it yet sufficient that they stain the secular sword with their blood, if they were not also sharpening the sword which is already sharp enough in itself by their own malice.

12. Adiiciunt itaque glossomatographi ad comburendum. Atque hi sunt demum, qui si superis placeat, Christum ipsum nobis repraesentare in terris uolunt, clamitantes interim quod omnis Christi actio, nostra sit instructio. Atqui si ad Christi actiones, institutio sit nostra dirigenda: quid minus suadent exempla illius, quam saeuitiam hanc, tum uero in ministris maxime quibus tanto studio mansuetudinem commendat ac dilectionem mutuam, ceu unicum Euangelii sui Symbolum: diserte interdicens, ne in euellendis zizaneis sint praecipites, metuens id fortassis euenturum, quod nunc euenit: ne simul cum zizaneis triticum eruatur. Tum quid hic dicendum, ubi non solum cum zizaneis, sed pro zizaneis, ipsissimum euellitur triticum, ex areis domini. Id quam bene respondeat actioni Christi, uideant ipsi: Ego nimis profecto uereor, ne non ita magnam ineant gratiam, apud messis dominum, quo die redditurus est cuique iuxta facta sua.

12. And so the writers of glosses augment those to be burned. And these in the end are the ones who, if it please the dwellers in heaven, wish to represent on earth Christ himself to us, shouting out in the meantime that every action of Christ is for our instruction. Yet if our institution is to be directed towards the actions of Christ, what less do his examples advise us than this cruelty and especially indeed in the ministers in whom with such zeal he commends clemency and mutual love as the only proof of his Gospel, cleverly stopping them from being precipitate in rooting out the tares, fearing that perhaps that would happen which is now happening, that the wheat would be dug up together with the tares. Then what is to be said here, where the wheat its very self is being pulled out of the forecourts of the Lord not only with the tares, but instead of the tares. Let themselves see how well that corresponds to Christ's doing. Assuredly I am very much afraid that they will not encounter great thanks from the Lord of the harvest, on the day that he will give to each according to his deeds.

13. Non hic aduocatum ago haereticorum, si qui uere sint haeretici. Neque equidem hic excutio, quousque se porrigit ius ciuilem gladii, quidue per ciuiles liceat constitutiones. Certe quicquid ciuilem agit potestatis necessaria seueritas, erit tamen sacerdotum, ac ecclesiae procerum, semper mansuetudinis meminisse, ad exemplum illius, qui nunquam cogere ad religionem suam quenquam uoluit. Quid enim ille? Non statim non audienti mortem intentat. Non uenit ille ciuilem occupaturus auctoritatem, atque ut non occupauit ipse, ita nec quenquam ciuili potestati tradidit. Quanquam nec diffidendum est, quin ita usuuenire interdum possit, ut indigeat hierarchia Christiana, accersita magistratus ope. Quemadmodum (contra Donatistas necessaria erant legum praesidia) praesertim si haeresis exeat ad tumultum, ad schisma, ad seditionem, ad latrocinium, aut uitae communis perniciem. Ibi demum magistratui arbitror externo prospiciendum, ne quid respublica capiat detrimenti.

13. I do not play the part of the advocate of the heretics here, if there be any who are really heretics. Nor indeed do I examine here how far the right of the civil sword extends, or what is lawful through the civil institutions. Certainly whatever severity is necessary in the civil power, it will however be required of the priests and leaders of the church to remember clemency, in accordance with the example of him, who never wanted to force anyone to his own religion. What did he say? Does he not immediately threaten death to him who does not hear? He did not come to seize any civil authority, and as he did not seize it himself, so he did not hand over anyone to the civil power. Although it should not be denied but that it can sometimes happen that the Christian hierarchy may be in need of help summoned from a magistrate, (just as the protection of the laws was necessary against the Donatists) especially if the heresy were to grow into disorder, to schism, sedition, robbery or to destruction of the commonwealth, in that case finally I think that the foreign magistrate ought to take care that the commonwealth suffer

⁴⁵ See Section 10 Latin. The last two letters (-ne) are omitted from this word in the *Rerum*.

⁴⁶ See Section 11 English. A typical aside from Foxe on papal primacy. He develops this theme in both the *Ad Inclytos* and the *Gratulatio*.

no harm.

14. Alioqui si huiusmodi sit haeresis, quae intra priuatum duntaxat errorem se continens, ulterius non peruagetur, ad episcopos, ad Academias unice spectare uidetur: Neque quid ciuili hic potestas agat admodum uideo. Ita enim facilius feliciusque reprimuntur haereses, magis ratione conuictae, quam autoritate oppressae. Iam aliquam multis annis in haereticos saeuitum est, tantis odiis, exquisitisque tormentis. Quid hac ratione profectum sit, nemo non uidet. Quanto id uero mihi consultius digniusque nomine uidetur Christiano, si priscorum ingressi uestigiis ac exemplis, nostri in Christo patres, id studio haberent potius, literis, linguis, pietate, spiritus uerbique potentia, quam mundana potentia praeminere? Iam multos uidemus, quibus nulla uidetur alia, ecclesiam contra haereticos propugnandi ratio, quam sola uis, ac maiestas episcoporum. Quo factum est, ut ministratio ecclesiastica, a Christo ac Apostolis, alienissimis quidem illis a mundo, olim incoepata, nunc ad secularis cuiusdam imperii imaginem, ad regales pene opes, imo phalarismum descuerit.

14. Otherwise if the heresy is of such a kind that, containing itself within only some private error, it does not spread further, it seems to relate only to the bishops and the universities, nor do I quite see what the civil power should be doing here. For in this way heresies are the more easily and fortunately checked, being more refuted by reason than oppressed by violence. Now for a fair number of years people have raged against heretics with such great hatred and extreme tortures, and everyone sees what profit there has been in this reckoning. How much more learned and worthy of a Christian name that would really seem to me, if they would walk in the footsteps and follow the examples of our ancestors, for our fathers in Christ held that with enthusiasm rather to excel in letters, languages, goodness and the power of the spirit and word, rather than in worldly power. Now we see many to who think there is no other means of defending the church against heretics than only the power and majesty of the bishops. So it has happened that the ecclesiastical administration, which was formerly started by Christ and the Apostles, those who were indeed far removed from the world, which has now degenerated to the image of some secular empire, to almost royal wealth, or rather extreme tyranny.

15. Verum ad dissipandas haereses, si ea res nobis tantopere cordi sit, haud aliud mihi expeditius uidetur compendium, quam si ecclesiae partes studiose caueant, ne tanta articulorum turba Christi obruantur ecclesiae. Ita fiet, non solum ut facilius haereseon extinguantur plantaria, ubi enasci coeperint, sed ne quando omnino emergant, quas extinguamus. Nam si uerum fatendum sit, unde secula haec tam foecunda dissentionum, nisi quod omnia adeo conferta atque conscisa sunt, tot articulis, tot censuris, elenchis, cautionibus ac placitis scholasticorum. Nec ullus est articulus, qui non adiunctam suam trahit haeresim, ut umbram corpus. Adeoque res modo progressa est, ut nihil tam circumspecte fere efferrī possit, quin alicubi impingat in aliquam haereseos tendiculum, aut certe suspicionem.

15. But if we have so great a desire to dissipate heresies, there seems to me to be no other readier cure than if the fathers⁴⁷ of the church were to take eager care that the churches of Christ be not destroyed by so great a multitude of articles. So it will happen that not only may the seedling of the heresies, where they have started to spring up, be the more easily wiped out, but that they may never at all spring up for us to wipe out. For if the truth be confessed, where have these so fertile generations of dissensions come from, except that all things are so crowded and torn to pieces with so many articles, so many censures, enquiries, cautions and pleas from scholars, nor is there any article which does not draw its own heresy attached as the shadow to the body. And the matter has recently come to the point that nothing can be uttered so circumspectly almost but that it drive one on to some snare of heresy, or at least suspicion.

16. Tot sunt laquei constitutionum, decretorum, tot tituli reprehensionis, ac captionis, praesertim ubi huc insuper pro charitate nescio in quam pathmon procul nunc relegata, successit, rerum deprauatrix Erinys, omnia sua calumnia commiscens, quam minima etiam, aut nulla interdum occasione. Quae quum ita habeant, nihil erat, mea opinione, prius, quam ut mutua animorum coniunctione redintegrati, materiam (quoad licet,) fraternae offensionis omnem subtrahamus, unde potissimum malum hoc suppulat.⁴⁸ Si haeresim facimus quicquid humanis decretis et articulis reluctatur, praestiterat minus esse articulorum in mundo, iam sua sponte concident haereses. Hinc enim mali profluxit scaturigo, indidem exordienda medelae methodus.

16. There are so many snares of constitutions and of decrees, so many titles of reprehension and capture, especially where up to this point as well in place of love, which has now been banished to some far distant place of exile⁴⁹, there has succeeded the fury Erinys,⁵⁰ the depraver of things, combining all of her calumnies with as few opportunities as possible even or sometimes none at all. Since this is the situation, there was nothing, in my opinion, more important than having been renewed with the mutual joining of our minds, that we should remove, as far as possible, every occasion for brotherly offence, from where this evil in particular secretly springs up. If we commit some heresy which offers resistance to men's decrees and articles, it had been preferable that there were fewer articles in the world – now the heresies will subside of their own accord. For from here there rose the source of the evil, and from that same origin must be started the method of treatment.

17. Iam quid si pontificia decretalia suam non exeant Italiam. Quid si in necessariam fidem, quae paucissimis contenta est, nihil recipiatur, nisi articuli Apostolici symboli ut a conciliis probationibus proponuntur, quid tandem Christi sponsae ecclesiae decederet? Et tamen ob haec τὰ παρέρυα passim uidemus exuri senes, iuuenes, ac foeminas. Nec sexui, nec aetati parcitur, nec generi, ut minoris pene periculi sit,

17. Now what if the papal decrees were not to go beyond Italy? What if nothing were to be received into our necessary faith, which is contained in very few words, except only the Articles of the Apostolic symbol, as are propounded by the approved councils? What, in short, would give place to Christ's bride the Church? And yet for these trivial matters we see all over the place the burning of old men, young men

⁴⁷ See Section 15 English. The Latin text has *partes*, but this must surely be *patres* from the context.

⁴⁸ See Section 16 Latin. In the *Rerum* this is spelled *suppullulat*. It does not occur in either the *OLD* or *Lewis & Short*, but is given in the *RMLW* with the meaning 'to spring up secretly' 1523.

⁴⁹ See Section 16 English. Pathmos = Patmos, an Aegean island used by the Romans as a place of banishment: cf. Plin. 4. 12. 23. §69. Why does Foxe use this allusion? Islands are often places which are either Utopian (cf. Sir Thomas More) or locations for exile/prison.

⁵⁰ See Section 16 English. The reader would need to be familiar with his Greek mythology. This avenging deity, more often found in the plural, occurs in Hom. *Od.* 2. 135. and *Od.* 15. 234.

maximorum principum laedi maiestatem, quam uel leuissimi episcopi sanxiones uiolari. Quae quidem persecutionis tempestas sic nostris his temporibus incruduit,⁵¹ ut nulla fere Europae sit pars, quae non effuso martyrum sanguine cruentata sit.

18. Et si uero quam maxime decreta haec scripturis consentirent (donemus hoc illis) attamen theologorum erat docere, cogere tyrannorum est. Iam quale est, propter articulos quosdam controuersos, et ambiguos, parum etiam sanos nonnullos, et scripturis forsitan dissentaneos, ad ignem pertrahi, non solum haereticos, sed pro haereticis innocuos et innocentes? Et, mira interim hominum stupiditas, hanc dum lanienam quotidie exercent lycaones in caulis Christi, littando humano sanguine, perinde ac si non uulgare pietatis officium Deo exhibeant, sibi quasi re bene gesta magnifice triumphabundi adgratulantur. Non secus ac in externis principum bellis, summae habetur strenuitatis, si quis quam plurimos occiderit perduelliones, itidem apud ecclesiae magnates, haec unica laus et contentio, ut quisque quam plurimum haurire poterit haeretici sanguinis. Quemadmodum de Petro⁵³ quodam Stoksele episcopo Londinensi iactatum audiuius, qui iam moriturus suprema uoce Deo agebat gratias, quod unus supra triginta haereticos litarat orco. Beluae sane uox, non hominis.

19. At uideant isti ne dum inductione magis animi, quam iudicio ducti, tantopere studeant haereticos litare Plutoni, ipsis idem eueniat, quod Iudaeis olim, qui quum in Christum ceu seditiosum uirum essent grassaturi, impegerunt in filium Dei. Id ut ne fiat, praestabit, primum in episcopis eruditio, articulorum imminutio, iudicium, animus euangelicus, mansuetudo, zelus pariter cum scientia coniunctus, cura seruandi, magis quam perdendi homines, mens quae nihil tribuens affectibus, totam se scripturis ac aequitati regendam permittit.

20. At omnino suppressenda est haeresis. Certe neque apud me patrociniū inueniet pestis haeretica. Tantum in symmistis orthodoxis requiro, si non apostolicam, saltem ciuilem modestiam, ut moderatis potius rem rationibus transigere, quam clamoribus, et seditiosa temeritate malint, requiro ἐμερίαν, quae saltem legitime conuincat quos uelit opprimere, requiro doctrinam, quae haereses magis ipsas quam haereticos iugulet. Insaniant, quantum libet, contra haeticorum nomen isti. Mihi sane uidetur: Si tempora haec tam parum Christiana, sex haberent Hieronymos, totidemque Augustinos, etiamsi nihil accederet praesidii amplius, haud magnopere haberet opinor ecclesia, quod sibi ad profligandos haeticorum cuneos, admodum desideraret. Sed quoniam in feruescente hac mundi crudelitate, ubi omnis adeo refrixit charitas, haud me latet, quam parum haec fidem apud nonnullos inuentura sint, quemadmodum et caeterorum ante me, ab his sprete sint moderationis consilia, consultius fuerit hoc hominum genus suis ingeniis relinquere, quam surdis canendo, simul et tempus et laborem frustra praeterire.

21. Nunc ergo ad martyres redeamus. Verum priusquam hanc

and women. And there is no sparing of either sex, age or birth, so that there is almost less danger that the majesty of the greatest princes be harmed than that the sanctions of the most ineffectual bishop be violated. Indeed this storm of persecution has so raged in these times of ours that there is almost no part of Europe⁵² which has not been stained with the blood shed by the martyrs.

18. And if indeed these decrees agree to the greatest extent with the scriptures (let us grant this to them), yet it was the part of theologians to teach and of tyrants to compel. Now what sort of thing is that there are being dragged to the fire, because of certain doubtful controversial articles and some also that are not at all sound and perhaps in conflict with the scriptures, not only heretics but harmless and innocent people in the place of heretics? Also meanwhile a wonderful stupidity on the part of people, that while the tyrants daily exercise this butcher's stall in the sheepfolds of Christ, making offerings with human blood, just as if they were displaying an uncommon service to God, they congratulate themselves in triumph as if having conducted matters magnificently well. It is just the same in foreign wars of princes that as it is regarded as a mark of the greatest endeavour that someone should have killed as many of their opponents as possible, so likewise among the leaders of the Church this is the only praiseworthy act and competition which of them will be able to shed the most heretic blood, as for example we have heard frequently mentioned concerning a certain Peter [should be John] Stokesley, Bishop of London, who as he was about to die gave thanks to God with his last breath because he had sent thirty one heretics to their deaths: clearly the words of a beast, not of a man.

19. But let those men see that, while they are led more by an inclination of the mind than by judgement and are so eager to sacrifice heretics to Pluto, the same does not happen to them as formerly happened to the Jews, who although they were going to act violently against Christ as if he were a man guilty of rebellion, they came up against the son of God. That this may not happen will be fulfilled, first by the learning among the bishops, the diminution of the articles, judgement, an evangelical mind, clemency, zeal joined together with knowledge, concern to save rather than destroy men, a mind which, while attributing nothing to affection but allows itself wholly to be ruled by the scriptures and fairness.

20. But heresy must be suppressed completely. Certainly the plague of heresy will not find patronage with me. I require only in orthodox colleagues in the priesthood if not apostolic at least civil discipline, so that they may prefer to treat the matter more with moderate assessment than with shouting: I require fairness which at least lawfully convicts those whom he may want to suppress; I require doctrine, which may destroy the heresies themselves more than the heretics. Let them rage as much as they want against the name of heretics. It seems clear to me: the times we are living in are so barely Christian that, if there were the authority of six Jeromes and as many Augustines, the Church would still have the wherewithal in itself to destroy the ranks of the heretics without needing any help from others. But since in this fervent cruelty of the world, where all love has grown so cold, it does not escape my notice how little good faith these matters will find with some people, just as also the counsels of moderation of the others before me have been spurned by these people. It would have been more prudent to leave this type of men to their own inclinations, rather than to sing to the deaf and at the same time to lose both time and labour to no purpose.

21. So let us now return to the martyrs. But before we enter

⁵¹ See Section 17 Latin. *incrudesco* is very rare (one example in Lewis and Short, *Notae Tironianae*, p. 81), meaning 'become very raw', is not in the *OLD* and is given in the *RMLW* with the meaning 'rage' after 1327.

⁵² See Section 17 English. The power of the papacy stretches over the whole of Europe. This is the most explicit reference Foxe makes to being involved in a pan-European context. This is of course particularly relevant to 1554, the year Foxe goes into exile.

⁵³ See Section 18 Latin. Foxe corrects this to *Ioanne* in 1559.

tam lugubrem historiam ingrediamur, operae precium forsitan facturi sumus, si quaedam a nobis hominum θεοπνεύστων uaticinia praelibentur, quibus tot tantae seculi perturbationes praesignabantur. Vt ergo primum a Ioachimo Abbate exordiamur, quid de hoc in uetusto Houedi monumento repertum sit referemus. Sic enim ille. Ricardus, inquit, Angliae Rex, in expeditione Ierosolimitana accepta fama Ioachimi Calabriensis abbatis de Curacon, qui spiritu prophético uentura praedicebat, quo tempore Ciciliae ageret, eum ad se accersit, auditurus, quid de antichristo inter caetera denunciare posset. Hic ergo explicans mysterium 7. regum, in Apocalypsi, quorum quinque ceciderint etc. Reges 7. inquit, septem sunt persecutores. Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Mahumet, Melsemutus, Saladinus, Antichristus. De antichristo sic aiebat, quod iam is in urbe Roma prognatus esset, et in sede apostolica sublimabitur, de quo apost. Extollitur, et aduersatur super omne quod dicitur Deus. Haec Houedenus. Annus uero huius abbatis erat 1290.

upon such a sad story as this, let us perhaps give value to our effort, if certain prophecies of men inspired by God are poured by us as a libation, by which so many persecutions in so great an age were marked out. And so to begin first with the Abbot Joachim, we shall report what was discovered about him in the ancient record of Howden.⁵⁴ For this is what he said: Richard, King of England, in his expedition to Jerusalem, having heard of the fame of Joachim of Callabria, Abbot of Curacon, who by the spirit of prophecy predicted the future, came to him while he was spending time in Sicily intending to hear amongst other things what he could tell him about the Antichrist. He then, explaining the mystery of the seven kings of the Apocalypse, five of whom have fallen etc., said 'The seven kings are seven persecutors: Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahumet, Melsemut, Saladin and Antichrist. Of Antichrist he said that he had already been born in the city of Rome and the man of whom the Apostle speaks is exalted in the Apostolic See and opposes everything which is said to be of God. This is what Howden says. In fact the year of this Abbot was 1290.

22. Letter to Peter Martyr, dated c. April 1555⁵⁵

1. Salutem in Christo uir doctissime. prolixa illa disputatio dni. Archiepiscopi, quam amicorum suasu tuaque occasione uertendam suscepi, uix credas quantis mihi constet laboribus. oratione Wintoniensis nihil uidi insuauius confragosius, aut magis spinosum, in qua nonnunquam sic uorticus est, ut Sibilla potius aliqua, quam interprete indigeat: imo nescio an ulla Sibilla sit tam aenigmatistes aut delius tantus uat<icin>ator, qui sensum ubique exspiscari possit. In tertio libro unus est, aut alter locus, ubi aquam ex pumice citius, quam sententiae lucem inuenias. in periodis plerumque tam profusus uel infinitus magis est ut bis sui oblitus uideatur, quam sui reperiat finem. Tota phrasis eam fere structuram habet, ut maxima quidem parte constans ex relativis, omnem fere translationis gratiam respuat. ex quo quanta mihi nascitur difficultas, tibi haud difficile diuinatu fuerit. Cantuariensis aliquanto mollior, sed idem tanto prolixior, quo si non plus mihi molestiae, certe tantundem laboris affert.

1. Greetings in Christ, most learned sir. That lengthy disputation of the lord Archbishop, which on the advice of friends and at your instance I have undertaken to translate, you would scarcely believe what great labours it is costing me. I have never seen anything more unpleasant, more uneven or more thorny than the speech of Winchester, in which he is sometimes so full of whirlpools that there is need of some Sibyl rather than an interpreter. Or rather, I do not know whether any Sibyl would be such a proposer of riddles or the Delian⁵⁶ be so great a prophet, as to be able to elucidate the sense in every place. In the third book there are one or two places where you would get water from a pumice stone more quickly than find the light of meaning. In his periods he is generally so profuse or rather endless that he seems to have forgotten himself twice rather than find his end. The whole phrasing has almost that structure that indeed in its greatest part consisting of relatives it refuses almost all the grace of translation. It would not be difficult for you to divine how much difficulty for me arises from this. Canterbury is somewhat more smooth, but is also so much longer that if he does not bring me more trouble, certainly he brings me just as much effort.

2. Accedit porro ad hos griphos librorum ac doctorum qui passim hic citantur inopia. et scis quam non concinnum sit, doctores aliter quam uerbis propriis loquentes introducere. ea res me coget breui, repetere Argentinam uestram per mensem unum aut alterum ut subsidium της βιβλιοθηκης alicuius emendicem. In primo libro tuum nomen cum Luthero et Bucero citat Wintoniensis, impingens tibi falsarii, aut mendacis alapam. sed Cantuariensis contra, Petri sui nomine nihil praetermittit ad defensionem.

2. Moreover added to these riddles is the shortage of books and scholars who are cited here. And you know how it is not skilfully done to introduce scholars speaking other than in their own words. That matter will compel me soon to return to your Strassburg for a month or two to beg for help from some library. In his first book Winchester cites your name together with Luther and Bucer, landing you a box on the ear for being deceitful or a liar. But Canterbury, on the other hand, in the name of his Peter, leaves out nothing for his defence.

3. locum ipsum ad te uersum transmittam, simul cum reliqua parte quae iam absoluta est. Eius etenim operis partem magnam partem⁵⁷ emensus sum, adeoque ulterius forsitan progressus essem sed in aduentu totum fere semestre, ecclesiasten egi. Quanquam nec ea res tantopere me remorata est, quantum infoelix illa Θεολογομαχία και διχοστασία nuper hic enata, quae totam fere hiemem nobis sterilem ac infrugiferam reddidit. Ego etsi in eo negotio me scepticum fere gesserim, non potui tamen in totum spectator esse ociosus. Nec mirum, quum et adolescentuli impuberes imo et pueri septennes aliquot se adiunxerunt partium studiis. neque adeo in illis id miror, quos aetatis feruor utcumque excusare poterat.

3. I shall send across to you the passage itself translated, together with the remaining part which is now complete. For I have traversed a large part of that work, and indeed I perhaps would have advanced further, but on my arrival I spent almost the whole semester as a preacher. And yet it is not so much that matter which delayed me as that unfortunate theological warfare of words and schism which has recently started here and which has made almost the whole winter sterile and fruitless for us. Although I mostly behaved as a sceptic in that business, yet I could not have been an idle spectator for the whole of it. Nor is it surprising, since young adolescents and indeed even some seven year old boys joined sides. And I am

⁵⁴ This refers to the Howden Chronicle compiled by Roger of Hovedon, who died c. 1201. cf. William Stubbs, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868.

⁵⁵ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 115r.

⁵⁶ i.e. Apollo, the god of prophecy, who was born on the island of Delos.

⁵⁷ Has Foxe accidentally written the noun *partem* twice, both before and after the adjective *magnam*?

in senibus magis canis, ac theologis illud miror quorum autoritas quum potissimum intercedere debebat ad concordiam hi omnium maxime faces incendio subministrant.

not so surprised at that in those whom the passion of their age could in some way excuse. I am more surprised at it in white-haired old men and theologians whose authority ought to have interceded above all for agreement. These most of all are supplying torches for the fire.

4. perlongam hic texerem Iliada si fabulam per singulos actus diducerem si odia, conuitia, obtrectationes, sychophantias ac maledicentissimae linguae uirulentias, suspiciones captiones commemorarem. sed mihi nec otium nec animus est, casus rixam iam utcunque subsidentem exagitare, utinam potius cicatricem queam uulneri inducere. Hoc unum dicam, quod ni re ipsa compertum haberem nunquam essem crediturus, tantum amari stomachi latere in his, quos assidua sacrorum librorum tractatio ad omnem clementiam mansuefacere debuerat. Quod in me situm est, ubique suator ero concordiae nec desunt etiam rationes, quibus id efficiam, si mihi auscultari possit, idque facilius primum si nullos aculeos reliquissent fugientes istorum quidam, ac paullo moderatius egissent in concionibus.

4. I would be composing a very long Iliad here, if I were to separate the story into single acts, if I were to mention the hatreds, the insults, the disparagements, the deceits and poisons of a very evil speaking tongue, the suspicions and deceptions. But I have neither the leisure nor the spirit to stir up the dispute of the event, as it is now somehow subsiding. Would that I were able to draw a scar over the wound. This one thing I shall say, that, had I not discovered it from the matter itself, I would never have believed that so much bitterness of gall lies hidden in those whom indeed a constant handling of sacred books should have accustomed to all forgiveness. As far as I can I shall everywhere be an advocate of harmony and also there is no shortage of arguments by which I shall achieve this, if [people] are able to listen to me, and will that the more easily, first if certain of those fleeing had left behind no stings, and had behaved a little more moderately in the meetings.

5. Deinde si nunc pacificatis affectibus, ad id saltem redirent ut priuatim inter se litteris aut colloquiis mutuis amice ac leniter rem agerent, potius quam maledicis linguis, ii potissimum quorum animi offenduntur,⁵⁸ ita fiet ut incendium hoc sublata paulatim materia, uel sua sponte subsidat tandem. Nunc uero dum meris uiribus funiculus utrinque tenditur et quisque experitur quam fortitur possit alterum contemnere quid aliud isti quam faces maiori praebent incendio. postremum uero remedium fuerit, si aliis legibus nequeamus φρατριαζειν saltem ut delectissimorum quorundum iudicio res dedatur, qui aequa moderatione utrinque intercedant aut liturgiam praescribant aliquam cui utraque pars sit assensura. Quamquam multo malle nostram συγκαταστασει pacem inter nos coalescere, quam aliena diremptione.

5. Secondly, if those above all whose minds are offended should now with emotions pacified return at least to this, that they deal privately with one another by letter or conversation in a friendly and gentle manner rather than by malicious tongues, it will happen that, when the fuel has been gradually removed, this fire may finally die down even of its own accord. Now indeed while the rope is being stretched on both sides with real strength and each tries to see how strongly he can condemn the other, what else do these men do but offer torches to a greater fire? Finally indeed, it will be a remedy, if we are unable to agree as brothers, at least that the matter be given up to the judgement of certain very select men, so that they may intervene on both sides with equal moderation or prescribe some liturgy to which each side will agree. And yet I would much prefer peace to grow between us through our agreed settlement, rather than by someone else's separation.

6. extrema enim anchora in christo ipso sita est, qui pro misericordia sua dignetur animos nostros flectere ad ea quae pacis sunt, et uerae tranquillitatis. Sed nimis ego abundans otii, qui negotia tua grauissima obturbem, tam prolixis neniis. Rem oppido gratam feceris si apud alium sleidanum cubiculum aut receptum aliquem mihi impetres ad mensem unum aut alterum, donec negotia mea litteraria in ea urbe expediero. Domino Actono [?] multam opto salutem, ut caeteris commilitonibus, inter quos et Nowellum et Faulknerum tuum salutari cupio. singulari hac praestantia cum uniuersa familia omnia laeta exopto in christo frater ac pater suscipiende.

6. For the final anchor is in Christ himself, who in accordance with his mercy deems it worthy to bend our minds to those things which belong to peace and true tranquillity. But I am overflowing too much with leisure, in that I am disturbing your very pressing business with overlong trifles. You will do me a real favour if you obtain for me a bedroom or some retreat with another Sleidan for a month or two, until I have completed my literary business in that city. I wish many greetings to Master Acton,⁵⁹ as to my other fellow soldiers, amongst whom I wish both Nowell and your Faulkner to be greeted. With both this remarkable pre-eminence and all my family I earnestly wish you all the best, esteemed father and brother in Christ.

23. Letter to Thomas Lever, June 18 1555⁶⁰

Ad Thomam Leuerum

1. Salutem cum perpetua foelicitate in Christo. Etsi complures mihi eodem hoc tempore scribendae erant epistolae, praeter alios⁶¹ studiorum meorum quotidianas curas et impedimenta, non poteram tamen adeo uel tui (mi Leuire) uel promissi erga te mei obliuisci, praesertim obiecto latore tam

To Thomas Lever

1. Greetings with everlasting happiness in Christ. Although I had several letters which had to be written at the same time, apart from the other daily anxieties for and impediments to my studies, yet I was not able to forget either you, my dear Lever, or my promise to you, especially since so convenient and

⁵⁸ Although the manuscript has a full stop here and a capital letter for *ita* at the start of a new sentence, it is more correctly punctuated with a comma followed by a lower case initial letter for *ita*, since this clause forms the apodosis for the conditional sentence introduced by *Deinde si* a few lines earlier.

⁵⁹ The reading of this name is not clear. It could be Acton or Eaton. There was a William Acton who lived before 1553 and was an ancestor of the Actons of Aldenham, Shropshire. cf. Cokayne, George Edward, editor. *The Complete Baronetage*. 5 volumes. no date (c. 1900). Reprint, Gloucester, U.K.: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1983.

⁶⁰ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 99r-v.

⁶¹ This should be *alias*, but *alios* has been written.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

commodo, et idoneo, tuo fratre quin te tribus uerbis salutarem, etsi nulla esset causa alia, de qua ad te scriberem, nisi ut salutarem tantum secutus uidelicet illud τὸ νόημα Catonis, qui uult nos salutare libenter.

2. Nunc praeter salutes accidit alia multo grauissima causa ad scribendum. Audio enim, adeoque multis argumentis fit credibile te hominem esse admodum discordiae natum, ac querendae simultatis auidum, denique omnino talem, qui implacabili odio, atque contentionis studio quotidie efferaris in conterranos tuos, ac amicos nihil unquam de te (quod sciam) male meritis. Quo magis mihi hoc nomine exostulandum tecum est. Nam qui in amicos et commilitones tam crudeli et impotenti es animo, quid demum his feceris qui dederint damnum aut malum? Et tamen quasi parum sit contentionum adhuc in mundo, tu noua dissidia quotidie (ut intelligo) concitare non desinis.

3. Quocirca si me monitorem audias, curabis (Leuere mi) ut posita quamprimum pristina hac naturae tuae acerbitate, et pertinacia, quae nec ecclesiae dei prodest, nec tibi, in gratiam tandem cum amicis, et fratribus post longam conflictionem redeas. Eris uel Salustiana historia doctus, quam paruae res, concordia crescunt, contra nihil tam firmum est aut ualidum, quod discordia non dissoluat, ac dissipet. Aut si prophana consilia te minus moueant, literae sacrae quaeso quid aliud uel suadent impensius, uel, frequentius inculcant quam fraternae charitatis necessitudinem? Imo tot tuae conciones, quanto studio semper nos inuitabant ad charitatis studium? Quo turpius nunc tibi fuerit, si ab oratione facta tantopere dissentiant, ut hoc iure in te torqueri poterit, quod Lacon quidam, apud Ciceronem, olim obiecit Atheniensibus, quos scire dicebat satis quae recta essent, at longe diuersa facere.

4. At quaenam haec, inquires, discordiae, ac dissensionum tanta in me pertinacia? aut in quos tandem tantas ego turbas unquam conscivi? Dicam (Leuere mi) quod et liquido mihi dicturus uideor te omnium acerrimum quendam pacis et tranquillitatis perturbatorem uideri. Sic enim capitali quadam inimicitia pugnas quotidie cum carne tua, ut nullas fere concedas indutias corporis tui membris, preclare nobis exemplum referens diui Pauli castigantis corpus suum, et in seruitutem redigentis. Atque haec demum sancta discordia est, quam utinam multi huius seculi cultores tecum haberent communem. At nos nescio quo pacto praeposteram discordiam atque inimicitiam colimus cum iis quos amplecti debemus, simultatem plusquam hostilem gerimus; contra, quos par erat odisse cum his fouemus pacem.

5. Quo fit ut plerique nostrum in alios tam acerbi, nostri minimum amantes, in hostes fere amici in amicos uero inimici repereamur. unde non minima pars malorum quibus hodie mundus concutitur scaturire uidetur. Sane quanto consultius ageretur cum moribus omnium, si tuo hoc exemplo prouocati discordiam atque amicitiam rectis finibus metiri disceremus, hoc est, si pacem habentes cum omnibus hominibus, nulli essemus inimici nisi nobis ipsis. Quanquam hic interim mihi hortandus es, Leuere mi, in hoc tam uehementi pietatis cursu ita actiones tuas temperes ut dum summos uirtutis apices sectaris, amittas interim quod in uirtute est praestantissimum, ipsam uidelicet mediocritatem. Neque hic displiciat tibi Phocilidis etsi ethnici alioqui poetae consilium πάντων μετρον ἀριστον ὑπερβασίαι δ' ἄλεαναι⁶².

suitable a bearer as your brother has presented himself, but must greet you with three words, even if there were no other reason to write to you, but that I should make my greetings having only followed of course that notion of Cato who wants us to pay our respects willingly.

2. *Now apart from the greetings another particularly important reason for writing has occurred. For I hear, and from many arguments it becomes believable that you are a man born wholly to discord, and keen to seek disagreement, in short you are entirely the sort of man who, through implacable hatred and eagerness for dispute, are daily making yourself wild against your fellow-countrymen and your friends who have never deserved ill of you (that I know of). All the more should I find fault with you for this reason. For when you have had such a cruel and violent attitude to your friends and fellow Christians, what, I ask, will you do to those who have inflicted loss or misfortune? And yet as if there were too little dissension still in the world, you are daily (as I understand) not ceasing to stir up new dissensions.*

3. *For this reason, if you will listen to me as an adviser, you will take care, my dear Leuer, to lay aside as soon as possible this former harshness of nature, and stubbornness, which benefits neither the church of God nor yourself, and finally return to grace with your friends and brothers after a long disagreement. You will even have been taught by Sallust's history how small things grow through agreement, while on the other hand nothing is so firm or strong that disagreement will not dissolve it nor dissipate it. Or if profane counsels move you the less, I ask you, what else do the sacred writings either advise more earnestly or inculcate more commonly than the necessity for fraternal love? Or rather, with what great enthusiasm were your so many sermons always inviting us to the desire for love? All the more shameful it will now be for you, if they so much disagree with a speech you have made, that this can rightly be turned against you with which a certain Lacon, according to Cicero, once reproached the Athenians, whom he said knew well enough what was right but were acting far differently.*

4. *But, you will say, what are these disagreements and this such great stubbornness of dissension in me? Or against whom, pray, have I ever stirred up such great crowds? I shall tell you, my dear Leuer, what I seem also to be about to tell myself clearly, that you are seen to be keenest of all in a sort of disturbance of peace and tranquillity. For you are fighting with a sort of deadly hostility every day with your flesh in such a way that you are allowing almost no respite for the limbs of your body, recalling for us famously the example of the divine Paul punishing his own body, and reducing himself to the state of servitude. And this finally is a holy disagreement, which I wish that many worshippers of this age had in common with you. But we somehow or other are cultivating a reversed disagreement and hostility with those whom we should be embracing, bearing more than the jealousy of an enemy; on the other hand, we are fostering peace with those whom it was proper to hate.*

5. *So it happens that most of us are found to be so bitter towards others, loving ourselves too much, almost friendly to our enemies but unfriendly to our friends. Whence not the smallest part of the evils with which the world is today being shaken seems to be swarming. Obviously how much more wisely would we deal with all men's habits if challenged by this example of yours we were to learn to judge disagreement and friendship by their correct limits, that is, if having peace with all men we were to be unfriendly with no one except ourselves. And yet in the meantime you must be advised here by me, my dear Leuer, to temper your actions in this so vigorous a course of piety in such a way that while you are following the highest peaks of virtue, you may not in the interim lose what is the most important thing in virtue, namely moderation itself. Nor should this advice of Phocylides be displeasing to you, who though a pagan is yet a poet: πάντων*

⁶² This should be ἀλεγεινά but ἄλεαναι is written in the manuscript.

μετρον ἀριστον ὑπερβασια δ' ἄλεαυα ("moderation in all things is the best way: but excesses are troublesome").

6. Sed lubentius forsā theologus thologum (sic) monitorem admiseris. accipies igitur Hugonis non aspernamdam hac in re sententiam. Qui carnem, inquit suam supra modum affligit ciuem suum occidit. si plus quam expedit alimentis reficit, hostem nutrit. Sic ergo nutrienda est ut seruiat, sic subigenda ut non ferociat. At quorsum hac de re tam multa. Equidem quo magis amo ingenuam hanc naturae tuae probitatem, hoc impotententius sollicitus sum de incollumitate tua, quo et diu prodesse queas et quam plurimis. Cura igitur etiam atque etiam te praecor ut non solum recte sed et diu ualeas. haec hactenus raptim per fratrem, alias, Christo aspirante diligentius et fusius. Francfordiae. Iunii 18. (BL Harleian MS 417, fo. 99)

6. But perhaps as a theologian you would more willingly allow a theologian as an adviser. So you will accept the opinion of Hugh (of St. Victor) which is not to be despised in this matter? He says that the man who weakens his own flesh beyond the limit kills his own citizen. If he 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. But to what purpose do I say so much on this matter? Indeed, the more I love this frank honesty of your nature, the more powerless is the worry I have for your safety, so that you may both be of benefit for long and for as many people as possible. And so take care also – I beg you again and again – that you are not only in good health but that you maintain this for a long time. I have written thus much hastily by the hand of our brother, but at another time, with Christ's assistance, I shall write more carefully and more expansively. Frankfurt. June 18th.

24. Letter of Foxe to Hieronymus Froben, c. September 1555.⁶³

1. Vt in toto illo hominum litteratorum catalogo, quotquot his multis saeculis floruerunt Erasmum Roterodamum ob eximiam et incomparabilem eruditionem, ingenii uim, iudicium exquisitum, facundiam, candorem, caeterasque raras in illo uirtutes singulari quodam naturae genio semper sum admiratus. ita rursus non potest hic affectus eius uiri causa, in eos etiam aliquo modo non redundare quos amicos ille praesertim secretiori necessitudine sibi coniunctos habuerit.

1. As in that whole catalogue of men of letters, as many as have flourished during these many centuries, I have always admired Erasmus of Rotterdam because of his outstanding and incomparable erudition, his power of intellect, his excellent judgement, his eloquence, his candour and the rest of the virtues in that man which are rare owing to some outstanding genius of nature, so again, this affection cannot not overflow for the sake of that man also in some way into those whom he especially counted as friends linked with him in a quite secret kinship.

2. Quorum in numero te imprimis (Frobēni uir integerrime) cum d. Amerbachio, paucisque in hac urbe aliis esse nemo doctorum omnium non intelligit. Hanc uero laudem debetis amico illi, quos alioqui uestris ornamentis satis claros multo tamen clariore reddidit per omnem posteritatem amicitiae illius commendatio, ut quicumque Erasmum nouerint, Frobenium ipsius amicum ignorare non possunt. Sic denique amicum, ut qui Erasmum uidere cupiant, in Frobenio amico ipsum adhuc quodammodo superstitem conspiciunt.

2. That you in particular, Froben, most upright man, are in the number of these, together with Master Amerbach and a few others in this city, no one of all the learned men is unaware. Indeed you owe this praise to that friend, you whom otherwise famous enough through your ornaments⁶⁴ the commendation of that friendship has yet rendered much more famous through all posterity, that those who knew Erasmus cannot be unaware that Froben was his friend. A friend in short in such a way that those who want to see Erasmus look at the man himself in his friend Froben as somehow still living on.

3. Eaque causa ex Anglia nuper proficiscens, iter primum per Roterodamum deflexi, aedes cubiculumque in quo natus est, et si quae alia essent, collustrans: deinde Francfordiam peruectus, simulatque in nundinis te adesse acceperam, e uestigio audissime aduolui, multa tecum (ut scis) sermocinans de Erasmo. Rursusque nunc idem facerem, postquam huc aduenerim, nisi aduentus meus non careret, fortasse petacitatis suspicione aliqua. fit enim communi opinione hominum ut quoties tenuior quispiam ad opulentioem accedit, accedat pariter animi magis cupientis aliquid, quam sincere amantis suspitio. Quanquam quid obstat, quominus et cupiat quispiam aliquid, simulque illum amet a quo beneficium expetit. Imo unde magis (ambienda si sint beneficia) expetendum est, quam ab iis, quos effusius diligimus. Quandoquidem quos impensius amplectimur, iis lubentius etiam debemus.

3. And for that reason, 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 and any other sights; then, having travelled to Frankfurt, as soon as I had heard that you were at the Fair, I very eagerly flew to you at once, conversing a great deal with you (as you know) about Erasmus. I would now do the same again, now that I have arrived here, except that my arrival would perhaps not lack some suspicion of importunity. For it happens in the common opinion of men that as often as a poorer man approaches a richer man, there approaches equally the suspicion of a mind wanting something rather than loving sincerely. And yet what is there to stop someone wanting something and at the same time loving him from whom he is seeking the favour. Or rather from where should it be sought more (if favours must be canvassed) than from those whom we love more devotedly, since to those whom we embrace the more zealously we are even more willingly in debt?

⁶³ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 118v.

⁶⁴ i.e. as a printer.

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25. Letter of Foxe to Johannes Oporinus, November 1555⁶⁵

Oporino

To Oporinus

1. Salutem et foelicitatem in Christo Domino. Libellum te meum a typographo accepisse audiui, ex quo gustum qualemcunque ac specimen sui autoris percipere pro tua perspicacia poteris, ex unguibus ueluti leonem aestimans, id quod te malim facere, quam ex calchographi illius histerna praedicatione, quam parum aequam de me fuisse comperi. Verum qualis qualis Libelli huius genius tibi uidebitur, id primum consideret prudentia tua primitias esse ingenioli καὶ πρωτογενῆ μετα θερισμου nostri. Quo magis homini πρωτοπειρω ignoscendum arbitror [sic] si minus adeo omnes perfectionis numeros assequutus uidear.

2. Quin neque ignorat humanitas tua, in summis etiam et classicis scriptoribus initia ipsa quam procul a maturitate illa, quam postea adepti sunt, abfuerint. usu enim ut caetera omnia, sic et stylus paratur, simul et nitescit indies. Iudicium porro maturat aetatis accessio. Denique huiusmodi res uidetur scribendi foelicitas, ut sine arcana numinis ope, siue eximio aliquo patrono, qui donum illius est, siue librorum praesidiis, quos ego neruos esse studiorum duco, nihil in hac re effeceris.

3. Vt nihil interim de ipso operis argumento dicam, quod simplici duntaxat rerum gestarum narratione temporumque collectione nixum, uix ullum ingenii cultum, aut eloquentie florem admittit. Iam ad primum hunc librum expectatur et altera historiae pars ab exordio Luteri, ad hanc usque tempestatem. Sed quia ea pars iustam operis magnitudinem uidetur postulare, et quotidie nouam materiam cruenta haec tempora, hinc inde subministrant, plusculum idcirco attentionis omnium maiori cunctatione postulabit. Quanquam et id forsitan uel his nundinis expediuissem, nisi D. Petrus Martyr, mihi imposuisset grandem illam et uastam disputationem Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui nunc est in uinculis cum Wintoniense, transferendam in Latinam^a sermonem. In qua uidebit spero propediem uniuersa Germania, quicquid de causa eucharistica uel dici uel obiici uel excogitari a quoquam poterit καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταῦτα.

4. Iam mi Oporine, nec uitae lautitias, nec diuitias expeto, qui semper sui natura pecuniarum contemptor maximus, rursus nec multum petax^b esse possum in ambiundis hominum fauoribus, quae res iam pridem mihi luculente damno constitit, tantum ego a Christo meo patronum aliquem literariis studiis mei prouehendis efflagito, ac nescio quo pacto arcana quadam pietatis tuae admiratione ducor, ut ad te potissimum ante ceteros accedam. D. Iesus qui solus omnium rerum cordiumque habenas tenet, animi tui uoluntatem flectat quo uidebitur. Non patitur rerum mearum tenuitas ullas beneficii uires polliceri. uerum si effusa haec tamque apud quosque exposita benignitas tua uel modico salariolo^c dignabitur^d literarios meos labores christiane Reipublicae: tantopere desudantes suffulcire, uel in hac urbe uel Argentinae, uel etiam alibi in Achademia aliqua (quod malim). Crede hoc simplicitati meae (mi Oporine) aut me destituent omnia, aut efficiam Christo opitulatore ut omnes pollitionis literaturae^e ubique intelligant quantum Oporiniano et nomini et officinae debeant.

1. Greetings and happiness in Christ the Lord. I have heard that you have received my little book from the printer, from which you will be able to get in proportion to your discernment some sort of taste and sample of its author, gauging as it were the lion from its claws, which is what I would prefer you to do, rather than in accordance with yesterday's statement from that printer which I understand was not fair to me. But whatever sort of talent there seems to you to be in this little book, first let your good sense consider it to be the first fruits of my humble ability and the first born together with our harvest. All the more do I think that you should forgive a man who is a novice, if I seem so much the less to have acquired all the measures of perfection.

2. But your humanity is not unaware among even the greatest and classical writers how far distant were their beginnings from that maturity which they later acquired. For just as all other things are got by experience, so also is style, and at the same time it becomes bright daily. Moreover judgement matures with age. Finally success in writing seems to be the kind of thing which, without the hidden help of God or some outstanding patron, who is a gift of God, or the aid of books, which I consider to be the sinews of scholarship, you will achieve nothing in it.

3. To say nothing in the meantime about the subject of the work itself, which just relies on the simple narration of history and a recapitulation of the times, and scarcely admits any refinement of intellect or flower of eloquence, 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 because that part seems to demand a proper size for the work, and every day these bloody times are supplying new material from all directions, for that reason it will demand a little more attention with greater delay for everybody. And yet I might perhaps even have finished it for this fair, had not Master Peter Martyr imposed on me that grand and enormous disputation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is now in chains, with Winchester, which must be translated into the Latin language. 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. So much for that.

4. Now, my dear Oporinus, I seek neither the luxuries of life, nor riches, I who have always been by nature the greatest despiser of money, nor again can I be very greedy in canvassing favours from people, which thing long ago for me was splendidly reckoned as a loss, only I am ceaselessly petitioning my Christ for some patron to advance my studies, and I am being led somehow by some hidden admiration for your piety to approach you in particular before the others. May the Lord Jesus who alone holds the reins of all matters and hearts, bend the will of your mind in the direction which seems best to him. The scarcity of my resources does not allow me to promise any capacity for kindness. But if this effusive kindness of yours which has been so generous to everyone shall deem worthy with even a modest little salary to support my literary labours which are so greatly striving for the Christian Commonwealth, either in this city or in Strassbourg, or even elsewhere in some university (which I would prefer). Put this down to my lack of sophistication, my dear Oporinus, but either everything will fail me, or I shall see to it that, with Christ as my helper, all men of more refined learning everywhere understand how much they owe to both the name and printing house of Oporinus.

^a This should read *Latinum*, but *Latinam* is written in the manuscript.

⁶⁵ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 98r-v.

^b A post-classical word used twice by Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, a grammarian who died in AD 550, in his *Mythologiae* 2. 1. and 2. Its meaning is 'striving after' or 'greedy for' something.

^c A marginal note in another hand gives this word as *salariolo*.

^d This should read *dignabitur*, but is written *dignabitus*.

^e A marginal note written in another hand gives *politioris literaturae homines*.

26. Letter from Johannes Wigandus in Magdeburg to John Bale in Basel, 2 March 1559.⁶⁶

Reuerendo et clarissimo uiro d., Joanni Baleo Sudouolgio, Anglo, exuli propter Euangelii confessionem, Domino suo amanter colendo. Basilee commoranti.

Salutem per Christum. Predicauit nobis insignem tuam pietatem et humanitatem Guilhelmus noster, qui superiori anno quedam de historico opere ad Oporinum deferebat, Reuerende et Clarissime Balee, precipue uero iudicium tuum de laboribus nostris quantuliscumque, uehementer nos erexit, et confirmauit. Hec omnia faciunt, ut non dubitarim quoddam pium officium a te petere: estque tale. Erunt nobis aliquando, suoque loco, commemorande persone que hac nostra etate illustres in ecclesia Dei sunt aut fuerunt. Cum autem uere historie colligende sint, ideo putauimus quibusdam doctis et bonis uiris scribendum esse, ut eos conatus iuarent. Et cum tua industria toti ecclesiae Christi iam sit cognita, te imprimis rogamus, ne hac in parte nobis desis. Existimamus commodissime hoc negocium confici posse, si eiusmodi charte talibus titulis insignite, quales iam exhibemus, ad homines candidos mitterentur. 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. Scripsi ad d. lycosthenem, ut eodem ratione etiam quorundam aliorum illustrium uirorum historie nobis conficerentur, quam rem ut adiuees, etiam atque etiam petimus. Optaremus tamen secreto eam rem suscipi, neque cuilibet institutum manifestari, ne difficiliores sese nonnulli prestarent, et a maleuolis malis calumniis aut obtreactionibus impediretur. Pro hoc officio utilissimo omnem gratitudinem una cum aliis cooperariis polliceor. Speramus d. Oporinum iam prolaturum esse aliquot instituti operis Centurias, teque et d. foxum amanter oramus, ut uestrum iudicium et correctiones libere nobiscum communicetis. Nihil enim nobis neque utilius neque iucundius esse potest, quam piorum de rebus grauissimis commonefactio. Bene in Domino uale, Charissime uir, foxum reuerenter salutamus. Magdeburgi secundo Martii, anno incarnationis Dominice. 1559.

Joannes Wigandus, et suo et reliquorum cooperariorum nomine.

To the reverend and very distinguished gentleman, Master John Bale an Englishman from Suffolk, in exile on account of his confession of the Gospel, for his lovingly worshipping his Lord, sojourning in Basel.

Greetings in Christ. Our William, who last year offered some material from his historical work to Oporinus, has proclaimed to us your outstanding piety and humanity, Reverend and most Distinguished Bale, but especially your judgement concerning our labours, however small they be, has vehemently raised our spirits and strengthened us. All of this brings it about that I have had no hesitation in asking you for a certain pious favour: and it is this. We shall have at sometime, and in their proper place, to mention persons who in this age of ours are or have been famous in the church of God. And since true histories must be compiled, for that reason we have thought we ought to write to certain learned and good men, in order that they assist those efforts. And since your hard work is already known to the whole of Christ's church, we are particularly asking you not to fail us in this respect. We consider that this business can be completed most commodiously, if sheets of this kind marked with such headings as we are now producing were sent to honest men. Therefore 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. I have written to Master Wolff, in order that the histories of certain other illustrious men should also be completed for us by the same method, and we ask you earnestly to help in this matter. However we would wish that the matter be undertaken in secret, and that its plan should not be made known to anyone, lest some people prove themselves quite difficult, and [the work] be held up by ill-disposed persons through mischievous calumnies or disparagements. For this most useful service I together with my collaborators promise every gratitude. 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 freely to us. For nothing can be more useful or more pleasing to us than reminding good people about most serious matters. Farewell in the Lord, my very dear sir. We send respectful greetings to Foxe. At Magdeburg, 2nd March AD 1559.

John Wigand, in his own name and in the name of the rest of his colleagues.

27. *Christus Triumphans*: 1st Extract.⁶⁷

Translated by John Hazel Smith

PROLOGVS

Salutem uobis, fructumque ex laboribus.
Sibi uicissim a uobis silentium rogat
Poeta nouus, spectatores noui, nouam
Rem dum spectandam profert in proscenium.
Christum quippe triumphantem inferimus. Vtinam

PROLOGUE

Good health to you, and fruit from your labours. Our new poet, in his turn, asks for himself silence of you, new spectators, while he brings onto the stage something new for you to see: to be precise, we bring you Christ Triumphant. Would rather that we could see him coming from heaven, in

⁶⁶ BL Cotton MS Titus D.X. fol. 180v.

⁶⁷ J. H. Smith (ed.), *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe the Martyrologist*, Renaissance Text Series (London: Cornell University Press, 1973).

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Hunc coelitus liceat potius in nubibus
 Triumphantem suspicere. Forsan nec diu
 Id erit ludi quum iacebunt scenici.
 Quippe oculis tum ipsi cuncta contuebimur,
 Re quum ipsa mittit nunc quae promittit Deus.
 Rerum interim per transennam simulachra
 Spectare haud pigeat, tantum quae praeludimus.
 Res tota sacra est totaque Apocalyptica:
 Audita quae multis, nunquam at uisa est prius.
 Sacro ergo indulgete silentio, sacris
 Vt in templis suescitis. Oculos enim sacros
 Perinde ac aures esse, qui minus decet?
 Ecclesiae primum hic qualemcumque faciem
 Dabimus, Satanae et tumultuantis furias.
 Expressum Antichristum cum Babylonica
 Cernetis meretricula, quas turbas dabit.
 Aderit et Nomocrates, suo qui chirographo
 Infestat omnia. Sed in omnibus tamen
 Triumphat Christus, scena quod spectabitur.
 Fauete igitur linguis, fereteque silentium.
 Nos pro silentio linguas locabimus.
 Nasus ualeat omnis, densque sycophanticus,
 Nigrae et loliginis succus, quicquid nigrumque
 Est, tristis Aristarchus, mordaxque Memmius.
 Musae haud canunt nostrae nisi cum Gratiis.
 Nos Roscii haud omnes sumus mimi, at neque
 Vos Momi spero. Hac spe saltamus fabulam.
 Placere actores omnibus;
 Prodesse poeta, nocere studet nemini.
 Idemque a uobis sibi reposit mutuum,
 Vobis et ipse plausurus canentibus.
 Comoedia si prolixa sit, at ingens erat
 Et multiplex materia. Habet hiatus et
 Lamas, fateor, at tam pugnantia nectere
 Natura haud rerum patitur. Ast bonis placent
 Etiam mediocria, malis ne eximia quidem.
 Habetis ergo officium Prologi. Rei
 Habete nunc summam, summo compendio.
 Breue argumentum inquam haud breuis comoediae.

PERIOCHA

Duos Euae gnatos accusante Satana,
 Nomocrates coelitus accepit chirographum
 Quo Psyche in Orcum, Soma Thanato traditur,
 Relictis interim tribus Ecclesia
 Ex coniuge liberis, Europaeo, Africo,
 Et Asia. Hos et noxios Nomocrates
 Prehendens, in carcere Sciolethro detinet,
 Thanato mox traditurus lictori suo.
 Ecclesia coepit et ipsa periclitari.
 Rebus sed perditis, humanae ubi nihil
 Vires potessunt, Christus adest Philanthropos
 Nimisque miseros adiutat Adamidas.
 Psychen Gehennae emancipat, spem Somati
 Vitae melioris sufficit, Ecclesiae
 Tres gnatos exoluit, Pauli ac Petri opera.
 Nomocratem iure exiit chirographi.
 Satanam uinclis mulctat ad annos mille. Is demum
 Solutus miras excitat tragoedias
 Per Pseudamnum Antichristum, Agni atque Ecclesiae
 Hostem. Agnus at triumphat, ac illa ad nuptias
 Vestitur. Strepit undique theatrum plausibus.

ACTVS I. SCENA I.

Trimetri Iambici.

Eua.

[EVA.]

Quod nunc doloris inueniam solatium?
 Lachrymas absumpsi; querelae nihil iuuant.
 Vox neque curis nec spes malis iam sufficit.
 Expers medelae, res ita perit funditus.
 Porro nec quid agam aut quo uortem scio. Flere dum
 Licuit, anxio mitius erat animo:
 Lachrimis saltem pasci aegritudo potuit,
 Quae pars mihi nonnulla erat leniminis.

triumph in the clouds. Perhaps it will not be long before stage
 representations will lie neglected; then indeed we will see all
 with our own eyes, when God sends in actual fact what he now
 only promises. For now, do not be ashamed to view through a
 netting the images of things, which is all we play. Our matter
 is totally sacred and totally apocalyptic, what has been heard
 of by many but never seen before. Therefore indulge us with
 sacred silence, as you are wont to do in holy churches. For
 why is it less fitting for the eyes than for the ears to be trained
 on sacred objects?

Here we will present first, after a fashion, the figure of
 Ecclesia and the passions of the raging Satan. You will see
 the Antichrist portrayed, with his Babylonian whore, and the
 troubles he will cause. Nomocrates too will be here to upset
 everything with his writ. But in everything Christ triumphs
 nevertheless, as will be seen on our stage.

Be kind with your tongues, then, and give us your silence,
 and we will replace your silence with our words. Let every
 keen nose be away, and every sharp tooth; farewell to the ink
 of the black cuttlefish and everything black, to sad Aristarchus
 and mordant Memmius. Our Muses do not sing at all except
 with the Graces. We mimes are not all Rosciuses, but neither,
 I hope, are you Momuses. In this hope we dramatize our
 fable. The actors want to please everyone, the poet to profit
 everyone and harm no one. It is really a loan which he asks of
 you, and when you are doing the playing, he will applaud you.
 If the comedy be long, its matter was large and complex. It
 has gaps and bogs, I confess, but the nature of things does not
 allow such warring elements to be connected. Still, even the
 mediocre pleases those of good will, and not even something
 extraordinary pleases those of ill will.

There you have the office of Prologue. Now here is a
 summary of the matter in very brief form: I shall speak a brief
 argument of a comedy which is not brief at all.

ARGUMENT

When Satan brings charges against the two children of Eve,
 Nomocrates receives from heaven a writ under which Psyche
 is put into Orcus and Soma is turned over to Thanatus. Soma
 leaves three children by his wife Ecclesia: Europus, Africus,
 and Asia. Seizing these also as criminals, Nomocrates holds
 them in the prison Sciolethrum, intending to turn them over to
 Thanatus, his lictor. Even Ecclesia herself begins to be
 threatened. But when all is lost and human powers are of no
 avail, Christ comes, the philanthropist, and helps the wretched
 children of Adam. He frees Psyche from Gehenna. He
 provides Soma with hope of a better life. With the aid of Paul
 and Peter, he frees the three children of Ecclesia. He strips
 from Nomocrates the authority of his writ. He sentences Satan
 to chains for a thousand years. Freed at last, Satan incites
 wondrous tragedies through Pseudamnum, the Antichrist,
 enemy of the lamb and of Ecclesia. But the lamb triumphs,
 and she is dressed for her wedding. On all sides the theater
 resounds with applause.

ACT 1. SCENE 1.

Iambic Trimeters.

Eve.

[EVE]

What solace now can I find for my sorrow? I have used up my
 tears, and complaints are useless. Words are inadequate for
 my cares, and hope for my ills. Destitute of a remedy, my
 situation is utterly lost. I don't know what more to do or
 where to turn. While I could weep, my troubled spirit was
 easier: at least my grief could be nourished with tears, and
 that was a sort of balm for me. Now that my tears grow fewer,
 and my pain grows greater, and the day, which relieves

Iam lachrimae decrescunt, at crescit dolor.
 Diesque aliis quae adimit mihi addit miseriam.
 Meam sic lancinat uitam mors filiae,
 Quae quanto mallem in hanc non exisset lucem:
 Neque illa mala haec, nec ego uiderem moestitiam.
 Quamquam parum hoc, mors quod me orbauit filia:
 Mutari quod nequeat, ferret necessitas.
 Nunc Satan habet impurissimus Psychen meam,
 Perpetuis Orcus tenet addictam ergastulis,
 Mihi quod moeroris merito causa maxima est.
 Eoque huc exii nunc foras quando ubi
 Consistam nescio, ut eam etsi iuuem nihil,
 At me gemitu interim lachrimisque expleam
 Gnatae causa, quae dum usque in suppliciis erit,
 De me haud unquam supplicium sumere desinam.
 Aequum est: mali quae mater fuerim et particeps.
 Sed quid mali hoc, mulier quod oppleta lachrimis
 Vorsus tendit uiam? Sisto me, ut quid ferat
 Boni maliue sciam.

75 others' misery, only adds to mine. Thus does my daughter's
 death mangle my life. I would much prefer that she had never
 come into this world: then she would not have seen her
 misfortunes, nor I this sadness. But it isn't enough that death
 has deprived me of my daughter Psyche: what could not be
 altered, necessity would endure. Now, that infamous Satan
 80 has her; Orcus holds her enslaved in perpetual bondage: that
 by rights is the greatest reason for my sadness. So now, since
 I don't know where to stay, I've come out here. Even if I can't
 help my daughter, at least I may glut myself with lamentation
 and tears on her behalf. So long as she is in torments, I will
 85 never stop inflicting her torment on myself. It is only right,
 since I was the mother of evil and a partner in it. But what's
 the trouble here, that a tearful woman is coming this way? I'll
 stand here to find out what good or ill she's bringing.

90

28. *Christus Triumphans: 2nd Extract.*⁶⁸

Translated by John Hazel Smith

Actus III. Scena IV
 Trimetri.

*Satan Solutus. Anabasis. Diocetes. Psychephonus.
 Pseudamnus.*

Act III. Scene IV
 Trimeters.

Enter Satan, freed, and Anabasis.

[SATAN.]
 Salutem atque benedictionem Acheronticam,
 Quotquot sitis. At quid hoc? Proh portas inferi.
 Itan' nemo gratatum huc prouolat? Semel
 Nec ex uinclis salutem reducem? Populus hic
 Friget. Vide absentia quid facit! At ubinam
 Diocetes saltem ac Psychephonus?
 ANABASIVS. Iam aderunt, scio.
 SATAN.
 Profecto quantum uideo, multo haec res secus
 Atque ego augurabar euenit. Proinut tempora,
 Ita mutanda consilia sunt. Atque eia
 Quam dextro Mercurio succedunt omnia
 Ad unguem ilico. Vah, quanti est sapere miseris.
 ANABASIVS.
 Quid incoepturus cedo?
 SATAN. Quid ubi rescieris,
 Daedalias dixeris superare machinas.
 Scilicet equo hoc nostra facile fient Pergama,
 Nec dubita.
 ANABASIVS. Resipisco.
 DIOCTES. Audire modo uocem
 Visus sum Zebub.
 SATAN. Dioceten ac Psychephonum
 Video.
 DIOCTES. Equidem te, here, restitutum gratulor.
 PSYCHEPHONVS.
 Nos quibus hic labyrinthis tenemur nescis.
 SATAN.
 Theseo uos filo expediam commodum.
 Id qua efficiam probe prouisa est methodus.
 DIOCTES.
 Audistin' ergo?
 SATAN. A principio omnia. Sed mane 830
 Huc dum euoco quem uolo. Heus, Pseudamne, Pseudamne
 Inquam. Men' nemo hic audit? Heus, ex tertio
 Inferno Pseudamnum exire impero.
 PSEVDAMNVS. Quis malum
 Nobis exorcista hic? At princeps ipse est.
 SATAN.
 Ehodum ad me, uosque adeste pariter, ut quae agam 835
 Mystera ministri sitis ac testes mihi.
 Primum initiis ex quantulis in copias
 Quantas creuit nomen Christiadam cernitis,

[SATAN.] Greetings, and blessings from hell, all of you. But
 810 what's this? Look, I've come through the gates. Does no one
 rush forth to wish me joy? Or greet me just once as I return
 from my chains? The people here are cold-hearted. See what
 absence does. But where, at least, are Diocetes and
 Psychephonus?
 815 ANABASIVS. I'm sure they're on their way.
 SATAN. Really, as far as I can see, this has turned out quite
 differently from what I predicted. Well, my plans must be
 changed to suit the times, and ah, how things work out for a
 clever Mercury, right down to the fingernail. Yes, it's worth a
 great deal to be wise during misfortunes.
 820 ANABASIVS. Tell me, what are you going to try?
 SATAN. When you find out, you'll say it surpasses the
 devices of Daedalus. Indeed, with this horse Troy will easily
 be ours, never doubt it.
 ANABASIVS. My spirits are improving.
 Enter Diocetes and Psychephonus.
 DIOCTES. [to Psychephonus]. I thought I just heard
 Zebub's voice.
 825 SATAN. I see Diocetes and Psychephonus.
 DIOCTES. Master, congratulations! You've been restored.
 PSYCHEPHONVS. You don't know the labyrinths we're
 trapped in here.
 SATAN. But I'll free you in due time with a Thesean thread.
 My technique for doing it is well provided for.
 DIOCTES. Have you heard then?
 SATAN. Everything, from the beginning. But wait while I
 call someone here that I want.— [shouts.] Hey, Pseudamnus.
 Pseudamnus, I say. Doesn't anyone here listen to me? Hey,
 Pseudamnus, I order you to come out of the third hell.
 Enter Pseudamnus.
 PSEVDAMNVS. Which of you devils has spirited me here?
 But it's the prince himself.
 835 SATAN. Come here to me.— [to Diocetes and Psychephonus.]
 And you come too to be my ministers and witnesses when I
 perform my mysteries. First, you see how the tribe of
 Christians has grown from such tiny beginnings into huge

⁶⁸ Bibliographical details as in the previous extract.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

<p>Christi praesidio, eius dum insistent legibus: Quippe hinc tantum his robur, nobisque infirmitas. Iam id unicum superest consilium denique: Quod ui haud licet conficiamus ut astutia. Sampsoni huic erademus per meretriculam Caput. Saepe etenim machinis facilius Tolluntur pondera. Ita hic astu nobis opu'st. Etenim Deum aduersus reniti inscitia est. Is dum sufficit opem, operam no' omnem ludimus. Sin pote fieri est, a Christo ut diuaricent suo, Dehinc uictis facile leges imponimus. Praeterea haud ulla restat remedii anchora. ANABASIVS. Sed id qua efficiamus uereor. SATAN. Nihil est. Sine. ANABASIVS. Itane ais? SATAN. Principio id tute, Anabasi, in animum Reuoca: Christum olim ipsum in solitudine Tentamine quo adorsus sum, simili in hos modo Agendum strophæ. Mundi illicibiles opes Deliciasque ingeram; uitae lubentias Omnigenas, ceu Circaea pocula, subiiciam Probe; mille addam ueneficiis praelitos Honores, dynastias, titulos celebres: Voluptatis nulla aberit esca. Quicquid in Mundo celsum est, tentigine aut ulla lenocinans, Incutiam, ueneno ut qui aspergant saccharum. Ita ui quos nequeo, frangam mollitie. Siquidem Natura haec rerum est: mala quos conciliant uiros, Eisdem dissoluit luxuries. Porro ad haec Munia nemo est Pseudamno uno expromptior: Vsque adeo mirus est simulandi artifex Agnum ut, quum uideas, esse ex uultu iudices. Quae causa est hunc cur ad me accitum, uosque nunc Attendere uelim quae dissero. Pseudamne, tu Principio in Babylona te auferes, ubi Cum gazula hac pecuniaria atrium haud Eneruiter obsidebis pontificium, Vt cum sedes uacet, ex asse hanc facias tuam. Quid non uenale muneribus? Aurum ubi rubet, Nihil expugnatum difficile est. Demum ubi ad Rerum fastigia penetraris, haud leuem Pontificem te geras cautio est: Christi unicum Videri te uicarium plausibile fuit. PSEVDAMNVS. Audio. SATAN. Imo aude potius. PSEVDAMNVS. Si queam assequi. SATAN. Vah, scripturae non desunt fulcra qui ingenium Habet. Scis quid Petri ille locus suggerit: Acumen cui est, quiduis quocunque pertrahit. In coelo ut is, ita in terris ad te unum omnia Traxeris. Hunc denique referre undique addecet. Leges faxis, martyrum scriptas sanguine, Queis orbem ceu naribus arbitrio agas tuo. Quoniamque suos habet ille, tibi adiunges quoque Symmistas lateri. Tum Ecclesia nec deerit Tibi facticia, sponsam itidem is ut habet suam, Sed exquisitis quae exornetur uestibus Prorsusque regio strepitu diffluat. Dabis et hunc fornicationis cyathum Quo reges meretricio inebriet toxico. Luxu imbues ac deliciis omnia, Quo fiet hos ut pessundes ad inertiam. Virtutem enim uoluptas uiros dedocet. Sin refractarius tibi quis obaudiat Calcitro, haud mora quin elementis uindices Omnibus. PSEVDAMNVS. Id agnus opinor non fecit Dei. SATAN. Porro ausculta insuper, auremque utranque arrige. In rebus publicis priuatisque omnium, Praecipue in comitiis suffragiisque ordinum, Illic tute, Pseudamne, immisceas. Vbi Cosmetor si quis sit creandus laicis,</p>	<p>840 845 850 855 860 865 870 875 880 885 890 895 900 905</p>	<p>numbers. They're under the protection of Christ so long as they follow his laws: hence their great strength and our weakness. Because of that, we're left now with only one plan: to accomplish by cleverness what we can't accomplish by force. We'll shave the head of this Samson with the help of a whore. As great weights often are lifted quite easily with engines, so we need a device here, because it's folly to stand up to a god. So long as he supports them with his power, we squander all our effort, but if we can work it so they're scattered from their Christ, then we'll easily impose our laws on a conquered people. Except for that, there's no other chance of improvement. ANABASIVS. But how can we accomplish that I'm afraid— SATAN. There's nothing to it, believe me. ANABASIVS. Is that so? SATAN. First call to mind, Anabasis, that I once took on Christ himself in the desert with temptation; I have only to work on these people with the same weapon. I'll press upon them all the seductive wealth and delights of the world; I'll offer them all manner of life's pleasures, the Circean cup as it were; to those elixirs I'll add a thousand painted glories, worldly empires, and distinguished titles. No allurements of pleasure will be wanting. I'll inspire them with whatever is lofty in the world, or whatever entices with lechery, like those who sprinkle poison over sugar. So those whom I can't break with force, I'll break with softness. For this is truly the nature of things: men who are won by vices are melted by luxury. Now, no one is better equipped for these tasks than this fellow, Pseudamnos: he's such a master of deception that, from his appearance when you see him, you'd declare him to be a lamb. That's why I summoned him to me, and now I'd like you to listen to what I tell him.—Pseudamnos, go first to Babylon. You'll lay strong siege to the college of high priests there with this purse of gold, so that when the see becomes vacant, by this money you'll make it yours. What can't be bought with bribes? When your gold is true coloured, nothing is hard to overcome. When you've finally achieved the height of power, you must be careful to conduct yourself as no ordinary pontiff. Let it be plausible that you seem to be the only vicar of Christ. PSEVDAMNVS. I understand. SATAN. Stand up to it instead. PSEVDAMNVS. If I could carry it off! SATAN. Come now, supports of scripture aren't lacking if one has the right temperament. You know what that position of Peter offers: whoever is sharp enough can pull anything wherever he wishes. On earth you will do as the one in heaven does, get everything for yourself alone. It behooves you, then, to reproduce him in every way. You'll make laws, written in the blood of martyrs, with which you may rule the world according to your will, by the nose as it were. And since he has his priests, you'll also attach priests to your side. Again, as he has his bride, you won't be without a false Ecclesia; but let her be decked out in exquisite clothes and completely abandoned to the clamor of royalty. You'll also give her this cup of fornication with which to intoxicate kings with the poison of harlotry. You'll infect everything with lechery and pleasures. So it will happen that you'll sink these people into ignorance—for pleasure unteaches men virtue. But if some grumbler should obey you reluctantly, make no delay, but punish him with all your resources. PSEVDAMNVS. That, I think, the lamb of God didn't do. SATAN. Now listen to something else; perk up both ears. You should involve yourself in the public and private affairs of all ranks, Pseudamnos, especially in conventions and elections. If some leader is to be chosen by the laity, you must share the right of election with them so that your sickle is found in every harvest. Ho ho, how pleased I am with this</p>
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Ita cum illis ius electionis partias,
 Falx ut tua sit omni in messe posita.
 Hoho, ut hoc mihi consilio placeo? Principes
 Hoc pacto reddes facile ad genua supplices.
 Tum confirmationem ex te ut petant uide: 910
 Qui placeant modo; qui minus, hos pro libidine
 Submoueas. Si quid in te sentis uspiam
 Mouerier, ipsos inter se principes
 Committere scitum est. Bellum aut Turcis inferant:
 Victoria qua tendit, tu tendito; uicta pars 915
 Supplex inuita aderit, tibi quod erit utile.
 Sic ipse utrinque inibis gratiam. Fidem
 Seruare te, nisi res mouet, haud monuerim:
 Cum regibus raro, cum haereticis nuspiam.
PSEVDAMNVS.
 Fiscum at si pecunia destituat interim? 920
SATAN.
 Parata uia est: in Turcas expeditio
 Agitur, ad eam rem aere opus et neruis bellicis.
 Rem quum omnes dederint, uerba tu dabis omnibus.
 Postremo tria sunt in uita mortalium:
 Cibi, crimina, connubia, audin'? Clauem qui habet 925
 Messem suo hinc uentri peramplam fecerit.
 Abi nunc Pegaseo quantum queas gradu
 In Babylonem, Pseudamne: in magnis mora haud iuuat.
DI OCTES.
 Recte sane, siquidem is nunc agit animam
 Capitolinus flamen, necdum an obiit scio. 930
SATAN.
 Sed cautio una est quae restat porro priusquam
 Incipias pithecismos tuos quo pallies
 Melius: Nomocratem quoquo modo tibi
 Asciscas sentio. Id enim ad sanctimoniae
 Opinionem refert, quando is adeo 935
 Integer habetur uir ac moribus piis.
 Congredere una, Diocetes, imperium tibi is
 A Constantino ut ereptum redintegret.
 Psychephone, tu uola praeceps Nomocratem
 Quaesitum, ubi ubi sit, huicque addictum uide. 940
 Tu, Anabasi, auri hanc uim accipe qua monilia,
 Corollas, lineas Atrabum seu Laodiceas,
 Coccum atque purpurissum, pallasque insuper
 Auro hyacinthoque florulentas, byssinas,
 Virgatas, undulatas, holosericas 945
 Conquiras, queis Pornam polias, meretriculam
 Babyloniam illam, nostin'?
ANABASIVS. Intelligo.
SATAN. Atque eam
 Ad Pseudamnum aduehas, uestitam munditer.
ANABASIVS.
 Nunquid aliud?
SATAN. Nisi ut matures.
ANABASIVS. Ladas
 Non ipse pernicious nec lubentius. 950
SATAN.
 Postquam his distribui operas, mihi nec ocii est
 Locus. Ad Turcas me feram primitus, eos
 Vt exstimulem in Palestinos ac Rhodos,
 Moxque in Byzantium, inde et in Vngariam ac
 Gentes conterminas. Confecto hoc classico, 955
 Recta me praecipitabo Babyloniam, meos
 Visurus denuo. Sed quid cesso bellua?
 Satanam modo stertere non sinunt haec tempora.

plan! In this way you'll easily bring princes before your knees as suppliants! Then see to it that they seek confirmation from you: if they please you, fine; if not, remove them at your whim. If you sense that something is being plotted against you somewhere, it's a good idea to set the princes against each other. Or have them start a war on the Turks. Where the victory is inclining, you incline the same way. The side that's beaten will come to you as an unwilling suppliant, and that will be profitable for you. Thus you'll come into favour with both sides. I wouldn't advise you to remain loyal unless the occasion warrants it: rarely to kings, never to heretics.

PSEVDAMNVS. But if sometime the treasury should lack money?

SATAN. A way is ready: an expedition is undertaken against the Turks. For that there's a need of money and the resources of war. When they've all given of their substance, you'll give all of them words. Finally, there are three main factors in the life of mortals: sustenance, sins, and sex. You understand? Whoever has the key will reap with it a splendid harvest for his own stomach. Now go to Babylon, Pseudamnus, as fast as possible, with the speed of Pegasus. In great affairs delay doesn't help at all.

DI OCTES. Excellent, for the priest of the Capitoline is now breathing his last. I don't know whether he's dead yet or not.

SATAN. But before you begin, there's still one piece of advice remaining: the better to cover up your monkeying around, I think you should take Nomocrates as your associate in some capacity. That will convey a reputation for holiness, since he's held to be such an upstanding man of pious ways.—
 935 **Diocetes,** you go with him too so he can restore to you the rule which was seized by Constantine.— [Exeunt Pseudamnus and Diocetes] **Psychephonus,** fly quickly. Find Nomocrates, wherever he is, and see that he joins Pseudamnus' cause. [Exit Psychephonus.] **Anabasis,** you take this sum of gold to buy necklaces, crowns, cloth of Arras or Laodicea, scarlet and purple, robes flowered in gold and hyacinth, made of striped and patterned cottons, and all-silk. With these things adorn **Porna,** the Babylonian whore. Do you know her?

ANABASIVS. Yes.

SATAN. When she's elegantly dressed, take her to Pseudamnus.

ANABASIVS. Nothing else?

SATAN. Nothing, except that you hurry.

ANABASIVS. Ladas himself wouldn't go faster, or more willingly. [Exit]

SATAN. Now that I've distributed jobs to them, there's no time for me to be at leisure. First I'll go to the Turks to stir them up against Palestine and Rhodes, then against Byzantium, and finally against Hungary and the adjoining countries. Once I've sounded the battle signal, I'll rush straight to Babylonia to see my people again. But why delay, brute? These times just don't allow Satan to snore. [Exit]

29. *Panegyricon: Extract from Sections 5-7*⁶⁹

Translated by Richard Day, 1579⁷⁰

5. Atque ut a leuissimis primum hoc in genere exordiamur, mortis huius quotidie grassantis inuictam tyranidem confideremus: quam, quum caeteros suos quisque hostes deuicerint, nunquam debellare quiuerunt uel potentissimi orbis monarchae: non Macedo ille magnus, cuius uictoriis non unus

5. And first to begyn with the least, & lightest of these Euils, consider with mee the inuincible tyranny of Death dayly raunging, & raging, in this world: the power, and force whereof not all the Monarches of the earth could once withstand: Not that great Kyng of Macedon, whose aspyryng

⁶⁹ J. Foxe, *Christus triumphans . . . autoris ejusdam panegyricon* (Basel: Oporinus, 1556).

⁷⁰ J. Foxe, *Christ Jesus triumphant A fruittefull treatise . . .* (London: John & Richard Daye, 1579). See STC 11321 / 638:21.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

suffecerat mundus, hanc edomare: non Herculana uis, quum omnia superaret monstra, hanc excetram conficere: non Persa, montibus etiam et fluminibus minitans, hanc cum omni turba perterrefacere: non tot adoreis onustus Marius, aut Pompeius onustior, non ambitiosius Iulius, non triarii Romanorum milites, ferrataeque copiae, qui orbis finibus terminato Imperio, cunctis prouinciis iugum imposuerint, hoc suis ceruicibus iugum ipsi depellere ualuerunt. Tot iam seculis in orbe saeuit huius tyranni indomita rabies: nec quisquam adhuc ex omni mortalium genere extitit, qui eius ineuitabiles impetus uel retardare, uel euitare potuerit: non Regum, non Caesarum formidabilis maiestas huic imperare, non legum cautiones hanc infrenare, non diuitum opulencia redimere, non philosophorum inane sophos, altumque supercilium opprimere, non Rhetorum eloquentia emollire, non Dialecticorum strophae aut quamlibet arguti hanc uincire nexus, non Stoicorum toties iactata libertas huius seruitutem excutere: non pharisaica sanctimonia, non pontificum religio, non monastica austeritas, non sacerdotum preces eam deprecari: non ciuium consilia, non opificum industria hanc excludere moenibus: denique non hominum aut naturae ulla uis aut ratio huic obsistere unquam potuit.

6. Quis est, inquit Propheta, homo uiuens, qui non uidebit mortem? Quippe hic tyrannus nulli parcens, omnes conditiones, sexus omnes et aetates hominum infestat, aequae regum turres ac pauperum tabernas scandit, coniugia dissociat, amicitias abrumpit, tenera pignora a matrum abripit complexibus: unde lachrymis, luctu, lamentis plena ubique omnia. Hunc in modum mulier illa in Euangelio, unigenitum, quem mortuum efferebat, quo dolore et lachrymis prosequatur? cui felicissime occurrens in uia Dominus, filium restituerat. Sic Lazarus a duabus sororibus. sic Dorcas in Actis apostolicis a compluribus defletur. Haec enim exempli gratia attingo tantum, cum casibus huiusmodi nusquam non omnes sint domus et familiae refertae.

7. Iam si tales nobis darentur oculi, quibus in terrae latebras penetrare, atque eorum omnium quos ab orbe condito mors absorpsit, infinitam omnis generis multitudinem contemplari ac numerare liceret: Deum immortalem, quantam hominum iacentium stragem, quantam mortis cuncta deuastantis tyrannidem, non animo solum complecti, sed et oculis ipsis subiectam spectaculo eo cerneremus? Nam haec hominum qui hodie uiuunt multitudo, quota tandem portio est turbae illius, quae tot continuis retro seculis morte abrepta οὐρα, ut inquit poeta, ac in terreis monumentis computrescit? Atqui tales habebat oculos acutissimus propheta ille, qui clamare iussus est: Omnis caro foenum, et gloria eius flos foeni, etc. Et quantum modo retulerit, quibus quisque istorum deliciis, uoluptatibus, potentia, gloria, sapientia, literis, consiliis, titulis, triumphis inclaruit: quum non solum iis omnibus sed et uita ipsa cum rebus, luce, aura, corpore denique ipso carere cogitur? perinde enim, ut sapiens concionatur Ecclesiastes, moritur sapiens ac stultus, doctus ac illiteratus, diues ac tenuis, Rex et plebeius. Discriminis nihil est. Mors omnes simul aequat, cunctis pariter inflictis mortalibus. Omnes enim communi nascuntur conditione, ut occidant: quidam maturius, alii tardius. et cui longissime fluit huius uitae clepsydra, adusque senectae metam ultimam, quae tamen non perinde multis nunc accidit: nihil ea res obstat tamen, quin uera maneat ueteris paroemiae fides, Homo bulla.

hart the Conquest of one world could not content, was at any tyme able too cope with her: Not Hercules strength, albeit the bane of most vgly Monsters, was euer habile so much as too wound this byting Serpent: Not that Persian Xerxes, euen he that threatmed fludds, and mountaynes, could once amaze her, with all his armed troupes: Not Marius the renowned, or the more renowned Pompey: Not hauty Caesar: Not the most hart, and valiaunt Romane Souldiors, who lymtyed their Empire with the boundes, and borders of the earth, bringyng all Nations 3 intoo subiection were at any tyme able too cast of the yoke of her subiection. How many ages of this world hath this tyrannicall fury ryoted vp & downe, yet no mortall wight hetherto found, once able too delay, much lesse too delude, and so escape her deadly inuasion? Not the dreadfull Maiestie of Kyng or Keisar could at any tyme haue her at becke or checke: No conueyaunce or deceitfull drift in Law could circumuent her: No worldly Wealth could brybe her: no reaching head, or high look of Philosophers could teach her a tricke of new deuise in Schole: No painted speach of Rhetorique could qualifie her rage: No subtile Sophister could geue her the shift: No brag of Stoicall Libertie could euer shake of her seruil yoke: No Pharasaicall Holynes: No Religion of Bishops: No Monkishe Austeritie: No Prayers of Priestes could intreat her: No Citizens Pollicie: No Handycrafts Labor, could banish her of House or Towne: Finally No Strength of Nature, No Reason of Man could at any tyme resist, and geue her the foyle.

6. *What Man, sayth the Prophet, liueth, and shall not taste of DEATH. For she, tyrannically sparing no one, inuadeth all Estates, all sexes, and Ages of Men: she assaulteth aswell Princes Towers, as Poore Mens Cotages: she separateth Wife, and Husband: dissolueth Frenship: and, which is most lamentable, violently snatcheth the tender sucklyng, from the Mothers teat. ô, most pitifull, and plentifull are the teares, lamentations, & harthreakynges which hereof haue, and dayly do procéed. After this manner, that séely Mothor, in the Gospell, followyng her onely sonne to buriall, how thinck you did she lament, and wryng her handes? but the LORD, most happely méetyng her on the way, restored her sonne to lyfe agayne. So Lazarus of his two sisters: so Dorcas (in the Actes) is of many lamented. These onely I touch by the waye, for examples sake, well knowyng that no house, or famelie whatsoever, but some tyme or other hath like chaunces, and cause of woe.*

7. *Now, if we were so cléere of eye, as wherewith we might pearce the hart, and bowels of the Earth, therein taking 4 vewe, and tale of the infinite number of all those, whom DEATH, since the creation of the worlde, hath swallowed vp: good God, what a wonderfull slaughter of dead Men, what outragious tyranny of deuouring DEATH should wée not onely comprehend with inwarde mynde, but also behold with outwarde eye. For the infinite, and vnscrutable number of Men liuyng at this present houre, what are they in respect of those, who, so many yeares since, taken waye by DEATH, dwel, as the Poet sayth, and rot in graue. Howbeit, such eyesight had that most wise Prophet, who by commission dyd proclayme, that, All flesh is grasse, and the glory thereof, as the flower of the field. And what then shal it auayle any one in what delights, pleasures, power, glory, wisdom, learning, counsaile, honor, and pompe he liue, and florishe, when he shallbe perforce deprived, not onely of those things but of lyfe it selfe, as also of light, ayre, and body. For, as the wise Preacher doth witnes, The Wise-Man aswell as the Foole, the learned as the vnlearned, the rich aswell as the poore, the Prince and Paifant, all a lyke. There is no difference, no respect or regard of Persons, one or other. DEATH méeteth with all, alike, equally strikyng all mortall creatures. For all man are borne on this condition, to dye, some sooner, some later: and though some one Mans lyfe last to extreme Old-age, which now is very seldome séen, yet that hindreth not a whit, but that the old Prouerbe may still bée true as stéele, A Man, a Bubble.*

30. Letter to John Cheke, 1557.⁷¹

1. Salutem cum foelicitate in Christo, uir in Christo ornatissime. Pridie quam tuae mihi sunt redditae sermone cuiusdam Argentinensis κατ' ἀξιωμαστοῦ ad me perferebatur, te libri eiusdem uersionem, in qua ego uersor, habere in manibus. Quam etsi multo malebam abs te initio susceptam, qui solus fere ex nostris ad eam prouinciam uideres ἐξοχος ἄλλων, incipiebam tamen in amicis aliquis fidem desiderare, qui id mihi prius non retulerunt. Sed protinus interuenientes literae tuae, omni hac suspicione et cura animi expediebant. Quapropter eximiae tuae humanitati dupliciter habeo gratiam, uel quia ad nos scribere dedignatus non sis, uel quia in hoc ipso maxime tempore tantum abest interim ut purgatione hic ulla opus esset, quod tam diu non scripseris. Et quid ergo tua haec humanitas faceret apud eos, quibus reipsa officium debeas? De Vlisseis tuis itineribus tam diuturnis et longinquis ut praedicas, equidem dolerem uicem tuam, nisi scirem, ex istis erroribus te quotidie Vlisseae prudentiae fructus lucrificare, ut te πολομητην ut spero insignem quempiam habeamus.

2. In conuertendis D. Cantuariensis libris etsi pergebam, hactenus pro ualetudinis nostrae imbecillitate, nunc tamen hos labores multo alacrius sustineo, postquam tua praestantia mihi addit tam amicum calcar. Ea res quam Anglis gloriosa futura sit nescio, nec multum secto modo Ecclesiae christianae sit utilis. Mihi uero opus illud tot salebris perplexum, tot lacunis ac hyperbatis tanta prolixitate molestum quantis laboribus constitit, haud multi, fortassis aestimabunt. Porro has mihi difficultates, auxit etiam non parum prior tuus tomus, cuius incredibilis dexteritas cum mihi sit inimitabilis, requirent sed tamen lectores, ut aliqua saltem parte respondeam. Quod de inditio D. Cant. scribis, censuraque adhibita, idem Ioa. a Lasco mihi retulit Francfordiae.

3. Quanquam non sic ille pro Latinis tuis sua ut ais scholastica ingessit, qum (*sic*) totus tomus, totum adhuc Chicum redoleat semperque redolebit. Neque enim difficile est leonem ex unguibus (mi Chice) indicare. Iam ea epistolae tuae pars, ubi tantum mihi tribuere uideris, satis magnum mihi pudorem incuteret, nisi ex immodico quodam niueae nature tuae candore magis quam ex meis meritis profectam agnoscerem. Sic enim totus uideris singulari quodam genio tuo ad humanitatem factus ut putem etiam Thirsite illo φοξω encomiastes esse posset, longe nimirum dissidens a natu quorundam, qui in caeteris suggillant omnia, in sese nihil non admirantur. Interim uero quod de studio omni erga me tui offers, pergratum est. Atque utinam uicissem in libris meis, nam de fortunis quod dicam nihil situm sit quod aliquam saltem gratitudinis uicem tibi queat rependere certe conatus non defuturos efficiam fauente Christo ut sentias. Quaeso ut his libris D. Abel redditis, eum roges ut transferendas curet Antverpianam cum primum poterit.

1. Greetings with happiness in Christ, most distinguished man in Christ. The day before your [letter] was delivered to me, it was reported to me in conversation with a certain trustworthy person from Strassbourg that you have in your hands a translation of the same book on which I am working. Although I would have much preferred that it had been undertaken from the start by you, who almost alone of our people seemed much better qualified than others for that province, yet I was beginning to long in vain for faith in certain friends, who did not report the fact to me earlier. But immediately on its arrival your letter freed me from all this suspicion and anxiety of mind. And so I thank you twice over for your outstanding kindness, both because you have not refused to write to us, and because at this time in particular it is so far from there being any need of an apology here for your not having written for such a long time. And what then would this kindness of yours do among those to whom you actually owe your office? As regards your Ulyssean journeys which, as you see, have been so lengthy and far afield, indeed I would grieve on your part, if I did not know that you are gaining the profits of Ulyssean wisdom every day from those wanderings, so that we have in you, as I trust, someone who is outstandingly clever.

2. In translating the books of my Lord of Canterbury, although I was proceeding up to now in accordance with the feebleness of my health, now however I am sustaining these toils much more eagerly, now that your eminence has added such a friendly spur to me. I do not know how glorious a thing that may be for Englishmen, nor am I chasing after it much, provided that it is useful for the Christian church. Not many people will perhaps realise how much toil there is for me in that work, which is perplexing with so many rough places and tiresome with so many gaps and transpositions. Furthermore, your earlier volume has also considerably increased these difficulties for me, the incredible dexterity of which cannot be imitated by me, but yet the readers will require me to respond at least in some part. What you write concerning the trial of our Lord of Canterbury, and the criticism which was applied, John à Lasco has reported to me from Frankfurt.

3. Although he did not so heap in his own, as you say, scholasticisms in place of your Latin, but that the whole volume is redolent of the whole of Cheke and will always be so. For it is not difficult, my dear Cheke, to make a lion known by his claws.⁷² Now the part of your letter, where you seem to attribute so much to me, would bring quite enough shame upon me, if I did not recognise that it stemmed from a certain measureless candour of that snow-white nature of yours, rather than from my own merits. For you seem so completely made for kindness through a certain outstanding genius of yours that I think you could even be a panegyrist for that famous Thersites Foxe, obviously set far apart from the birth of certain people, who jeer at everything in others, while they admire everything in themselves. But meanwhile what you are offering from all enthusiasm towards me from yourself is very pleasing. And so I wish that I had been successful in my letters, for nothing may be set for me to speak about fortunes that is able at least to repay some portion of gratitude to you so that I may bring it about that you may perceive that with Christ's favour my efforts will certainly not fail. I ask that you return these letters to Master Abel and ask him to see that they are transferred to Antwerp as soon as he can.

⁷¹ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 96v.

⁷² A variation on the Erasmus adage *leonem ex unguibus aestimare* (ἐκ τῶν ὀνύχων λέοντα γινώσκειν), 'to know a lion by his claws'. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* I.ix.34.

31. *Dedication from the Preface to Locorum
Communium Tituli, 1557.*⁷³

INCLYTAE ACADE-
MIAE BASILIENSIS TYRO-
nibus, & Iuuentuti literariae, Ioannes Foxus
Anglus gratiam in Christo, &
uitam aeternam.

1. Si in brutis mutisque animantibus, atque adeo inter res quandoque inanimes, quae beneficium non sentiunt, gratitudinis tamen cuiusdam uestigia haud obscura aduertimus: quanto nos magis homines in hoc officii genere non esse segniores, consentaneum est? Atque quum in his sane omnibus, honesta cum primis putanda res est, humanitatis haec officique expressio, quos Natura peculiariter ad omnem uirtutis sensum formauit: quid tamen ab his expectandum, quibus ad Naturae institutionem literae insuper accesserunt, humanitatis magistrae, quaeque plus quam homines soleant reddere? Quid enim in rebus fere humanis coniunctius, quam Musarum cum Gratiis contubernium, ac copula indiuidua?

2. Quod quum apud me considerarem, simulque illud perpenderem, quot quantisque nominibus, Proceribus uestris, amplissimae ciuitati, ac celeberrimae huic Academiae, omnes obstricti peregrini, tum potissimum nos Angli omnium obstrictissimi teneamur: non putauit committendum, ut tantae pietatis & gratitudinis monumenta, quae alioqui utile multis ad imitandum exemplar praebere possent, nostra sepulta ingratitudine, ac tanquam tenebris obruta delitescerent. Atque utinam promptae uoluntati ea fortunae nostrae facultas suppeteret, ut non solum in commemoranda, sed referenda etiam gratia, paribus officiis, uestra in nos studia pensare liceat.

3. Singularem enim populi Basiliensis humanitatem, incredibilem Magistratum cum summa autoritate coniunctam mansuetudinem, fidem, promptitudinem: totius insuper Academiae, nullo non decorum ac literarum genere florentissimae, atque inter hos potissimum uiri undecunque doctissimi ac disertissimi D. Simonis Sulceri, pastoris uestri, propensam uoluntatem, plenumque quotidianis officiis fauorem mirari possumus, amplecti solemus, digna officiorum talione haud scio an unquam exequemur. Et tamen conatus hic nostros qualescumque, iuxta illam Socraticam *καθιδυναμιν*,⁷⁵ non defuisse, non inhonestum, spero, uobis, nobis sane pernecessarium uidetur. Nec deerunt forsitan posthac, qui ex meliori penu maiora allaturi sint. Nobis quoniam nihil erat in praesentia dignum maioribus uestris, ac praefectis, quibus tantopere obaerati sumus: hoc ipsum, quod proximum erat in manibus.

4. Opus, uniuersae adolescentiae paratum, in uos transferre libuit: ut si illis, quibus debemus, gratificari non liceret, minus tamen ingrati in illos esse, si in uos essemus grati, uideremur. Excipietis igitur, ingenui adolescentes, non illibenter, pro candore uestro, quicquid hoc est *μνημοσύνης*, quod exhibemus: eoque excipietis plausibilis, quo laboriosior nobis haec fuit foetura, quae prodit: uobis quam utilis futura, nescio. id enim a uobis sentiri, quam mea commemoratione iactari, malim. Illud liquido, opinor, meoque iure dixerim, totam huius operis confectionem non alium habuisse scopum, quam utilitatem adolescentiae publicam, utcunque tandem rei successus respondeat.

Translated by John Wade

TO THE NOBLE UNIVERSITY
OF BASEL'S UNDER-
graduates, and literary youth, John Foxe
an Englishman sends grace in Christ, &
everlasting life.

1. If in dumb and mute beings, and to such an extent among whatever inanimate things, which do not have the benefit of feeling, we yet pay attention to the clear traces of some gratitude, by how much the more it is proper⁷⁴ for us men not to be too slow in this kind of duty? And since of course this expression of kindness and duty must be considered particularly honourable among those whom Nature has peculiarly formed for every sense of virtue, what however should be expected from those whom literature has approached in addition to the institution of Nature, the mistress of kindness, and which is accustomed to render more than men? For what is more pertinent in human affairs generally than the accompaniment of the Muses with the Graces and an individual bond?

2. When I reflect on this, and ponder that carefully to how many and what great names, your nobles, your glorious city, and this most famous University, all foreigners are held in obligation, and we Englishmen of all are especially obliged, I did not think that there should be cause that the records of such great piety and gratitude, which could otherwise provide a useful example to many for imitation, had been buried by our ingratitude, and were lying hidden, as though covered with darkness. I wish that abundance of good fortune corresponded with a ready willingness, so that we would be permitted to balance your exertions on our behalf with equal services not only in remembering but also in repaying your kindness.

3. For we can marvel at, and we are accustomed to cherish, but I do not know whether we can describe the outstanding kindness of the people of Basel, the incredible gentleness, trust and readiness linked with their supreme authority of the Magistrates, and over and above of the whole of the University, most flourishing in every kind of achievement and learning, and amongst these particularly repaying with a like for like worthy of his services the enormous good will and support full of daily favours of a man, the most learned and eloquent of any place, namely Master Simon Sulcer, your pastor. And yet that our efforts here, such as they are, alongside that Socratic *καθιδυναμικ*, have not been lacking, I hope that while it has not seemed dishonourable to you, it clearly seems very necessary to us. Nor will there afterwards perhaps be lacking those who will be drawn to greater things as a result of a better provision of food, since we had nothing under the present circumstances worthy of your ancestors and leaders, to whom we are so greatly indebted, and this itself was very close to hand.

4. The work, prepared for the whole of our youth, it has pleased us to transfer to you, so that if it were not possible to thank those to whom we are indebted, yet we would seem to be less ungrateful to them if we were to express our thanks to you. And so, noble young men, you will receive not unwillingly whatever this *μνημοσύνη* is which we shall be showing you, and you will receive it with greater applause for the reason that this production which is publishing it has been more difficult for us: how useful for you it will be, I do not know. For I would prefer that it was felt by you rather than boasted of by my mentioning it. I have said that clearly and, I think, rightly, that the whole of the composition of this work has had no other target than public usage by the young men, in whatever

⁷³ J. Foxe, *Locorum communium tituli* . . . (Basel: Oporinus, 1557).

⁷⁴ Cf. Cicero: *his temporibus consentaneum*

⁷⁵ Should read *καθιδυναμιν*.

way finally the outcome of the matter may be reflected.

5. Nam quod ad meipsum attinet, uix ullum esse argumenti genus arbitror, unde non plus priuati fructus, minusque laboris ad autorem redire posset, si meo compendio, quam publico profectui seruire maluissem. Nec deerant argumenta alia, in quibus non paulo liberior ad calami ingenii que ostentationem cursus pateret, si quid huiusmodi cordi mihi, aut studio fuisset: quum e diuerso totum hoc negocium, sua natura subaridum et ieiunum, praeter perplexam subtilitatem, et non aestimandos labores, nihil fere suo confectori magnopere lucrifecerit. Quae propterea a me hic admonentur, ne quis haec in speciem aestimans, quum chartas ociosas ac irrepletas aduertit, minutias ilico ceu momenti nullius abiiciendas putet, priusquam usum rei, praximque intelligat.

5. For as far as I am concerned, I think that there is scarcely any kind of argument from where more private profit and less work could not return to the author, if I had preferred to serve my own gain rather than public profit. Nor were other arguments lacking in which a little more liberal course would not reveal the display of pen and talent, if I had had anything of this kind in my heart or desire, since on the contrary the whole of this business, which is very unadorned⁷⁶ and jejune, apart from its intricate simplicity and inestimable labours, has made its creator almost no profit. Therefore these things are being advised by me, so that no one, judging them at face value, when he turns pages which are superfluous and unfilled, should think that trifles on that account are of no importance and should be thrown away, before he realises the use and good result of the practice.

6. Imo ob hoc ipsum parcitum est chartae a nobis, ne uerba dare, imo ne non uerba dare, sed chartulas duntaxat uacuas prostituere uideremur. Folia quidem ac chartas nudas exhibemus: sed quas ab aliis potius, quam a nobis expleri, non paulo magis referebat. Denique qualiscunque haec opella sit, uestris auspiciis, Basilienses alumni, in manus & iudicia caeterorum prodit: in qua si beneficium studiis uestris dare nequimus, specimen tamen ostendimus uoluntatis, quam non potestis omnino contemnere. Quod si illud non frustra admonuit Seneca, ea quae mittuntur a nobis, non tam per se splendida, quam iis quibus destinantur, apta esse oportere: equidem id nos assecutos confido, ut si minus digna haec nomine uestro, satis tamen studiis uestris apta, nec infrugifera fortasse, fructum horum aliquando experti intelligatis. Dominus IESVS, unicus studiorum auspex, adolescentiam uestram, omnesque actiones suo Spiritu sancto prouehat, & dirigat ad ea quae uerae sunt sapientiae, & Ecclesiae ipsius salutifera: Amen.

6. No rather, for this very reason paper has been saved by us, lest we should seem to be giving words, or rather not to be giving words, but to be sullyng little pieces of paper in so far as they are empty. Indeed we are exhibiting empty pages and pieces of paper, but it makes little more difference that they are filled by others rather than by us. Finally, students of Basel, whatever this little work is, through your auspices it comes forth into the hands and judgments of the others, and if in it were are unable to give benefit to your studies, yet we are showing an example of good will which you cannot altogether reject. But if Seneca did not give that advice in vain, 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: indeed I am confident that we have achieved this, that you may understand, having once tried the fruit of these, that if they are less worthy of your name, yet they may be suitable for your studies, and perhaps not unfruitful. May the Lord JESUS, the only protector of studies, carry forward your young persons and all your actions with his holy Spirit, and direct them to those things which are healthy for true wisdom and the Church itself. Amen.

32. The *Ad Inclytos*: First extract: Introduction; the people in error.⁷⁷

1. Nihil equidem addubito, Principes, Proceres, Patres nobilissimi, quin eximia autoritas uestra, diuinae cuiusdam potentiae uicariam nobis imaginem repraesentans in terris, semper et egit sedulo, et actura est; ut cum priuata dignitate uestra, publica simul uestrorum tranquillitas coniuncta, salusque contineatur. Quid enim aliud uel a splendidissimo hoc loco expectare, uel de singulari uigilantia uestra suspicari conuenit, quam in uobis, qui ductores sitis Reipublicae, paratissima fore omnia, sicubi uel auxilii fidem, uel iuuandi uoluntatem res communis desiderabit? Quapropter ut summa ac singularis haec, quam dico, industria uestra, cum absoluta prudentia, parique fide coniuncta, neutiquam consilii meis aut documentis egere potest: ita neque ego hac nunc oratione uos interpellandos existimaui, quod aut facultati uestrae quicquam adiacere, siue in uoluntate aliquid desiderari queat, uerum sit nescio quo modo, ut quam hactenus interclusam mihi uocem ingens quidam stupor diu compressit, eandem nunc dolor, ac miseranda temporum horum contemplatio necessario aperiat, exprimatque.

1. I have no doubt, Princes, Nobles, most noble Fathers, but that your pre-eminent authority, representing on earth the vicarious appearance to us of a divine authority, has always acted and will act assiduously, to the end that both the public tranquillity and safety of your people together with your private dignity may be maintained. For what else is it fitting either to expect from this most splendid place, or to believe concerning your singular watchfulness, than that everything will be most ready in you, who are the leaders of the State, wherever public interest will wish for either trusty assistance or willing aid? Wherefore just as this supreme and, as I am saying, singular effort of yours, joined with absolute prudence and equal trust can by no means need my counsels or evidence, so neither have I considered that you should be bothered now by this speech, on the grounds that either anything can be added to your capability, or anything found wanting in your good will, but because it is the case in some way or another that the voice which has so far been stifled in me and checked by a great numbness, so to speak, now grief and a pitying contemplation of these times is of necessity revealing and expressing.

2. Quis enim, uos obtestor, non toto inhorrescat pectore? cuius id ferant aures? quis non deploret? quem non ad

2. For who, I beg you, would not shudder with his whole heart? Whose ears would bear it? Who would not weep

⁷⁶ *subaridus* is not found in Lewis & Short. *aridus*, however, is and means 'unadorned' in relation to style.

⁷⁷ Text taken from J. Foxe, *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum* . . . (Basel: Oporinus, 1559). Microfilm copy supplied by T.S. Freeman.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

gemitus, ad lachrymas pertrahat, cui nunquam conspecta sit Anglia, tantum in Anglia effundi Christiani sanguinis, tot ciues ingenuos, tot liberos et innocentes promiscue, cum foeminis uiros, capite et fortunis quotidie periclitari, caedi, exuri, laniari prope sine modo et numero? adeo, ut non hos modo uniuersos qui audiunt, sed et famam ferme ipsam suppudeat, ea quae apud uos quotidie geruntur referre. Quod si barbarus ex ultima Turcia Barbarossa, aut Scythicus hostis quispiam aliunde irrumpens in Angliam, tantam hanc gentis uestrae stragem designasset, haud minor fortasse calamitas, at minor profecto esset querimonia. Saeuitiam etsi omnino per se grauem nationis tamen minueret distinctio. Nunc quorum saluti apud uos potissimum esse perfugium conueniebat, eosdem uos ipsi capi, exagitari, discerpi, dilacerari, Angli Anglos, Magistratus subditos, Christiani Christianos, cernitis, et toleratis.

bitterly? Who would not be drawn to groans and tears who had never set eyes on England by the fact that so much Christian blood was being poured out in England, that so many citizens, so many children and innocents promiscuously freeborn men together with women, were daily in danger of losing their lives and possessions, being murdered, burned and torn to pieces almost without limit and without number? To such an extent, that not only all of those who hear but also almost rumour herself, severally speaking, would be ashamed to refer to these things which are daily done among you. But if the barbarian Barbarossa⁷⁸ from furthest Turkey, or some hostile Scythian bursting from some other place upon England, had designed so great a carnage as this upon your people, it would have been perhaps no less a disaster, but assuredly there would have been less cause for complaint. The cruelty, although altogether serious in itself, would nevertheless be lessened by the nation's distinction. Now those for whose safety it was fitting that there should be a refuge with you above all, those same persons you yourselves see and tolerate being captured, persecuted, dismembered, torn to pieces, English seeing the English, the Magistrates seeing those who have been subjected to them, the Christians seeing Christians.

[. . .]

6. Sed age procedat oratio: fingamusque id interim uobiscum, quod uultis. Quiduis enim animi opinione libera cogitando effingimus, uel Chimaeras etiam, si libet, licet a natura omnique ratione seiunctas. Age itaque fingamus, ut dico, non quod res est, sed quod uolunt tempora, errore teneri istos. Atenim qualis hic error, iudicii ne an uoluntatis est? Nam si a uoluntate disiunctus sit, facinus esse non potest. Sicut praeclare ab Augustino quidem, peccatum quod uoluntarium non sit, nullum esse, dictum est. Proprie enim delinquent hi, qui quum se rectas rationis et officii lineas praetergredi non ignorant, pergunt tamen: unde eosdem mox insequitur, quam ipsi sequi quum possent, noluerunt, conscientia. Sin autem iudicii sit: nimirum ea res, Iudices, esse eos homines arguit: quemadmodum neque uos sane esse deos arbitror, qui nusquam et ipsi aberrare iudicando possitis. Et tamen iidem, utcunque errare dicuntur, errorem suum magnis tumentur autoribus: Christo, Verbo Dei, Apostolicis literis, exemplis purioris ecclesiae, doctorum si non omnium, lectissimorum certe testimoniis. Iam si uobis ita penitus persuasum inhaereat, uestra omnia, nullo erroris admixtu, uera esse, atque orthodoxa: iidem quoque hoc ipsum non minus de se existimant, iudiciis etiam liberis conuincunt, quin et sanguinis denique luculento argumento confirmant. Et utros nunc uestrum errare, aut non errare, sciemus? Neque enim uel uos non errare, quia sic uobis persuasistis: neque iccirco errare illos, quia a uobis dissentiant, necessaria probatio est.

6. *But come, let the speech proceed: and let us in the meantime pretend that you have what you want. For by reflecting with the free thought of the mind we express whatever you want, even Chimaeras too, if you please, although they are separated from nature and all rational thought. And so, come on, let us pretend, as I say, not what is actually the case, but what the times want, that those men are being held fast by their error. For what sort of error is this, one of judgment or inclination? For if it is separated from inclination, it cannot be a crime. Just as it has been very clearly said by Augustine that what is not of one's own volition is not a sin. For strictly speaking those who, when they are not unaware that they are transgressing the proper limits of reason and duty, yet continue to do so, are doing wrong: whence their conscience soon presses upon the same people, which, when they could, they refused to follow. But if it is a matter of justice: of course that question, Judges, proves they are human beings: just as I clearly do not think you to be gods who are incapable of being wrong in your judgment⁷⁹. Also however those same people, in whatever way they are said to be in error, defend their error with great authorities: Christ, the Word of God, the letters of the Apostles, the examples of the purer Church, the evidence if not of all learned men, at least of the most select. Now if it is established that it is so deeply ingrained in you that all your views are true, with no admixture of error, and orthodox, the same people also consider this very point no less of themselves and also show clearly with free judgment, nay further they confirm it with the shining proof of their blood. And shall we know now which of you are in error or not in error? For neither is there the requisite proof that either you are not in error because you have persuaded us thus, nor for that reason that they are in error, because they disagree with you.*

7. Vnde igitur ueritatis colligetur fides? Ex potentiae autoritate? At eadem etiam illi polluerunt non ita pridem. Argumentis? His densius pugnant illi, et fortioribus, si audiri possent. Eruditione? Dicam, si liceat: hac semper fuistis inferiores. Numero et multitudine? At corruptissimus semper fuit testis ueri uulgus. Neque alia res fere oppressit Christum. Quanquam si in Anglia liberis singulorum suffragiis res ageretur, suaque daretur cuique quod uellet eligendi optio, forsitan haud ita multis punctis uincerent Mariani. Mortene, et martyrio? Atqui utinam hac parte non ita innumeris parasangis praecederemus. Quid ergo? an quia fortio-

7. *From where will the assurance of truth be gathered? From the authority of power? But even they polluted the same things not so very long ago. From proofs? They fight with these more frequently and with stronger ones if they can be heard. With erudition? I would say, if I may be permitted, you have always been inferior in this. With number and size? But the mob has always been a most corrupt witness of the truth. No other thing has nearly overthrown Christ. Although if the matter were being discussed in England with free votes of individuals, and if his own choice were being given to each person of choosing what he wanted, perhaps the Marians*

⁷⁸ A reference to the Barbary pirate leader of this name who controlled Algiers before 1529, captured Tunis in 1534 (having in 1532 been appointed admiral of the Ottoman Empire) and then made an alliance in 1534 with Francis I. In this year Barbarossa raided the Adriatic coast of Italy but was then defeated by the holy Roman Emperor Charles V, losing Goletta and Tunis, and seeking refuge in Constantinople. See G.R. Elton, *Reformation Europe: 1517-1559* (London: Collins, 1963), pp. 158-9.

⁷⁹ Cf. Calvin, *Institutes* IV. 20. 1ff.

solum habetis causam, propterea ueriores existimatis: quosque non autoritatis gradu, non argumentis, non literis et eruditione, non testium pondere, non iudiciis liberis potestis superare, eos ceu causa uictos, prius ob errorem e medio tollitis ferro ac facibus, quam in errore esse ratione ulla docuistis? Suspicio hic uos intelligere, causa haec si apud alios mihi ageretur, quantam contendendi atque exclamandi materiam, quos orationis impetus, quantos ardores, ipsa rei atrocitas non solum praerberet, sed flagitaret.

8. Sed parco uobis, et me cohibeo, Iudices, ne nimis pugnax contra hos esse uidear, quibus supplicaturus accedo. Ac uidete qua nunc modestia causam hanc totam tempero, uobis quod non sit aequum concedens, quo uos aequiores in uestros habeam. Nam ut caetera iam ante, quae necesse non erat, ita nunc quoque ponamus illud, non dico oratione (res enim non patitur) sed cogitatione tamen: omnem in illis errorem, in uobis nullum inesse. Quid autem, id ne tam prodigiosum uidetur uobis, sicubi homines quum sint, in errorem prolabantur? Qui si tam emuncti, tamque Cassiani, ut ita dicam, esse censors uolumus: age quotunquemque mihi dabit, eorum quos uel pro sanctissimis aut doctissimis habuit aliquando Ecclesia, uno excepto Christo, in quo non aiquas erroris labe, si opus sit, produxerim? Principio, tam diu, tamque crassos errores in discipulis toties institutis, Dominus ipse tolerauit.

[...]

13. Et quae haec tanta nunc hominum ne dicam an temporum degeneratio, in uiros non ~~colum~~⁸⁰ improbos, sed innocenti ac inculcata uita, a quibus uestrum nemo laesus aut lacessitus sit, sic inardescere saeuitiam quorundam, ut nusquam natio sit tam barbara, ubi non tutius conquiescant, quam apud suos? Quondam apud priscos Romanos plusquam soticum censebatur, quod ciuem in discrimen adduceret capitis. Ubi et octo erant suppliciorum genera, quorum mors ut ultima, ita nisi rarissime, haud indicebatur. Quid quod ne tum quidem deerant etiam uitae defensores, ac libera in iudiciis actio? Ex quo effectum est, ut eloquentiae studium tanto in honore et usu apud omnes esset, ut urbem prope uniuersam ad sui contentionem excitaret. Tantus in gentilitio populo patriae amor, et salutis cura apud patricos uigebat uiros: quorum omnis ferme laus in conseruandis quam plurimis cernebatur. Atque istos nondum ulla religionis gratia tinxerat. Tantum natura ipsa, atque literarum humanitas, ad tantam excolere potuit ciuilitatem. Et o brutorum iam dudum in Anglia extinctum genus. Quod apud ethnicos natura, quod literae ualuerunt ciuiles, non idem ualebit pietas, non Euangelii uigor? non a Christo toties inculcata impetrabit charitas? quin ob quamlibet leuem, aut nullam causam, ad poenas rapiantur: adeo frigescente iis temporibus charitate, ut haud sciam, an hoc ipsum capitale futurum sit, quod pro afflictis fratribus mutire audeam: idemque hac in re eueniat mihi, quod Iustino olim pro Christianis ἀπολογουόντι, qui pro martyribus dum precatur, sit et ipse martyr.

would be winning with not so many points. With death and martyrdom? And yet I wish we were not exceeding in this respect by such countless parasangs. What then? or is it because you have only the stronger reason, you think on that account that it is the truer one: and those whom you are not able to surpass in literature and learning, in the weight of witnesses and in free judgments do you lift up, as having been defeated in their cause, on account of their error from the middle by the sword and torches, before you have shown by any reasoning that they are in error? Here I suspect that you understand, if this case were being debated by me with others, how much opportunity for disputing and calling out, which forceful elements of oratory, and what great passions the barbarity of the situation would not only be showing but would also be demanding.

8. But I spare you and restrain myself, Judges, so that I do not seem to be too contentious towards those whom I am approaching with the intention of making a plea. And see now with how much discretion I am conducting the whole of this case. For just as we have already set aside the other matters earlier, for which there was no necessity, so now also we set that aside, I do not mean in a speech (for the situation does not allow it) but however in the thought that all the error is in them, and that there is none in you. But why, does it not seem so strange to you, wherever there are men, do they fall into error? Who, if they are so clean-nosed and so Cassian, so to speak, we want to be censors: come on, how many will you give to me of those whom the Church once regarded either as the most holy or the most learned, with the one exception of Christ, in whom I have not produced some defects of error, if there is a need? In the beginning, for such a long time, the Lord himself tolerated such stupid errors so often amongst those appointed as his disciples.

13. And what now is this such great degeneration in people, or should I say the times, into men who are not wicked but have innocent and blameless lives, by whom none of you have been harmed or challenged, that the savageness of certain people is burning in such a way that nowhere is there a nation so barbarous, where they cannot rest more safely than amongst their own people? 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. What of the fact that not even then were there lacking also defenders of life and free action in the courts? From which it has been brought about that an enthusiasm for eloquence was in the hands of everyone with such great honour and skill that it stirred almost the whole of the city to vie with itself. Such great love for their country was among the people of this particular nation, and a concern for their safety flourished among the patrician men, almost all praise of whom was seen in maintaining as many of them as possible. And they had not yet been imbued with any regard for religion. Only nature herself and a liberal education in literature has been able to improve them to such great civility. And of those who were buried a long time ago in England the race is extinct. The quality which nature, the quality which civilised literature have produced among the gentiles: will not the quality of piety and the force of the Gospel have the same strength? will not the quality of mercy so often inculcated by Christ accomplish this? But rather for some trivial reason or for no reason they are rushed off for punishment: with love to such an extent growing cold in those times that I do not know whether this will be itself dangerous, that I dare to speak in a low voice on behalf of my afflicted brothers, and that in this respect the same may befall me as did formerly befall Justin, while he was "making his defence" on behalf of the Christians, who while he was praying for martyrs was also himself a martyr.

14. Atque hactenus ita causam egi, quasi erroris nonnulla,

14. And so far I have pleaded my case in this way, as if some

⁸⁰ Double strikeout of this word in the printed text of the *Rerum*, 1559.

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quam impingitis, penes eos resideat reprehensio. Nunc, quid si immunes ab omni erroris labe eos, quid si innocentes esse, quid si causa tota uobis etiam ipsis superiores demonstrem? Neque enim ita ualde id difficile fuerit. 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: uel quia librorum huiusmodi, si qui saniores sint, de medio, atque usu hominum omnis sublata sit copia, atque aditus etiam interclusus, quum tamen caeterarum mercium nullo non generi omnes ubique portus ac ostia pateant. Quae duae res eiusmodi profecto uidentur mihi, ut non tam meae causae officiant, quam totam ipsam a fundamentis Rempublicam pessundent ac labefactent. Quarum altera facit ne possint, altera ne uelint uidere quae temporibus esse remedio queant. Quod si recte id iudicauit, inter philosophos merito laudatissimus Plato, eam demum quam optime habere Reipublicae ideam, ubi uel philosophi agant principes, uel principes ipsi philosophentur: quid tum de ea censendum Republica, ubi nec principes ulla imbuit philosophia, nec ipsi philosophantium monitis sanioribus aures semel aperiant?

15. Verum ne nimium diffidere aequitati uestrae uidear, Agite, ingenui atque obseruandi Proceres, quaeso relegatis paulisper affectibus, quibus iudicii fere sinceritas exoculatur, trutinam iusticiae uestrae aequo utrinque libramento tenete: resque ipsas suo pondere, non personarum circumstantiis, locorum aut temporum, pro prudentia uestra metimini. Quid hoc retulerit, quantumlibet uicarium Christi se iactet Romanus pontifex, si non uicarium, sed aduersarium Christi, res ipsa clamitet, facta loquantur, gesta, exempla, mores, instituta, studia, uita denique tota arguat illius, ex aduerso cum Christo pugnans? Totus ille mitis, demissus, mansuetus, cunctis expositus, omnibus obsequens, omnia tolerans, seruus omnium, quum esset omnium dominus. Contra, quid hoc supercilio elatius? Uter quis unquam inflatior? Quae uipera nocentior? Nero quis aut Mezentius crudelior? quid truculentius, aut magis iritabile? Aestuat ille, laborat, sudat, alget, esurit, sitit, pascit, praedicat, omnes perambulans patriae fines. Et quid hic tandem praeclarus uicarius, quid agit? quid laborat? qui sudores illius, aut quae pathemata? ubi praedicat? quos docet? quas peragratur regiones, disseminans uerbum fidei? Quid? an materia nunc deest illi explicandae diligentiae? Tot stupris, adulteriis, incestibus, scortis, fornicibus, cinaedis (cogor hic mussare quaedam, uincitur enim calami mei pudor turpitudinis magnitudine) tot ueneficiis, tot caedibus, rapinis, furtis, homicidiis, luxu, crapula, mollicie, strepitu, conuiuuiis, insidiis, perfidia, non Roma, non Italia solum exundat.

16. Mundus ubique tam ferax est uitiiis. Fidei uigor extinctus fere in animis hominum iacet. Charitatis uix usquam uestigium. Pietas interna, externis obruitur ceremoniis. Inter sacerdotes tantum ambitionis, fastus et auaritia, quantum iam omnem humanam rationem, pene ad ipsam usque insaniam, excessisse uidetur. Populus in nummis, Principes in bellis, nullo Dei timore, minimo amore proximi tumultuantur. Atque his neglectis omnibus, uicariae sedis ter adoranda sanctitas stertit, dissimulat, indulget, psallit, ouat, triumphat, potitat, ineptit, nugatur, ridet, re quasi bene gesta: ludit, scortatur, aleatur, ociatur, olet unguenta, pro grege curat cuticulam: aut se cohibens intra coelum suum, ne cui prosit: aut si quando obesse uult, nunquam exerens fulmen maiestatis suae, nisi ad perniciem hominum. Quasique non satis sit bellorum in mundo, principes etiam ultro armis lacessit: pro uicario Christi, uicarium agens Bellonae. Clamat scriptura: Mihi

reprehension for their error, which you are fastening on them, should rest with them. Now, what if I show that they are free from every defect of error, what if I show that they are innocent, what if I show that in the whole case they are superior also to you yourselves? For that will not be so difficult. 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: or because of books of this kind, if there are any which are quite sensible, all supply has been removed from the midst and use of people, and the approach has also been cut off, although however for every type of the rest of the goods everywhere all the harbours and entrances lie open. Which two matters seem to me assuredly of that kind that they do not so much hinder my case as destroy and ruin the whole of the State itself from its foundations. Of which the one makes it that they are not able, the other that they do not wish, to see what can be a remedy for the times. But, if Plato, deservedly the most praised among philosophers, judged correctly that the ideal form of the State is the best possible, where either philosophers act as the leaders, or the leaders themselves play the philosopher: what then should be thought of that State, where neither the leaders are imbued with any philosophy, nor do they themselves on any occasion open their ears to the more sensible advice of those who philosophise?

15. But lest I seem to be too distrusting of your fairness, come, worthy and esteemed nobles, I beg you to put aside your feelings for a little while, in which almost the sincerity of your judgment is being deprived of its sight, and keep the balance of your justice with an equal weight on both sides: and measure your affairs according to your prudence by their own weight, not by the circumstances of persons, places or times. What difference will this make, however much the Roman pontiff boasts that he is the vicar of Christ, if the situation itself keeps on showing that he is not the vicar but the adversary of Christ, if the deeds, actions, examples, customs, institutions, endeavours, in short the whole of his life, proves from the opposite view that he is fighting with Christ? He is completely gentle, humble, mild, accessible to all, gracious in all things, tolerant of all, the servant of all, since he is the lord of all things. On the contrary, what is more lofty than this arrogance? What wineskin was ever more swollen? What viper more harmful? What Nero or Mezentius was more cruel? What is harsher or more enraged? That man boils, labours, sweats, is in pain, hungers, thirsts, excercises pastoral care, preaches, traversing all the territories of his country. And what finally does this famous vicar do? What does he labour? What are his toils, or what are his sufferings? Where does he preach? Whom does he teach? Which regions does he traverse, disseminating the word of faith? What? Or does he now lack the opportunity for explaining his diligence? With so many debaucheries, adulteries, incests, prostitutes, brothels, sodomites (I am forced here to be silent about certain things, for the sense of shame of my (reed) pen is being overcome by the enormity of the disgrace), with so many poisonings, so many massacres, plunderings, thefts, murders, extravagance, excessive drinking, unchastity, noise, banquets, plots, treachery, not Rome, not Italy alone overflows.

16. The world everywhere is so rich in vices. Force of faith lies almost extinct in the minds of men. Of love there is scarcely anywhere a trace. Internal piety is being ruined by external rituals. Among the priests it seems that there is as much ambition, arrogance and greed as has now gone beyond all human reason, almost to the point of insanity itself. The people are in great disorder in their money, the Princes in their wars, with no fear of God and very little love for their neighbour. And so when all of these are ignored, the sanctity of the vicar's seat which must be honoured three times snores, pretends, indulges, sings psalms, rejoices, triumphs, drinks repeatedly, plays the fool, talks nonsense, laughs, as if the affair has been well done: he plays, associates with prostitutes, gambles, is at leisure, smells of perfumes, looks after his skin instead of his flock: either confining himself within his region, so that he may not benefit anyone: or

uindictam, et ego retribuam, et caetera. Atque hanc obedientiam ubique praestitit pacificus ille agnus, ad crucis usque mortem et ignominiam se deiiciens.

whenever he wants to be a hindrance, never putting out the thunderbolt of his majesty, except for the destruction of men. And as if there is not a sufficiency of wars in the world, he provokes leading men even further with arms: instead of the vicar of Christ, playing the part of the vicar of Bellond⁸¹. The scripture cries out: a liberating rod for me, and I shall repay you, etc. And this obedience that peace-making lamb everywhere shows, casting himself down as far as the death and dishonour of the cross.

[. . .]

33. The *Ad Inclytos*: Second extract: Anti-papal digression.⁸²

36. Deinde ut paucissima quidam illa, ita nec duratura omnia, sed ad tempus duntaxat nonnulla pro ingenio ac imbecillitate quorundam dispensabantur. Et quorsum ergo tot decretis opus, et decretalibus onerariis, nisi aliam nunc sentiamus Spiritus sancti mentem esse, quam olim fuit? Quanquam nec id adeo querimonia dignum, quod ad turbam attinet et immensitatem decretorum. Quin nec id rursus tantopere quaero, utrum ne in tanta traditionum multitudine nihil insit humani lapsus? Non enim uel tam caeci sumus, quippe homines ipsi, ut quid humanae imbecillitatis ferat conditio, nesciamus: uel tam morosi, qui in multis bene dictis, pauculos interspersos naeuos condonare non uelimus. Omitto hic de panis, salis, cinerum, cereorum, palmarum, templorum, campanarum, aquae, ignis, et elementorum omnium consecratione, de purgatorio, de temporum et dierum obseruatione, de cibis et nuptiis interdictis, quas Paulus doctrinas uocat daemoniorum, de reliquiis, imaginibus, uotis, ieiuniis, feriis, pompis, idque genus sexcentis ceremoniarum nugis dicere. Quae etsi Siculis gerris sint uaniores, ac maiestate Christianae religionis indignae: tamen quia periculo minus sunt exitiales, minus in his consisto. Illud specto, quis scopus tandem doctrinae illius, quis finis, qui fructus, ac quonam pertendat denique.

36. Then certain people dispensed just as the smallest possible number of such things so all of them not likely to last, but at the time certain of them were regulated according to the intelligence of certain people. And to what purpose therefore is there a need of so many decrees and burdens depending on decrees, unless we feel that there is now another purpose of the Holy Spirit, than there was formerly? Although that is not so worthy of complaint that it relates to the crowd and the immensity of the decrees. No rather, I do not so greatly seek that again, whether or not in such a great multitude of traditions, that there is no human error in them? For we are not even so blind, for we are men ourselves, that we do not know of any human foolishness that the condition may bear (?): or so fretful, who in many things well said, do not wish to condone a few tiny blemishes. I pass over speakers here concerning the consecration of bread, salt, ashes, wax (tapers?), palms, churches, bells, water, fire and all the elements, concerning purgatory, concerning the observing of churches and days, concerning foods and forbidden marriages, which Paul calls the teachings of devils, concerning relics, images, prayers, feasts, holy days, processions and six hundred nonsenses of ceremonies of that type. Although these are more useless than Sicilian trash⁸³ and unworthy of the majesty of the Christian religion, yet because they are less deadly in their danger, I dwell on them the less. That which I do examine is what in the end is the reef of their teaching, what is its end, what is its fruit and where finally it is leading.

[. . .]

45. Nam si homines hi, in quos saeuit tantopere potestas uestra, non suam agant causam, sed Christi: non suum capent compendium, non uitam expetant, non tranquillitatem ambient, non opibus inhient, sed haec omnia studio Christi potius pro reiectis habeant, ut illius ius, non suum cum Ecclesiae incolumitate retineatur: cogitate, non tam illos esse, quam in ipsis Christum, in quem uniuersa persecutionis uestrae consilia conspirant. Quod quam diuturnum sit futurum, nescio: certe perpetuo uobis tutum esse non poterit. Nam utcunque nunc se habeant proemia, ut ut (sic) miseri ac imbelles uideantur quos nunc opprimitis: tamen post epitasin tam turbulentam, catastrophe demum et exitus fabulae declarabit, nequaquam miserum esse eum et imbellem, qui in suis plectitur. Unde non tam ego crudelitatem deploro quorundam, quam stultitiam aduerto, qui tanto conatu pugnant contra eum, qui natura nec uinci, nec loco moueri potest: nihil agentes aliud, quam si calces iactent contra stimulum.

45. For if these men, against whom your power so greatly rages, were not to plead their own case, but (that) of Christ, they would not seek after their own profit, they would not be longing for life, they would not be striving for peace and quiet, they would not be gazing eagerly at wealth, but they would have all these rather for scorn in their eagerness for Christ, so that his law, not their own, would be retained with the safety of the Church: consider that it is not so much them as Christ in them, against whom the collective counsels of your persecution are conspiring. How long this will last, I do not know: certainly it will not be possible for you to be safe for ever. For however the beginnings now have themselves, in whatever way those whom you are oppressing may seem to be wretched and spiritless: however after such a turbulent stretching, in the end a catastrophe and the end of the story will show that he who is plucked on his own strings/beaten in his own affairs(?) is in no way wretched and spiritless. Whence I do not so much deplore the cruelty of certain people as direct attention to their stupidity, who with such great effort are fighting against him, who can neither be overcome by nature or moved from his place: doing nothing other than if the heels are kicking against the pricks.

⁸¹ The goddess of war, sister of Mars.

⁸² Text taken from J. Foxe, *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum* . . . (Basel: Oporinus 1559). See above, n. 64.

⁸³ cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*. II. iv. 10: *Siculae nugae. Gerrae. Persolae nugae*. See commentary in the *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 33, *Adages* II. i. 1 to II. vi. 100. University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

46. Et quid unquam pontifex de uobis tantum est bene meritus, si rem uelimus ad calculos subducere, quamobrem tam deuotis animis in illius conspiretis patrocinium? An unquam pro uobis mortuus est Romanus pontifex? an uobis sedare iram patris, an offensas condonare, an mortis acerbam, acerbiorum diaboli seruitutem ceruicibus uestris excutere, potentiam frangere, mortuos uos resuscitare ad regni sui immortalem foelicitatem potest? Et qui haec unus potest omnia, quique se praestitutum pollicetur, quum nemo possit alius, eius uos deserta causa, tam sancta et mansueta, ad inimici impuri homuncionis perditissima castra, hoc est, ad uestram ultro perniciem sic ruitis praecipites? Solent, qui deserto Imperatore suo, ad aduersarias partes desciscunt, aliqua nauatae militiae mercede attrahi. Vosque quid tandem emolumentum a Pontifice homuncione uobis pollicemini, etiam quum in illius gratiam omnes piorum animas sub ara miseritis? Ut uictoria una cum illo fruamini? Scitis uicturum esse agnum, inuitis omnibus.

47. Quin et nunc magnam quoque huius sedis partem debellatam cernitis, in tacito optimi cuiusque pectore. Ut opibus uos augeat amplioribus? Imo has illi uos impenditis. Ut libertatem largiatur? Maiorem amittitis. Ut uitam reddat beatiorem? Quum eum deseritis, qui solus est uitae autor. Et quid tandem homini possit ab homine contingere tanti, ut uos aduersus Dominum incitet, et aduersus Christum eius? Aiunt uulgo, multum ualere fascinum. At quo tandem fascini genere sic corripuntur Christianorum animi, ut in Romani nesciocuius barbari et externi homuncionis gratiam, qui nec cognitus, nec cognatus ipsis uel profuit hactenus, uel unquam profuturus est, in charissimos amicos, propinquos sanguine, patria communi, officiorum denique quotidiana necessitudine coniunctos, forsitan etiam bene meritos, plus quam parricidalibus odiis tam atrociter efferantur: idque non alia causa, quam qua summas illis deberent gratias, nisi sibiipsis summam foelicitatem cum publica regni dignitate coniunctam inuiderent.

48. Quanquam non tam haec generosis animis uestris, quam aliis potius male feriatas quorundam ingeniis imputanda duxerim. De iis loquor, quos falso nomine theologos et episcopos, uero lupos, ursos et leopardos diceretis. Qui quum se lumina orbis profiteantur, omnes scintillas et uigorem uerae pietatis extinguunt, natura saeui, religione praeposteri: quorum altero Reipublicae, altero Ecclesiae sint exitiales. Non perinde eodem omnes carbone notandi sunt. Neque enim aequum fuerit, quum non aequae eadem in omnes competant, paucorum malitiosam improbitatem in totius ordinis redundare infamiam. Quin in hoc genere multos scio ciuiliores, quibus merito seditiosi caeterorum tumultus displicent: alii rident, quidam dissimulant, alii spe commodi, nonnulli metu aut fauore priuato uerius quam iudicio applaudere uidentur fabulae, quam inuiti spectant: qui etsi errent cum caeteris, tamen quia simpliciter errant, et sine aliorum iniuria, minus hac oratione mihi exagitandi sunt. Verum quemadmodum inter animantium (ut dixi) genera, quaedam innoxia, alia ad usus necessarios accommodata, nonnulla si non natura, officii tamen mansuescunt: sunt rursus quae in hoc tantum nata dicuntur, ut aliis molestiam et perniciem moliantur: sic in humanis rebus nulla Respublica, nec uitae genus est, quod suas non uomicas habeat, et κακοβούλους.

46. *And what has the Pontiff ever so much well deserved(?) of you, if we are willing to reckon the matter up, whereby you are conspiring against his protection with such devout hearts? Or has the Roman Pontiff ever died for you? Or is he able to appease the anger of the father, or pardon your offences, or cast off from your necks the bitter servitude of death or the more bitter servitude of the devil, to break (his) power (and) to raise you up again to the everlasting happiness of his kingdom? And having deserted so holy and gentle a cause of him who can (do) all this and promise that he will show that he (can), since none other is able, are you in this way rushing headlong to the corrupt camp of a hostile impure little man, that is moreover to your own destruction? Those who have deserted their general usually withdraw to the side of their adversaries and are attracted by some fee for the military service they have performed. And finally what emolument are you promising to yourselves from the little man who is the Pontiff, even when to favour him you are lamenting all the souls of the pious under the altar? So that you may enjoy the victory together with him? You know that the lamb will be victorious, even if all are unwilling.*

47. *No rather even now you perceive that a large part of this foundation has been brought to an end in the silent hearts of all the best people. Is this so that he may furnish you with wealth? On the contrary, you spend this on him. So that he may give you freedom in abundance? You are losing a greater amount. So that he may make your life more blessed? When you are deserting him, who alone is the creator of life. And what misfortune in the end can befall a man from a man so great as may incite you against the Lord and against his Christ? They generally say that witchcraft has great power. But with what kind of witchcraft, pray, are the minds of Christians so corrupted that they are so cruelly raised, by more than murderous hatred, into the favour of some barbarous foreign Roman little man or other, who is not known by them, not related to them, has either benefitted them up to now or will ever benefit them, (to be) the dearest friends, related by blood, joined by a common country, in short by the daily necessity of their duties, perhaps even well-deserving: and that for no other reason than whereby they would owe the utmost thanks to them, if they were not begrudging themselves the greatest happiness joined with the public dignity of the kingdom.*

48. *Although I have considered that this should not so much be attributed to your noble minds as to other rather badly employed minds belonging to certain people. I am speaking of those whom you call with a false name theologians and bishops, but who are in reality wolves, bears and leopards. Who when they profess that they are the lights of the world, extinguish all the sparks and vigour of true piety, being cruel by nature and preposterous in their religion: of which with the one they are fatal to the State, with the other they are fatal to the Church. They should not all be branded with the same black mark. For it will not be fair, since the same things are not equally appropriate to all, for the evil wickedness of a few to overflow into a bad reputation for the whole class. No, rather, amongst this kind I know many quite courteous men, to whom the seditious disturbances of the rest are rightly displeasing: others smile, certain ones hide their feelings, some in the hope of advantage, some through fear or private favour more truly than judgment, are seen to be reluctantly applauding the drama which they are watching: who although they are in error with the others, yet because they are simply in error, and without the injustice of the others, I must attack the less in this speech of mine. But just as among types of animals (as I have said), certain ones are harmless, others are adapted to necessary practices, some if not by nature yet become tame through what they do: again there are those that you may say have been born only for this, that they bring trouble and destruction upon others: so in human affairs there is no State, nor type of life, which does not have its own plagues and evil wishers.*

34. Letter from Foxe to Edmund Grindal
after 27 November 1557.⁸⁴

Translated partly by William Nicholson
and partly by John Wade

Salutem in Christo. Recepti cum litteris tuis historiam Bradfordianam, cum uariis illius alio atque alio missis epistolis. Qua in re uideo (mi Edmunde) quam bonae fidei sponsor sis, citraque noxam quod aiunt. utinam ad eandem diligentiam caetera omnia τα μαρτυρικά congesta habeamus. Atque ut non dubito, quin magnam harum rerum farraginem (ut scribis) iam etiamnum habeatis, ita nec diffido in caeteris conquirendis uigilantiam uestram fidemque non defuturam. Iam ante, te absente, binas ad te misi litteras, quas an receperis ideo subdubito, quod nullam uideo in litteris tuis de libris Cantuariensis mentionem. Iamdudum transactum est cum Froschouero, iamque mense Octob. primum librum meo magno taedio iterum descriptum illis in gustum miseram: interim autem, dum expecto ab illis responsum, delatum mihi est negotium a Frobenio et Episcopio Chrisostomi exemplaria cognoscendi et conferendi: eramque tum omnibus plane exutus pecuniis, adeoque paene ad extremum assem redactus. Itaque in ea mouenda farina perierunt mihi duo menses. Interea temporis uenit ad me Froschouerus cum litteris D. Elmeri et Bullingeri, pasciscens mecum inducias ob certa negotia in proximas nundinas, quas nec minus libenter ipse accepi; scis enim in hieme ubique fere conquiescere πολεμικά, ducibus se in hyberna recipientibus. Habes itaque integrum huius negotii statum. Quum haec ad te scripsissem, alteras ad Iacobum Haddonum litteras eodem simul tempore destinabam, iamque charta ad eam rem parata erat, quum subito affertur, eum istic Argentinae defunctum esse, ad quem si uixisset libenter scripsissem, partim illi acturus gratias de coronato, quem ad me nuper te absente miserat, partim etiam submoniturus, quod his diebus mihi in mentem uenerit. Erat enim Francofordiae tum in aedibus Ant. Gilbii, quum Io. Knoxius satis indigne eo tempore accusatus a quibusdam et eiectus ea urbe: post colloquium nescio quid initum cum Iac. Haddon, tandem me cum aliquot mecum praesentibus palam illi denunciarunt futurum, si sic pergeret, ut euidenter sentiret diuinum in se supplicium in hac ipsa quoque uita, erant enim haec illius uerba, aut non multo profecto diuersa. Dominus meae ignoscat tarditati. Nunc uero quoniam sero ad eum scripturus sum, uotis (quod solum superest) opto illi faelicem in Domino requiem.

Health in Christ! I received with your letter the narrative of Bradford, together with sundry of his letters addressed to different persons. I see, my Edmund, in this business, how faithful a performer of your promise you are, and (as they say) without fault. I would that we had all the rest of the martyrs' remains collected with the same diligence. And as I do not doubt, but that (as you write) you have still a great farrago of these papers, so neither have I any distrust, that your vigilance and fidelity will be wanting in collecting the rest. I have already, during your absence, sent you two letters; whether you have received them or not I have some doubt, for this reason, that I see no mention in your letters of the archbishop of Canterbury's books. The matter has been for some time arranged with Froschouer; and I had already in the month of October sent the first book, written out again to my great weariness, as a sample of the work. But in the meantime, while I was waiting for an answer, there was laid upon me by Frobenius and Episcopus the employment of reading and collating copies of Chrysostom: and I was then altogether destitute of money, and so almost reduced to the last farthing. Thus two entire months were lost by me in that tedious employment. In the mean time Froschouer came to me with letters of Master Elmer and Master Bullinger, to arrange a truce with me, on account of some business, until the next fair, which I no less willingly accepted; for you know that military operations almost everywhere cease during the winter, the commanders retiring into winter-quarters. You have thus the whole state of the matter. . . . (Up to this point, translated by William Nicholson, *Remains of Edmund Grindal*, Parker Society, 1843, p. 231) When I had written this to you, at exactly the same time I was directing another letter to James Haddon, and paper had been already prepared for that matter, when news was suddenly brought that he had died there in Strassbourg, to whom if he had lived I would gladly have written, partly because I intended to thank him for the wreath/garland(?) which he had sent me in your absence, partly because I also intended to hint to him⁸⁵ that he had come to my mind during the last few days. For he was in Frankfurt in the house of Antony Gilby at that time when John Knox was accused undeservedly enough by certain people and expelled from that city: after some conversation or other was started with James Haddon, at length they openly announced to me, together with several people who were present with me that, if he continued to strive in that way, he would manifestly understand that there would be divine punishment on him and also in this very life, for these were his words, or, assuredly, not much different from these. May the Lord forgive my tardiness. Indeed, since now I shall be writing to him too late, I wish by means of prayer (which is the only means left) for a happy rest in the Lord for him.

35. Letter from Foxe to Bullinger,
21 January 1559.⁸⁶

Translated by John Wade

Ad Bullingerum

To Bullinger

Salutem in domino multam. Mitto ad te gratulationem hoc ipso die iam primum e prelo exeuntem ac folles adhuc spirantem, quod aiunt. Cuius bina exemplaria hoc ipso etiam diluculo misi in Angliam, alterum ad reginam Elisabetam, ad ducem Northfolciae alterum, meum aliquando discipulum; tertium nunc ad te mitto tanquam philotesium mei erga te studii et officii. Tu pro comitate tua munusculum eo accipias pectore, quo ad te missum est; nam ut legas ac iudices de naeniis nostris, scio non licere tibi per gravissimas

Many greetings in the Lord. I am sending to you the Gratulatio this very day now for the first time leaving the press and still breathing its leaves,⁸⁷ as they say. Two copies of this also this very dawn I have sent to England, one to Queen Elizabeth, the other to the Duke of Norfolk, formerly my pupil; a third I am now sending to you as a friendly indication of my attachment and obligation to you. May you in accordance with your affability receive the small present with the same spirit in which it is sent to you; for to read and make

⁸⁴ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 113v.

⁸⁵ *summonere* is very rare, cf. Ter. *Eun.* 3.5.22.

⁸⁶ Zentralbibliothek Zürich, MS F 62, 411.

⁸⁷ cf. Juvenal, *Satires* VII, 111 and Horace, *Satires* I, 4, 19.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

occupationes tuas. Mihi interim in re exigua non exiguam erga te voluntatem declarare sat erit. Atque haec hactenus pro temporis angustia et horum festinatione. Vale feliciter. Basileae 1559, ianuarii 2. Ioannes Foxus Anglus, tuus in Christo totus.

judgement about our lays I know is not permitted to you because of your very grave occupations elsewhere. For me in the meantime in a very small matter it will be enough to declare my not so small good will towards you. So much for this having regard for the shortness of time and the haste in these matters. Farewell and good fortune. Basel, 1559, January 21. John Foxe the Englishman, yours wholly in Christ.

36. Gratulatio: 1^a Extract.⁸⁸

6. Haec nimirum diuini iudicii castigatio est, nusquam fere prius quam a sua maxime familia incipiens. Sed hoc iudicium ut nemini perniciosum, salutare omnibus: ita saepe etiam iis qui affliguntur, pernecessario immittitur. 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. Non aliter lacescita uitis nostris aeterni numinis seueritas, saeuit in suos acriter: non quod supplicii ipse nostris delectetur, sed nouit prudentia ipsius refractariae naturae nostrae plasma: neque solum quid uotis arrideat nostris, sed quid expediat etiam, conueniatque animaduertit. Nam alioqui in ipsis lecythis et myrotheciis, quae fere efficacissimi sunt momenti pharmaca, plusculum adiunctum habent amaritudinis.

6. This is of course the reproof of divine judgment, starting almost nowhere before its own family in particular. But as this judgment is ruinous to no-one, and beneficial to all, so it is often very necessarily visited even upon those who are afflicted. 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, not in other respects does the severity of eternal divine power, provoked by our sins, rage fiercely against his own people, not because he himself delights in punishing us, but he knows through his knowledge the form of our stubborn nature, and he notices not only what smiles upon our prayers, but also what is advantageous and appropriate; for in other cases in the very flasks and ointment boxes, the medicines which are generally of the most effective power have a somewhat larger amount of bitterness added.

7. Vnde minus uideri mirum debet, si quidem asperis malorum casibus sponsam suam saepius uel purgat uel explorat Deus, interim dum mundus altum securitatis somnum (sic)⁸⁹ dormiens in utranque aurem⁹⁰ stertit impune, lasciuit, ludit, ridet, amat, triumphat in malis. Irascitur ille suis quandoque: sed ira haec parentum est tum, quum maxime amant filios. flagellat: sed flagra haec amoris, non liuoris, medelae, non maliciae existunt. Deicit quidem ille ac mortificat: sed idem rursus mirabilis artifex deiectionibus his erigere suos, uulneribus medicari, angustiis dilatare, mortibus uiuificare, aerumnis ac ignominiis glorificare solet: bis hoc nomine amicus nobis, et bene meritis. primum, quod plectit in hoc mundo, ne cum mundo pessundet: deinde, quod malorum asperitatem secundum modulum, uiresque magis, quam secundum merita nostra temperans, non solum solatiola quaedam in mediis plagis intermiscet, ut ferendo simus: sed et dies plerunque malos abbreviat, quo misericordiam in media iusticia suam illustret. Quod si unquam alias, tum in uobis certe (Angli fratres) hoc tempore singulari Dei atque incomparabili beneficio elucet. Quibus post atram procellam, eam rursus cum tali Regina serenitatem, religioni tranquillitatem, bonis patrociniis, studiis ac honestis artibus pristinum ocium aut iam restituerit, aut breui sane restitutus uideatur.

7. So, it must seem less remarkable, if indeed God, by means of the cruel occurrences of misfortunes, quite often either cleanses or puts his bride to the test, while in the meantime the world, sleeping the deep sleep of freedom from care, snores with impunity on each ear, is wanton, is playful, laughs, loves and triumphs in evil. At times he is angry with his own, but this is the anger of parents at the time when they most love their sons. He scourges them, but these are the scourges of love not of spite, of healing not of malice. Indeed he casts them down and destroys them, but again the same wonderful craftsman is accustomed to raise his own people through casting them down, to heal them by means of wounds, to enlarge them with straits, to bring them to life through deaths and to glorify them with sufferings and disgraces. In two ways he is a friend to us, and well deserving on this account: first, because he strikes us down in this world, lest he should destroy us with the world, secondly, because tempering the harshness of our misfortunes more in accordance with measure and strength than in accordance with our deserts, not only does he mingle some little comforts in the midst of our misfortunes, so that we may be able to bear them, but also he for the most part shortens the bad days, by which he may make clear his compassion in the midst of his justice. And this, if ever elsewhere, then certainly among you, English brothers, shines forth at this time through God's outstanding and incomparable kindness; for whom after the black storm he has either now restored or seems clearly to be about to restore in a short while once again that calmness with such a Queen, peacefulness to religion, protection to good men and the leisure of old to literature and honourable skills.

8. Nuper in Edouardi, auspicatissimae spei principis uestri occasu, incredibile dictu, quanta nos omnes inuasit moestitia: sed magis incredibile, quantam acceperit cladem Euangelii, ueraeque pietatis, simul cum studiorum prouentu coniuncta tranquillitas. Quo quidem tempore ceu communi patrono ac

8. Recently on the death of Edward, your ruler of most favourable hope, it is incredible to say what great sadness seized us all, but more incredible what a great disaster was inflicted on the peacefulness of the Gospel and true piety conjoined with the harvest of scholarship. Indeed at this time

⁸⁸ Text taken from a microfilm copy of J. Foxe, *Germaniae ad Angliam . . . gratulatio* (Basel: Oporinus, 1559) from the original in St. John's College Upper Library, University of Cambridge, shelf mark Hh.1.85(6).

⁸⁹ This should presumably be *somnum* or *somnium*.

⁹⁰ Cf Erasmus, *Adagia* I. viii. 19: *In utramvis dormire aurem*.

duce destitutae Ecclesiae fere omnes moerebant, scholae iacuerunt, squallore plena omnia, spes pene omnis bonorum, uotaque fracta. Quis enim post amissum Edouardum, qui nosset dotes, ornamenta, uirtutes illius, sperare potuit, uel audebat, unquam exoriturum deinceps Iosiam, illi in uera uindicanda pietate apud Anglos parem? Sed bene habet, uicit desperationem nostram diuina bonitas: damnumque, quod illius accepimus morte, affatim in hac Regina pensauit. Quae adeo in nulla egregii principis laude illi cedit, ut nihil sit, regnante nunc Elisabetha, quod Edouardum posthac magnopere desideretis: etiamsi pro summis ornamentis, nunquam ille satis desiderari a uobis poterit.

9. Videtis ergo, opinor, diuina quantum uobis indulsit Prouidentia. Restat nunc cura uestra, ut quanto maiora sint quae in uos larga numinis effudit benignitas, tanto ampliores rursum a uobis gratiae in gloriam exuberent illius, qui tam salutari uicissitudine res uestras temperans, neque iusticiae uos suae ignaros esse, neque clementiae rursus expertes uoluerit. quarum altera ad necessariam uos resipiscentiam inuitare uidebatur: altera nunc recreare resipiscentes possit. Quod enim Regem uobis talem eripuerit, iusticiae erat illius, uestris forsitan offensis prouocatae. Quod Reginam rursus talem dederit, misericordiae est, miseriam commiserantis uestram, sicque iacturam pensantis priorem, ut ne ereptus quodam modo iam ille uideatur. Quid enim in illo fuit eorum, quaecumque in uiro principe spectari solent, quae non eadem pari, aut maiori etiam cumulo, in sorore hac illius agnoscitis, si modo bona uestra agnoscitis: siue in ea generis consideretur claritudo, siue interna animi decora, indoles rara ac singularis, prudentiae uis, felix institutio, doctrina felicior, iudicii felicissima rectitudo, pietas, mansuetudo, religio, quaecumque denique heroici principis pectus solent absoluere.

10. Quae omnia si uobis in Edouardo erepta prius doluistis, eadem nunc diuino fauore habetis in Regina hac restituta: quae illi nulla in laudis parte cedit, in multis aequat, in quibusdam merito etiam albis (quod aiunt) quadrigis praecedere uideatur. Licet alioqui in illo summa futura omnia, si uixisset, uideri potuerunt: attamen quia per aetatem nondum plenam acceperunt maturitatem, coepta quidem ab illo feliciter nonnulla, quae nunc absolutiori manu suam acceptura perfectionem ab ista minime dubitamus.

11. Vnde mihi quidem ex una hac gratulatione, quam uobis institueram (Angli fratres) geminam exoriri uideo, ut nesciam Reginae Elisabethae istam fortunam uirtutibus suis dignam, an uobis potius Reginam tam auspiciatam Reipublicae uestrae gratuler. Quanquam quicquid hic est, utraque in parte ad gratulandum, in solidum id omne Deo uni auctori transcribamus oportet: cuius munificentiae est quicquid uel in illa eximium, aut in uobis felix existit. Vt enim nihil habet ea, quod non largientis Dei munere acceperit: ita frustra quodam modo accepisset, nisi eo in loco et gradu ab illo posita, quo iisdem tot tantisque muneribus rempublicam suam ornare potuisset, quibus eam ornauit Deus. Quo magis coniuncto utrinque studio uobis enitendum est, in tanta diuinae erga uos gratitudinis amplitudine, necubi ingratos uicissim uos illi praebeatis. Quanquam semper ingrati hic sitis necesse erit, quum nunquam pares ei sitis gratias acturi, etiam quum maximas egeritis. Agere tamen pro uirili decebit facultate. Sicque statuite acturos uos ei maxime gratias, si benefacta in uos deposita illius, fructificent in animis uestris, ad eorum uicissim, qui uobis egerint, recreandam necessitatem. Hac enim ratione gratiae illi a nobis aguntur maxime. Sic uult potissimum ille in nobis glorificari, alioqui bonorum

almost all the Churches grieved, as if robbed of their common protector and leader, the schools were neglected, all was filled with desolation and almost all the hope and prayers of good men were dashed. For who, after the loss of Edward, who understood his endowments, honours and virtues, could hope or dare to hope that a Josiah would ever after this rise up among the English equal to him in defending true piety? But matters stand well, divine goodness has overcome our despair, and the loss which we suffered by his death it has made good abundantly in this Queen, who to such an extent does not yield to him in any praise of an outstanding leader that there is no reason, now that Elizabeth is reigning, why you should greatly miss Edward after this, although he will never be able to be sufficiently missed by you because of his supreme adornments.

9. And so, in my opinion, you are seeing how much divine Providence has bestowed on you. It now remains your concern that, the greater are the things which the abundant kindness of the deity has poured upon you, so much the greater again are the thanks from you which overflow to the glory of him who, tempering your affairs with such beneficial change, has wanted you neither to be unaware of his justice nor again to have no share of his mercy, of which the one seemed to be inviting you to a necessary return to your senses, while the other may now be able to restore those who are returning to their senses. For the fact that he snatched such a King from you was a matter of his justice, perhaps exasperated by your offences. The fact again that he has given you such a Queen is a matter of his compassion, taking pity on your wretchedness, and so compensating for your earlier loss that he may not seem now in any way to have been snatched away. For what was there in him of those things, whichever are usually looked for in a prince, which you do not recognise as the same in an equal or even greater measure in this his sister, if you only recognise your own blessings, whether in her the distinction of family be considered, or the inward beauties of her mind, her rare and outstanding talents, her force of intellect, her favourable education, her more favourable knowledge, her very favourable uprightness of judgment, her piety, her gentleness, her conscientiousness, in short whatever qualities usually complete the heart of a heroic prince?

10. If you have grieved previously that all of these were snatched away from you in Edward, now you have the same restored by divine favour in this Queen, who yields to him in no part of glory, is his equal in many things, and in certain things seems deservedly to surpass him even in white chariots, as they say. Although in other respects it could have seemed that in him all the greatest attainments would be achieved, if he had lived, yet because they had not yet gained full maturity because of his age, several things indeed were started successfully by him which we have very little hesitation in saying will receive their completion with a more finished hand by her.

11. Therefore from this one congratulation, which I had instituted for you, English brothers, I see a double one arising, so that I do not know whether I should congratulate Queen Elizabeth on that good fortune which is worthy of her virtues, or whether I should rather congratulate you on such an auspicious Queen for your state. And yet, whatever there is here on either side for congratulation, we ought to assign all of that completely to God as sole author, of whose generosity is either whatever is outstanding in her or whatever is fortunate in you. For just as she has nothing which she has not received from the gift of God who bestows it, so in vain would she have received it, as it were, had she not been placed by him in that place and that rank in which by the same many and great gifts she had been able to adorn her state as God adorned her. All the more should you strive with the joining of enthusiasm on all sides, in such a great extent of divine gratitude towards you, so that you do not show yourselves anywhere thankless in turn to him. Although it will always be necessary for you to be ungrateful here, since you are never going to give equal thanks to him, even when you have given the greatest thanks, yet it will be proper for you to give them in accordance with your ability. And so decide that you will give

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nostrorum nihil indigens.

12. Macte igitur uirtute tua Incluta serenissimique nominis Regina Elisabetha, sicque quotidie teipsam assiduis auctibus uirtutum tuarum, et incrementis supera, quantum caeteras aei nostri reginas omnes pietate, religione, lenitate, linguis, literis, oratione, stylo, omnique laudum genere praeuolas. Experiamur laudatissimae Reginae, matris tuae, Annae Boleniae, in te uirtutes: tum in primis miram in illa, ac singularem φιλοπρωχίαν: quae quo occultior in ea fuit, hoc mihi indignior tenebris et silentio uidetur. Ita enim saepe mihi narratum de illa memini a quibusdam, quibus tum ipsa familiarissime usa est ancillis, semper solere furtiuum (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. Interim ut ne caeteras illius commemorem uirtutes, quas in ipsa magnas scimus: in te maiores expectamus: pares certe futuras nihil diffidimus. Macte igitur inquam Elisabetha uirtute ista, qua non tam te natura tua decorat, quam tu genus illustras tuum. Macte et tu pariter felicitate, Anglia, tua, quam ego merito hodie inter insulas Fortunatas connumerem, non tam terrae ipsius natiua, qua multas uincis, ubertate, quam Reginae istius possessione: qua felicitatis parte paucissimas hodie tecum conferendas, nullam praeferendam uideo.

13. Tot ergo gratulandi causae hic quum mihi obiectae sint, accedit praeterea in Diuino hoc beneficio, quur non minus et publico orbis Christiani, tum meo peculiariter ipsius nomine gratias Diuinae pietati debeam: quando in hac tua felicitate, me quoque feliciorum reddi, uel minus infelicem fatear. Nam ad me quidem quod attinet, etsi bonitate ac praesidio ipsius, immunis hactenus ac tranquilla fuerim ab iis crucibus, flammis ac aestibus, quibus te temporum horum misere iactauit calamitas: tamen hac ipsa tranquillitate mea tranquillo satis animo frui non potui, quam diu res tuas in tanto esse squallore, adeoque afflictas intelligebam. Dolebam profecto ac uehementer angebar animo, haud secus ac in meorum periculis, quoties ciuium tuorum crebras lanienas, tot bonorum incendia, doctorum proscriptiones, matronas exustas, uirgines torrefactas, captiuos fame extinctos, sanctos in sterquilinia proiectos audiebam. Audiebam autem saepius, nunquam tamen minori dolore, quam si res mea, meorumque Germanissimorum ageretur. Docet enim, si non aliud ingenitus humanitatis sensus, communi pietate miserorum casibus indolere, tanquam propriis: etiamsi nulla intercedant alia coniunctionis philtra.

37. Gratulatio: 2nd Extract.⁹²

20. Omnes simul ualeant ordines, tanquam in corpore artus, oportet, si perfecta uti Republica et integra uolueritis. Itaque etsi de Reginae, Elisabethae absoluta quadam bonitate, nihil sit, ut dixi, quod uereamur: attamen aulas secum trahunt optimi interdum Principes, non optimas, longaque sui dissimiles, quae impuratae uitae ueneno afflare reliquum

him very great thanks if his benefactions bestowed on you bear fruit in your minds to relieve in turn the distress of those who have need of you. For by this means are thanks especially given to him by us. In this way above all he wishes to be glorified in us, otherwise wanting nothing of our goods.

12. Go on in your virtue then, glorious Queen Elizabeth of most serene name, and so every day surpass yourself with constant increases and augmentations of your virtues, as much as you fly in advance of all the other queens of our age in your devotion, worship, gentleness, languages, literature, power of speech, writing, and in every kind of praise. Let us find in you the virtues of a most praiseworthy queen, your mother, Anne Boleyn, then in particular the wonderful and outstanding 'love for the poor'⁹¹ in her which, the more hidden it was in her, the more undeserving it seems to me of darkness and silence. 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 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. Just as Apelles let no day go by without a stroke of the brush, so she did not without some act of kindness. Meanwhile not to mention the rest of the virtues, which we know were great in her, in you we expect them to be greater: certainly we believe that they will be equal. And so go on in that virtue, I say, Elizabeth, with which your nature does not so much adorn you as you make your family illustrious. Equally, go on in your good fortune, England, whom today I might deservedly count among the Fortunate islands, not so much because of the native abundance of the land itself, in which you surpass many, as because of your possessing that Queen, in which aspect of good fortune I see very few to be compared with you today, and none to be preferred.

13. And so since so many reasons for congratulation have here been presented to me, there is added furthermore in the divine kindness this reason why no less in the public name of the Christian world, and then particularly in my own name, I owe thanks for his divine love, since I confess that in this good fortune of yours I too am rendered more fortunate, or less unfortunate. For indeed as far as I am concerned, although through his goodness and protection I have been so far free from and undisturbed by those crosses, flames and fires, on which the disaster of these times has wretchedly tossed you, yet this very tranquillity of mine I was not able to enjoy with a sufficiently tranquil mind, as long as I realised that your affairs were in such great desolation and were so ruined. Assuredly I grieved and was greatly distressed in my heart, not otherwise than in the perils of my own people, whenever I heard about 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. And I heard this often, yet never with less pain, than if my own case or that of my own very Germans was at issue. For a sense of humanity instilled at birth teaches us, if nothing else, in a common love to feel pain at the misfortunes of poor wretches, as if they were one's own, even if no other philtra of friendship intervene.

⁹¹ φιλοπρωχίαν.

⁹² For text see details for the previous extract in note 75.

Reipublicae corpus soleant, ceu contagio quodam. Quicquid enim huc perniciosi exempli irrepsit semel (irrepserunt autem multa) statim ex aula Principis, in uicos et oppida, ueluti per uenas sanguis, longe lateque peruadit, ac in mores hominum traicitur. Quapropter ad reliquas suas uirtutes hanc etiam adiiciet laudem prudentissimae Reginae pietas, ne quid usquam in familia Principissae tam Christianae conspiciatur minus Christianum, ne quid dissoluti, obscoeni, profani, aut effoeminati: ne quae deierationes: ne quid denique fiat eiusmodi, unde periculum esse possit uitandae Reipublicae. Nec minor cura per caeteras nobilium, procerumque familias circumferenda est. Porro quum nullus tanta septus prudentia princeps sit, aut tam πολύμητις, ut unus omnibus sufficiat obeundis: necesse Regina habeat quosdam sibi consilii administros 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.

21. Quocirca exorandus est nobis Deus, ut qui Elisabetham tot florentem decoris, in ista imperii successione constituerit: pariter cum imperio addat sedium suarum assistricem Sapientiam, quae in factis consiliisque omnibus ipsi praeceat ad ciuium salutem, publicamque tranquillitatem. Consimilis quoque delectus in his adhibendus est, quibus publica mandantur officia, et magistratus: ut tales sint, quorum tuto fidatur integritati, qui Christi gloriae unice seruientes, animum ad Rempublicam afferant priuatis afflectibus, uulgiue cupiditatibus superiorem, qui ius ex aequo dicant, commoda sua publico metiantur commodo: qui tecta priuata adulteriis, uias publicas latrociniiis perpurgent: nec uias modo, sed et diuersoria quaedam publica multo maxime. cuiusmodi audio istic nonnulla esse, quae quanto occultius, tanto perniciosius infestant uiatorem. Quisquis sibi scopum uitae alium proponit, quam gloriam Christi, aut laboris praemium aliter quam in Deo statuit, nunquam tenebit rectum in magistratu clauum: quin, aut largitionum corruptela, uel metu aut gratia de recti constantia, uelit nolit, deiicietur.

22. Quam pulchrum illud Reginae fuerit, sese modis omnibus ad archetypum summi illius principum (sic) omnium Principis componere: tam rursus minoribus magistratibus turpe erit, principem ad optima quaeque enitentem, non iisdem insequi uestigiis. Quod si profanis olim legibus ambitus agebant causam, qui illegitimis artibus ad publica munia penetrarent: quanto minus in Euangelica ferendum Republica ut precio pecuniaeque publica pateant officia? Quo fit, ut magistratus, quod ab aliis emerint, ipsi reuendant aliis: nec tam magistratus, quam mangones fiant Reipublicae necesse sit. Non inscite quondam a Scipione iudicatum est, qui quum de duobus in Hispaniam mittendis tractaretur, neutrum dicebat placere sibi: quod alter per luxum nihil haberet, alteri per auaritiam nihil esset satis. Vtrumque ego istorum genus a publicis functionibus procul arcendum censeo. Quorum in altero nihil boni, ex altero nimium capiet detrimenti Respublica. Porro nec obfuerit fortasse (licet minutioris res momenti sit) rei Brytannicae reformationi, si ociosorum quorundam turba uel ad paucitatem, uel ad labores redigatur: qui quum in regno neque in publico negotio, neque inter priuatas personas uiuant, in eo tamen ocio νεοσατραπίζονται: quod utinam tam prodesset Reipublicae quam sibi ipsis grauiter nocet: Deo certe placere non potest.

from themselves, 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. For whatever destructive precedent has once crept into here (and many have crept in) it immediately extends from the prince's court far and wide into the villages and towns, like blood through the veins, and is transferred into the habits of men. Therefore the piety of a very wise Queen will also add this merit to the rest of her virtues, that nowhere in the household of such a Christian Princess is seen anything less Christian, nothing dissolute, obscene, profane or effeminate, nor any swearing: in short, there should be nothing of the sort from which there could be the danger of damaging the state. Nor is a lesser concern to be spread around the other families of nobles and leading men. Moreover since no prince is surrounded by such great wisdom, or is 'of so great counsel'⁹³, 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.

21. Therefore we must entreat God that he who has established Elizabeth flourishing with so many ornaments in that succession of rule, may together with her rule add Wisdom, who sits beside his own throne, to precede her in all actions and counsels for the safety of the citizens and public calmness. A similar selection must also be used among those people to whom public duties and magistracies are entrusted, that they be such men in whose integrity there is safe trust, who, serving the glory of Christ alone, may bring to the State a mind superior to private affections and the desires of the common people, who may dispense justice fairly and measure their own advantages by the public advantage, who may thoroughly cleanse private houses of adulteries and public streets of robberies; and not only the streets, but also most importantly certain public inns: 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. Whoever proposes for himself another goal in life than the glory of Christ, or establishes a reward for labour otherwise than in God, will never keep a steady helm in a magistracy: rather he will be cast down, willing or unwilling, either by the corruption of bribery, or by fear or by favour from constancy in that which is right.

22. As it will have been a fine thing for the Queen to model herself in all ways on the archetype of that highest Prince of all princes, so again it will be disgraceful for lesser magistrates not to follow in the same footsteps after a prince who is striving for all the best things. But if in accordance with profane laws those persons once were prosecuted for corruption who by illegitimate means gained public offices, how much the less is it to be tolerated in an evangelical State that public duties should be open to price and to money? So it happens that, because they have bought magistracies from other people, they themselves resell them to others, and must needs become not so much the magistrates as the dealers of the State. Not unwise once was the judgement of Scipio who, when discussions were taking place concerning the sending of two men to Spain, said that neither pleased him, because the one had nothing because of his extravagance, and nothing was enough for the other because of his greed. I think that both of these kinds of men should be kept far away from public duties: in the one of them the State will receive nothing good, and from the other too much damage. Moreover it will perhaps not be a hindrance (although it is a matter of less importance) to the reformation of the British state, if a band of certain idle men were reduced either to a small number or to working: although in a kingdom they live neither in public employment nor amongst private individuals, yet 'behave like neo-

⁹³ πολύμητις.

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satraps⁹⁴ in that idleness. Would that this benefit the State as much as it gravely harms themselves: certainly it cannot be pleasing to God.

23. Verum enimvero quum caeteros omnes oratione ordines perlustrauimus, nusquam maior adhibenda circumspectio est, quam in iis qui Ecclesiae Christianae gubernaculis, uerboque dispensando praeficiuntur: quod in his potissimum situm est, quales non priuati modo, sed magistratus etiam, ipsique adeo principes futuri sint. Quod igitur in humano corpore sanguis est, per omnes corporis uenas sespargens (*sic*), ac uitam praestans: hoc in Republica sunt Euangelicae doctrinae dispensatores. Quo magis danda opera, ut quam purissimus sanguis e purissimo corde fluat, minimum terreni humoris aut uliginis secum deferens. Porro neque solum quam purus sit, satis erit: nisi et humanae naturae conueniat, ac contemperetur, sic ut neque calore nimium exaestuet, 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.

23. *However, when we have in our oration surveyed all the other classes, nowhere should greater caution be applied than in the case of those who are put in charge of the government of the Christian Church and of imparting the word, because it particularly depends on them what sort of people not only private individuals but also magistrates and indeed princes themselves will be. And so, what in the human body is blood, circulating itself through all the veins of the body, and maintaining life, this in the State are the imparters of the doctrine of the Gospel. Therefore the more attention should be given that the purest blood possible flows out of the purest heart, carrying down with it the minimum of earthly fluid or waste. 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 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, which will be beneficial in man.*

24. Non aliter in Euangelicis praeconibus, qui homines agunt cum hominibus, humanum inesse quiddam consentaneum est. Multa fert humana imbecillitas, quemadmodum et prauitas multa quoque postulat. Accedat igitur Euangelica prudentia necesse est, quae scite norit, quid cuique, quantumque ex dimenso Domini emetiendum sit. In oratore non idem semper laudatur orationis character: sed disertissimus habetur, qui pro re atque personis apposite se attemperat, ad persuadendum. Atqui multo magis in oratore Ecclesiastico Paulina illa ποικιλία desideranda est, qui factus est omnia omnibus ut omnes Christo lucrifaceret. Solebant aliquando in Anglia intrudi in Ecclesias, quibus e monasteriis olim eductis obnoxius esset ob pensiones annuas, fiscus Regis, nimirum quo sic Regiae pecuniae consuleretur. Atque hic forte asininus erat sanguis in hominis corpore, nempe quod dici solet ὄνος λυριζων: quae res haud mediocrem ecclesiis Brytannicis peperit corruptelam. Hocque malum quum per quaestum quorundam uitari non posset, sic tamen ei occursum est per Archiepiscopos metropolitans, ut existerent saltem aliqui studiosi et boni uiri, qui Episcoporum donati diplomatis, uarias peregrinando ecclesias atque eparchias, huc illuc circuissent, disseminantes Euangelii nuncium.

24. *Not otherwise is it fitting that there should be something human in the preachers of the Gospel, who deal with men as men. Human weakness brings many things, just as vice also demands many things as well. And so it is necessary that there be added the wisdom of the Gospel, which rightly knows what and how much must be dispensed to each in accordance with the measurement of the Lord. In the case of an orator it is not always the same style of speech which is praised, but he is regarded as the most eloquent who, in accordance with the issue and with the characters, accommodates himself suitably in persuading. However much more is that Pauline 'variety'⁹⁵ to be desired in the case of an Ecclesiastical orator, who is made all things to all men so that he might gain all of them for Christ. At one time in England it was the practice to thrust into churches men extracted earlier from monasteries to whom the exchequer was obligated for annual pensions, that thus, to be sure, the royal money might be husbanded. And this perchance was a case of ass's blood in a man's body, that is, what is usually termed 'an ass playing on a lyre'⁹⁶: and this circumstance has created no small corruption in the British churches. And although this evil could not be avoided because of the money-making of certain people, yet it was addressed by the metropolitan archbishops so that at least some scholarly and good men exist who, having been presented with letters of appointment as bishops, in travelling round the various churches and parishes were going around here and there spreading the news of the Gospel.*

[...]

28. Multi sunt qui episcopum induentes, protinus hominem fere cum omni humanitate exuunt: ac satrapas quosdam e media aula imitati difficiles praebent aditus, rara colloquia, solenne quiddam incessu uultuque praeseferant (*sic*), non nisi cum magnatibus familiariscant (*sic*): uelut in eo rati maiestatem maxime consistere pastorem, si nihil habeant cum populo commune: cum nihil sit popularius, quam functio Euangelica et pastoralis. Postremo minus in hoc delectus genere errabitur, si in hos potissimum cadant suffragia, quos praeter caeteras linguae ac eruditionis dotes, seria aliqua corporis uel animi afflictio expertos magis atque exercitatos reddiderit in his quae salutis sunt et institutionis Christianae.

[...]

28. *There are many men who, on dressing as a bishop, immediately strip off the man with almost all his humanity and, acting like certain satraps from the middle of the palace, they offer difficult means of access, rare conferences, exhibit a certain solemn attitude in their gait and expression, and become familiar only with the important people, as if thinking that their pastoral grandeur particularly consisted in their having nothing in common with the people, although nothing belongs more to the people than carrying out evangelical and pastoral duties. Finally, there will be less error made in this type of selection, if the votes fall to those particularly whom, apart from their other talents in speaking and learning, some*

⁹⁴ νεοσατραπιζοντα.

⁹⁵ NT ref.

⁹⁶ cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I.iv.35.. See commentary, p 13.

Quippe licet permultum indubie energiae habeat multiplex et assidua sacrarum lectio literarum, peritiaque ad recte docendi facultatem: fortius tamen cordatiusque e concionatoris pectore fluit oratio, quae cum sensu earum rerum quae docentur, atque experientia coniungitur. Fitque nescio quo modo, ut ad eorum facilius amorem inflammemus alios, quorum ipsi uiuo affectu amoreque concalescimus.

[...]

30. Sed satis iam fui monitrix, quae gratulatrix esse instituebam. Neque enim dubium est, quin ista multo rectius uestra perspiciat satis per se oculata sapientia, curaque prouideat, ut nihil sit opus noctuas, quod aiunt, Athenas. Verum impotens quaedam huc me perpulit rerum uestrarum sollicitudo, non solum ut argumenti mei, sed et pudoris pene lineas transilierim. Quocirca si quid hic superuacaneae a me operae insumptum sit, amori id tribuetis: sin opportunum uidebor aliquid commonuisse, officio asscribetis. Quo etsi minus in praesentia egeretis, malui tamen huius officoli a me iacturam fieri, quam uos posthac consimili iterum naufragio, tanquam secunda tabula eiectos, in alienas terras distrahi: meque in consimilem rursus, uestra causa, luctum incidere. Quod ut procul auertat Dominus, per unigenitum filium Christum suum, Dominum nostrum, etiam atque etiam deprecor. Tum ne quid hic curae desit uestrae, quantum in uobis maxime situm est, per salutem uestram, iterum atque iterum a uobis contendo, et flagito: idque tanto nunc enixius, quanto facilius blanda haec serenitatis aura, quam diuersus fortunae reflantis status, saepe imponere hominibus solet.

31. Siquidem multis passim exemplis compertum habemus, ut quos res aduersae deiicere non potuerunt, secundae emolliant, atque eneruent. Vnde non abs re olim a C. Caesare dubitatum est, in bello gladii, an in pace uoluptates, mortalibus sint funestiores. Atque uero difficillimis his temporibus, quantam hactenus, et quam masculam praestitistis fortitudinem, tot martyrum uestrorum declarant argumenta. Nunc rebus in melius commutatis, ne aliusmodi sitis, uestrique dissimiles, summa uos ope niti decet. Quod subactis nunc hostibus uictoriam tam diuinam consequuti sitis, felicitatem uestram potius, quam uirtutem agnoscimus. Facite uicissim, in usu uictoriae uirtutem pariter cum felicitate coniunctam intelligamus. Intelligemus autem, si uictoriam uestram ea moderatione condiatis, quae cum uobis digna uictoribus, tum uictis etiam ipsis esse possit salutaris: si absint affectus uindictae appetentes: si absit ferocia praeceps, et petulans insultatio: si locus clementiae cum pari adiuncta prudentia relinquatur. Quarum altera, ut uos forsitan ipsis commodetis: altera, ne quid ipsi uobis incommodent, efficiet. Hac moderatione semper hactenus creuit germana Christi Ecclesia: contraque non alia magis ratione aduersariorum decreuit ecclesia, quam ui, caedeque inferenda.

32. Erat longe quidem hoc primum, et optimum, ut Chaos hoc dissonantium dogmatum et opinionum posset in concordiam ubique digeri: uosque istic sublatis partium et studiorum dissidiis, una uoce, unoque spiritu, omnes pariter cationem Domini caneretis in terra uestra. Verum quando hoc in tanta, tamque acerba *διχοστασίᾳ* optari citius quam sperari poterit: erit tamen pietatis uestrae quantum ueritate euincitis, tantum et Christiana moderatione aduersarios superare: magisque quid uos deceat, quam quid illi mereantur, meminisse. Scite non

serious suffering of the body or mind has made more experienced and trained in those matters which concern Christian salvation and teaching. To be sure, although extensive and constant reading and knowledge of the scriptures undoubtedly produces tremendous energy in the faculty of teaching correctly, yet more strongly and more wisely from the heart of the preacher flows speech which is united with an understanding and experience of those matters which are being taught. And it comes about somehow or other that we kindle others more easily to love of those things in the lively affection and love of which we grow hot.

[...]

30. *But I who started to be a congratulator have now been enough of an admonisher. For there is no doubt that your wisdom, which is sufficiently furnished with its own eyes, perceives those matters more correctly and your concern provides that there is no need for owls to Athens, as they say. But a certain powerless anxiety for your affairs has driven me to the point that I have jumped across the barriers not only of my subject but almost of good manners. Therefore if any unnecessary work has here been expended by me, you will attribute it to love: but if I seem to have given some opportune reminder, you will ascribe it to duty. Although you are less in need of this for the present, yet I have preferred that I should waste this small duty than that you should after this in a similar shipwreck as though thrown overboard on a second plank again be carried away to foreign lands, and that I should fall into similar grief again for your sake. I constantly pray through his only begotten son, Christ, our Lord, that the Lord should turn this far away. Then again and again I beg and entreat you that nothing here be lacking in your care for yourselves, as much as particularly depends on you for the sake of your safety, and that now as much the more earnestly as this enticing breeze of fair weather is often accustomed to impose on men, more easily than the changing state of fortune's ebb and flow.*

31. *For we have knowledge from many scattered examples how good fortune softens and weakens those whom misfortunes have not been able to cast down. Consequently it was not irrelevantly doubted of old by Caesar whether swords in war or pleasures in peace were more destructive for human beings. And indeed in these very difficult times the proofs of so many of your martyrs show how great and how bold is the courage you have hitherto exhibited. Now that circumstances have changed for the better, it is right that you strive to the utmost of your ability not to be otherwise and unlike yourselves. Because with your enemies now conquered, you have gained so divine a victory, we recognise your good fortune rather than your courage: in turn bring it about that in your use of the victory we see courage joined equally with good fortune. And we shall see it if you season your victory with that moderation which may be both worthy of you as the victors and beneficial also for the conquered themselves: if desires seeking for vengeance are absent, if hasty ferocity and petulant insolence are absent: if room is left for forgiveness with the addition of equal good sense; the one of which will bring it about that you may perhaps be of service to them, the other that they will not cause any inconvenience to you. It has always hitherto been with this moderation that the true Church of Christ has grown, and, on the other hand, the church of our adversaries has diminished for no other reason than the inflicting of violence and bloodshed.*

32. *This indeed was by far the first and best thing, that this Chaos of differing dogmas and opinions could be settled in agreement everywhere, and that you, with disagreements between parties and inclinations removed, should there in your land all sing together the Lord's song with one voice. But since this will in so great and so bitter a 'schism' be able to be desired more quickly than hoped for, it will however be a mark of your piety to overcome your adversaries with Christian moderation as much as you surpass them in truth,*

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

minus respondit, quam prudenter perspexit Onademus⁹⁷ ille Chius: qui quum diuersam in ciuitate sua factionem superasset, suadentibus amicis illis, aduersarios e ciuitate omnes eiiciendos: negauit id expedire: Vereri se inquires, ne aduersae factionis exactis hominibus, inter amicos existerent dissidia. Atque utinam pariter apud aduersarios uestros in tantum ualeret oratio mea, ut ipsis quoque mutuam uobiscum consensionem persuadere queam, et Euangelicae gratiae obedientiam. Verum ut ei officio posthac fortasse aliam destinabimus dicendi opportunitatem: ita equidem tempus modo esse arbitror, ut profusi hactenus sanguinis Christiani satietas tandem aliquando eos, ac poenitudo capiat.

33. Ex hac factione qui praefraciores sunt, ii si uestram negligant disciplinam, at diuinam reformident animaduersionem, redeantque ad cor mature. Qui molliores sunt, piorum commoditate, ad ueritatis partes alliciantur (*sic*)¹⁰⁰. Ex altera rursus classe qui doctrinae praesunt Euangelicae, ita attendant sibi, ne qua iusta morum offensione, a doctrina abalienent, quos pertrahere oportebat. Breuiter omnes, pro suo quisque talento, concordiae studeant, et lucro Domini amplificando. Qui magistratu funguntur, a legum recta amussi haud unquam declinent temere, semper horum trium ex Agathone memores: dominari se hominibus deinde secundum leges, porro nec perpetuo dominaturos. Priuati uicissim, recte dominantibus pari obtemperant obseruantia. Quibus delegatae sunt uices Scripturas interpretandi, meminerint se nihil quam linguas esse Scripturae tacentis: quam non ad ipsorum affectus detorqueri, sed ad eius gnomones illos componi conuenit. Rursus qui auscultaturi accedunt, ita accedant, non ut captent quod calumnientur, sed ut abeant meliores.

[...]

41. Quae quum ita habeant, quid restat porro (Christiani commilitones, fratres) nisi ut, imminente iam rerum, ut uidetur, catastrophe, iuxta Euangelicam monitionem, nos ad diem eum paremus omnes, qui procul abesse non potest a foribus. In quo post longos demum labores, et cruces, perhenne ac triumphale sabbatum, una cum suis, nunquam finiendae tranquillitatis peracturus est Christus. Qui interim ad eum diem longa incolumitate uos florentes custodiat, felicitatem hanc uobis stabiliat, stabilitam perficiat ad gloriam ipsius: cui sit perhennis gloria, et gratia, pro maximo hoc in uos beneficio, per omnes ecclesias sine fine duratura, Amen.

FINIS

38. *Rerum*, 1559: Dedication.¹⁰¹

PRAEPOTENTI AC PIETATE
NON MINVS QVAM GENERIS CLARITUDINE
ornatiss. Principi, D. Thomae Duci Norfolciae,
supremo Regni Ang.
Archimarschallo, &c. Mecoenati suo, Ioan. Foxus perennem
in Christo cum salute foelicitatem.

⁹⁷ This should read Onomademus (see commentary, p. 14).

⁹⁸ διχοστασία.

⁹⁹ This should read Onomademus.

¹⁰⁰ This should, of course, be *alliciantur*.

¹⁰¹ J. Foxe, *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum* . . . (Basel: Oporinus, 1559). Microfilm copy loaned by T.S. Freeman.

and to remember more what is right for you than what they deserve. The famous Onademus⁹⁹ from Chios replied no less cleverly than he observed wisely, who, when he had defeated an opposing faction in his city, 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. And would that my speech equally would prevail amongst your adversaries to the extent that I could persuade them also to a mutual agreement with you and obedience to the grace of the Gospel. But just as we shall perhaps later fix another opportunity of addressing that duty, so indeed I think that now it is time that satiety of Christian blood shed hitherto and repentance should at some point finally take hold of them.

33. If those of this faction who are more inflexible ignore your discipline, let them at least dread divine punishment and speedily return to their senses. Those who are more gentle, let them be drawn by the forbearance of the pious to the side of truth. Again, those of the other class who preside over the doctrine of the Gospel, let them so attend to themselves that they do not through any just complaint about their behaviour alienate from the doctrine those whom they ought to be attracting. Briefly, let all, each in accordance with his own talent, apply themselves to agreement, and to increasing the Lord's harvest. Let those who perform the duties of a magistrate never rashly turn aside from the strict rule of the laws, always remembering these three points from Agathon: that they rule over men, then that they rule according to the laws, and further that they will not rule for ever. Let private individuals in their turn with equal respect submit to those who are ruling them justly. Let those to whom turns in interpreting the Scriptures are delegated remember that they are nothing other than the tongues of silent Scripture, and it is not right for it to be twisted to their own feelings, but the feelings should be ordered according to its canons. Again let those who approach with the intention of listening approach in such a way that they do not try to catch what they may misrepresent, but that they may go away better men.

[...]

41. Since this is the case, what now remains, fellow Christian soldiers and brothers, except that, 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 from our doors in which, finally, after long labours and crosses, Christ will accomplish, together with his own people, a perpetual and triumphant Sabbath of never-ending peace. May he in the meantime up to that day guard you flourishing in a long safety, may he establish this happiness for you and, having established it, may he perfect it to the glory of him to whom, for this very great goodness to you, be everlasting glory and grace, which will endure without end through all the churches. Amen.

THE END

Translated by Barrie and Annabel Hall

TO THE MOST PUISSANT PRINCE, MOST HIGHLY
ADORNED BY PIETY NO LESS THAN SPLENDOR OF
LINEAGE,

Lord Thomas Duke of Norfolk, supreme Earl Marshal of the
Kingdom of England et cetera, his Maecenas, John Foxe,
everlasting felicity and safety in Christ.

1. Si in nuncupandis libris caeteri fere scriptores ad suos quique patronos & Mecoenates uel ueteres confugere, uel nouos sibi conquirere gaudeant, quibus industriae suae et ingenii monumenta addicant (Thoma Dux, Brytannicae nobilitatis decus non infimum) admonet profecto me cum publica haec consuetudo hominum, tum tua in primis in me merita, studium, candor, et uoluntas tam propensa et singularis, quid me sequi in his tribuendis Commentariis oporteat. Nam si splendorem nominis aestimemus, quis me facilius attrahere? Si officium spectetur, quis tandem: inter homines quidem patronos, iustius me sibi uendicare possit, si quid tamen sit in me, quod quisquam uendicare, ac non aspernari potius debeat? Accedit porro ad haec philtrea, quod multo adhuc arctius meum in te et studium deuincit, et officium prouocat. Quo fit, ut in te quoque aliquid mihi uendicare liceat: quippe quum in tenera formanda aetate tua, si non optimam, at primam tamen diuina ordinatione, operam posuimus. Quanquam haud me lateat, quam parum mihi hoc nomine tua Celsitudo debeat: quando tam parum in te praestiterim. Et tamen ut nunquam defuit mihi maiora praestandi uoluntas, ita uetus illa uoluntatis coniunctio adhuc apud me residet: perinde ac si iam contulisset, quae animus in te collocata uoluisset. Accipies igitur (mi Thoma) uel a ueteri praeceptore, uel si mauis, a nouo nunc cliente tuo, literarium hoc, quod sub Christo communi praeceptore nostro, tuae inscribere amplitudini libuit, monumentum: quam te dignum nescio, certe ab eo profectum animo, quem tu fastidire haud omnino debeas. Neque porro accipi solum, atque in manibus esse: sed in oculis etiam uersari, ac perlegi, ociumque tuum et cogitationes hic sedulo et religiose distineri peruelim: tamque distineri diu, quoad te, quantos hic profectus facies ad pietatem, non poenitebit.

2. Quod si non grauabitur Celsitudo Tua digna cum attentione facere: nihil diffido, quin in reliqua uita tua, recte et cum uirtute instituenda, uice paedagogi non poenitendi, tibi esse poterit. Porro non abs te solum hos de rebus Ecclesiae Commentarios legi, sed a cunctis tui loci et nobilitatis hominibus, denique ab uniuersis summis pariter ac imis, publicis priuatisque, nec in Anglia solum, sed quibuscumque etiam undelibet Christianis spectari atque notari cupiam. Quippe 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. Solebat quondam apud Graecos uice prouerbii hominibus in os obici, in re praeclara parum scite uersantibus: Proba quidem materia, si probum nacta fuerit artificem. Ac de artificis quidem manu liberum erit statuere cuique quod uolet. Quod enim ad me attinet, ut reprehensionem nullius ualde deprecor, si merear: ita nec laudem uenor cuiusquam uehementer. Dies erit, quando laus erit cuique a Domino. Dummodo illius accrescat gloria, cum suis Martyribus, Satanae decrescat tyrannis, abunde est uotis meis factum satis. De re autem ipsa et materia, quoniam ad me nihil attinet, sed ad Christum, eiusque ecclesiam spectat in uniuersum, si dicam audacius, liquido id me posse arbitror: quum ea sit materia haec, ut quamlibet inelegantem sortita artificem, satis tamen ipsa per se tuis, omniumque oculis sese queat ac debeat commendare, tum pro amplitudine rerum gestarum, tum pro fide ipsa et ueritate historiae, tum ipsa personarum porro grauitate: siue insuper oblectationem animi Christiani, siue utilitatem lectionis, aut temporum necessitatem consideremus. 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 uulgi: tot prospicere heroas, et summates uiros, Duces, Comites, Equites, et Patricio genere nobiles, tot generosos, Episcopos, Archiepiscopos, Archidiaconos, ministros, tot doctos pariter et indoctos, tanquam in theatro orbis publico prodeuntes, pro sua cuiusque persona partes agentes tam fortiter et mirabiliter: tantum spectare chorum lectissimorum Martyrum, summe Iesu, quanta

1. *If in dedicating their books most other writers have betaken themselves each to his long-standing patron and Maecenas or rejoice to get new ones for themselves to whom they should dedicate the monuments of their industry and talent, O Duke Thomas, not the least glory of Britanick nobility, assuredly I am admonished both by this public custom of men and by your especial benefits towards me, your zeal, candour and your good will, so devoted and singular, as to what I ought to pursue in ascribing these Commentarii. For if we weigh the splendour of your name, who could more readily attract me, but if we consider duty, who, I ask, among men who are patrons could more justly claim me for himself, if indeed there be anything in me which anyone ought to claim and not rather reject. To these charms, moreover, is added the fact that both my zeal towards you binds me much more closely and my duty challenges me more closely. Wherefore it comes about that I may claim something for myself in you also, inasmuch as in the formation of your tender years we applied by divine ordination if not the best yet our first efforts. And yet it does not escape me how little Your Highness owes to me on this account, since I have bestowed on you so little. And yet, just as I never lacked the will to offer greater things, so that long-standing conjunction of will remains with me yet, precisely as if I had already conferred what my mind had wished conferred on you. You will therefore receive, my dear Thomas, either from an old tutor, or if you prefer from one who is now your new client, this literary monument which, under Christ our common preceptor, it has pleased me to dedicate to your magnificence; how worthy of you I know not, but certainly stemming from that spirit which you ought not at all to disdain. Nor, moreover, would I wish it merely to be received and to be in your hands but also to be turned over under your eyes and to be read through, and that your leisure and thoughts should here be sedulously and piously detained, and detained as long as you shall not regret the great advancement you shall here make towards piety.*

2. *If Your Highness will not begrudge to do this with worthy attention, I do not doubt at all but that in shaping the rest of your life rightly and with virtue it will be able to be to you like a pedagogue whom you will not regret. Moreover, I should desire that these Commentarii concerning the affairs of the Church should be read not only by you but be looked upon and taken note of by all men of your rank and nobility, in short by all men high and low alike, public men and private citizens, and not only in England but also by whatsoever Christians from wherever you please. For 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. 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. And concerning the hand of the craftsman it will be open to each man to determine as he shall wish; for as far as I am concerned, just as I do not strongly deprecate the reproof of any man should I deserve it, so do I not eagerly hunt the praise of any man. The day will be when praise will be to each man from the Lord. Provided that His glory increases along with his martyrs, and the tyranny of Satan decreases, my prayers will be answered sufficiently and in abundance. Now concerning the theme itself and its content, since it has no reference to me but to Christ, and looks entirely towards His Church, if I should speak more boldly, I think that I may do so clearly, since this material is such that, however inelegant the craftsman it be allotted, nevertheless it may and ought to commend itself sufficiently to your eyes and the eyes of all, both on account of the greatness of the deeds done, then on account of the very credibility and truth of the history, then again on account of the very gravity of the participants, whether furthermore we consider the delighting of the Christian soul or the utility of the reading or the necessity of the times. 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*

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constantia pro Christo depugnantium, quanta fortitudine morientium, quanta disputantium prudentia?

always changes with its ruler', to look upon so many heroes and men of eminence, dukes, earls, knights, nobles of patrician rank, so many gentlemen, bishops, archbishops, archdeacons, ministers, so many men learned and unlearned alike, coming forward as it were in the public theatre of the world, each playing his part so bravely and admirably; to look upon so great a chorus of most choice martyrs, Lord Jesus, wrestling with what great constancy for Christ, dying with what great fortitude, disputing with what great prudence?

3. Deinde quam non inamoenum illud praebebit spectaculum, diuinam in suis castigandis asperitatem, rursusque in eripiendis clementiam, quandoque in uindicando sanguine mutuum talionem perpendere? Quis non iure miretur in Moro et Roffense, diuinae ultionis uim: qui condemnato paulo prius Frytho, mox ipsi plectuntur capite? Neque non iuuabit et illud nostrorum fortasse animos, quum multi in his historiae monumentis suos reperient, alii parentes, alii filios, nonnulli uxores, pars maritos, quidam cognatos aut affines, plurimi uicinos aut amicos: de quibus hic legere aliquid, uelutique loquentes audire pro suo quisque affectu auebit. Quemadmodum et tibi ipsi, Dux inclyte, de his si quos Northfolcia tua uicinos habuerit, hac in historia cognoscere, siue de praestantissimo uiro D. Cobhamo, uel de excellenti Comite D. Thoma Cromelio, deque disertissimo regni Cancellario Audleo audire, scio non iniucundum fore. Nec dubito clarissimi ducis Somerseti, clarissimae spei filiis gratum similiter fore, de optimo et mitissimo suo [pa]rente legere. Sic et ecclesiis quibusdam uolupte erit forsitan, amantissimorum pastorum ueterem sibi refricari memoriam. Quemadmodum Cantuarienses, de Archiepiscopo suo: Londinenses ciues, de Bradfordo, ac suo Sanderio lubenter audituros non dubito. Quid de Edmundo Grindallo meo, quem Edmundo Bonero nunc suffectum, et episcopum Londinensem declaratum audio: an illi non adlubescet Ridley sui, uiri doctissimi, hinc memoriam repetere, eiusque in his libris disputationes spectare: in quibus nos recolligendis, uariisque collatis exemplaribus restituendis effecimus fortassis aliquid. Longum esset de Roberto Glouero, Thoma Hauxo, Gulielmo Gardinero, Causono, Hygbeo, caeterisque referre: quos omnes etsi aestus persecutionis in fauillas redegit, tamen ne res gestae illorum, memoriaque interiret, a nobis pro uirili praestitum est.

3. *Then how pleasant will be that spectacle which it will afford of weighing the divine asperity in chastising His own and again His clemency in redeeming them, and from time to time the reciprocal trade-off in avenging bloodshed? Who would not rightly marvel at the power of divine vengeance in the case of More and the Bishop of Rochester who, having but a little while before condemned Frith, are then themselves beheaded? That too will also perhaps please the minds of our countrymen when many in these records of history will find their own kin, some of them parents, others sons, some wives, some husbands, some cognates or connections, very many neighbours or friends; each man according to his disposition will desire here to read something concerning them and to hear them as though speaking. Just as you yourself also, noble duke, will, I know, find it not displeasing to learn in this history of those whom your own Norfolk may have as neighbours, or to hear about that most excellent man Lord Cobham, or of the excellent earl Lord Thomas Cromwell, and of Audley, the most eloquent Chancellor of the kingdom. Nor do I doubt that it will likewise be pleasing to the sons of glorious promise of the glorious Duke of Somerset to read about their best and most gentle father. Just so to certain churches also it will perhaps be a pleasure to refresh old memories of their most loving pastors. For example, I do not doubt that the citizens of Canterbury will gladly hear of their archbishop, the citizens of London concerning Bradford and their own Sander. What of my friend Edmund Grindall, whom I hear has now been made successor to Edmund Boner and declared Archbishop of London – will he not find added pleasure in recalling from this source the memory of that most learned man, his friend Ridley, and in these books looking into his disputationes? In the gathering together of which and in the restoration of which by the comparison of various copies we have perhaps effected something. It would take a long time to mention Robert Glover, Thomas H. William Gardiner, Causon, Hygbey and the rest: although the fire of persecution has reduced them all to ashes, nevertheless I have done my manly best to prevent their achievements and their memory from passing away.*

4. Quum igitur tot modis, uti diximus, possit te delectare huius cognitio historiae: tum uero utilitas amoenitatem ipsam pluribus profecto nominibus exuperat: quippe quae iuueniles annos tuos poterit non solum utilissimis exemplis inflammare ad pietatem, timorem Dei, mundi huius contemptum, etc. sed etiam praeceptis imbuere sanctissimis, ad Christianae doctrinae cognitionem. Habes hic enim utriusque ecclesiae propositam ob oculos idaeam, ut de utraque iam iudicare sine magno labore possis. Habes tot sanctorum doctissimorumque Martyrum, de grauissimis controuersiis iudicia, testimonia, rationes atque argumenta, ut nullus posthac errandi relictus sit, aut ambiendi locus: quum praesertim ad rationes eorum caeteras accedat insuper sanguis, ualidissimum sine dubio et efficacissimum testimonium. Porro neque simplex haec utilitatis ratio fuerit, quod in his commentariis, aduersariorum omnia fere omnium obiecta, allegationes, distinctionesque et argumenta, cunctis appareant, ut quum ipsis posthac nihil sit quod obiiciant amplius: nunc quid iis ipsis insit obiectionibus excutiamus. Quae res adeo non ad rem mihi facere non uidetur, ut si uertant posthac tempora, aut non uertant etiam, librum hunc non tam iucundum tibi aut utilem, quam necessarium cunctis fore, rem cum hoc hominum genere habituris, existimem. Volebam praeterea de iis apud te multo plura: sed uix dieculae pars mihi ad compellendam sublimitatem tuam dabatur, ita festinabant typographi, et urgebant nundinae. Dominus Iesus, principum omnisque celsitudinis Princeps, celsitudinem tuam diu nobis uelit

4. *So then, while the knowledge of this history may delight you in so many ways, as we have said, then also its utility assuredly surpasses the attraction itself on more counts, in as much as it will be able not only by most useful examples to inflame your youthful years to piety, fear of God, contempt of this world et cetera, but also to imbue them by most holy precepts to knowledge of Christian doctrine. For you have here set before your eyes the image of both churches, in order that you may without great labour now make judgement about both. You have the judgements, testimonies, reasonings and arguments of so many holy and most learned martyrs, concerning most weighty controversies, that no place hereafter is left for erring or questioning, especially since in addition to the rest of their arguments there is added blood also, a testimony without doubt most powerful and most efficacious. Furthermore, this consideration of utility will not be straightforward because in these Commentarii pretty well all the objections, allegations, definitions and arguments of all adversaries are made apparent to all, so that while they themselves hereafter have no objection more to make, we may now consider what is implicit in those very objections. This procedure (opportunity?) indeed seems to me so absolutely appropriate that I think that if time hereafter changes, or even does not change, this book will be not so much pleasant or useful for you as necessary for all men who will have to deal with this kind of people. Concerning them, I wished moreover to say much more to you, but scarcely a portion of a short day*

The Latin Writings of John Foxe

incolumem: teque cum Martyribus et sanctis suis sanctificet in regnum gloriae suae, simulque ad publicam Reginae patriaeque tuae utilitatem. Basileae, Anno 1559. Septembrie.

Tue Cels. multis nominibus
deuinctus addictusque in Christo.

Ioan. Foxus

was given me for making my address to your nobility, in so much of a hurry were the printers, and the market day was pressing. May the Lord Jesus, Prince of princes and of all nobility, wish that Your Highness long be kept safe for us, and with His martyrs and saints sanctify you to the Kingdom of His glory, and at the same time to the public utility of the Queen and of your country. Basel, in the year 1559. September.

To Your Highness, John Fox, on many counts
bound and devoted to you in Christ

39. *Rerum of 1559: Prooemium*¹⁰²

PROOEMIUM DE HISTORIAE HVIVS VTILITATE ET fructu.

1. Quum infinita adeo librorum undique prouolantium multitudine tantum non obruatur respub. literaria, superuacaneam fortassis operam quibusdam facturus uidebor, qui calamo manum his temporibus admoueam: in conscribendis praesertim historiis, quarum tam redundanti hodie copia, nec harum solum, sed omnium scriptorum turba, ceu mole quadam laborare iam mundus uideatur, ut libris lectores magis uideantur, et officinis emptores, quam illis libri et emptoribus officinae defuisse. Nec dubito, quin multi boni uiri hunc scribendi et imprimendi pruritus, occulto animi gemitu iamdudum et sentiant et deplorent, at nemo profecto meipso impensius: tantum abest, ut quisquam me leui aliquo impulsu motu et temeritate munus hoc subiisse suspicetur. Accedebat porro ad hanc dubitationem par etiam uerecundia, cum timore coniuncta. Videbam enim haec quam docta essent tempora, et tacita lectorum uerebar iudicia, imprudenter nunc prosilire in medium, ac personam in hoc theatro induere, qui non omnibus egregii scriptoris ornamentis instructus prosiliat: qui non eximium ac singulare aliquid afferat: qui denique res non modo magnas, sed et tempori necessarias, cum pari dicendi facultate coniungens, discentium industriam, studiorum utilitatem, doctorum oblectationem explere atque augere non posset. Quas uirtutes quo longius a me abesse intellexi, hoc minus tam periculosae temeritatis aleam tentare sum ausus.

2. Caeterum cum perpendi rursus in animo, tantam hanc tamque insignium rerum gestarum historiam, quantam nuper haec tempora, in clarissimorum Martyrum spectaculis obtulerunt, ac offerunt quotidie, non putavi committendum, ut tot rerum hominumque clarissima monumenta, omni luce dignissima, ingrato meo silentio consulescerent. Dandum hoc quidem si non officio meo, at illorum egregiis meritis, laudibusque existimaui. Nec debuit hic obstare librorum multitudo, quo minus quae uere digna sint, in uulgus exeant: Sed bonis proferendis rebus, danda potius opera, ut multitudo haec librorum, quantum fieri a nobis possit, exolescat ac minuatur. Sed omnium maxime publica me communisque utilitatis ratio permouebat, quae mihi non mediocri sane ex sacra hac historia ad omnes peruentura uidebatur. Quod si autem in caeteris historiis tam lubenter uersari solemus, res ciuiles et externas pertractantibus, gaudemusque in his uarios rerum humanarum casus contemplari, ducum ac imperatorum stratagemata, bellorum fremitus, direptiones urbium, regnorum ac populorum aestus considerare: nec mediocriter referre ad publicam uitae utilitatem putamus, si prophanae antiquitatis memoriam, literarum monumentis comprehensam, luceque orationis ac ingenio scriptoris illustratam teneamus: quanto tum commendatiores unicuique esse par est, hominum non

PROOEMIUM CONCERNING THE UTILITY AND FRUIT OF THIS HISTORY

1. Since the republic of letters is indeed all but overwhelmed by an infinite multitude of books flying forth on all sides, I shall seem to some perhaps to be expending superfluous labour in moving my hand to the pen at this time, especially in writing a history when the world now seems to labour, as though under a certain mass, with so redundant a store of histories today, and not only of histories but a large quantity of all writings, that readers seem less to be lacking to books and purchasers to publishing houses than books to them and publishing houses to purchasers. Nor do I doubt that many good men already both feel, and with hidden groan of heart deplore, this itch to write and print, but no one more earnestly for sure than myself; so far is it from being the case that anyone should suspect me prompted by some frivolous impulse and rashness to have undertaken this work. There was added, furthermore, to this hesitation also an equal modesty conjoined with fear. For I saw how learned were these times, and I feared the silent judgements of readers – that one now should imprudently leap forward into the midst and put on the mask in this theatre when he leapt forward not equipped with all the adornments of a fine writer, when he did not bring to bear something special and outstanding, when finally he could not by conjoining things not only great but also necessary to the time with an equal facility of speech fulfil and increase the industry of those who learn, the utility of those who study, and the pleasure of those who are learned. The further away from me I felt these virtues to be, the less I dared to attempt the hazard of so dangerous a temerity.

2. Moreover, when I pondered again in my mind this history of such remarkable events, a history as great as these recent times have offered in the spectacles of most glorious martyrs, and offer today, I did not think I should allow the most glorious monuments of so many things and men, most worthy of all illumination, to be passed over by my uncaring silence. I thought that this indeed should be given if not to my duty than at all events to their outstanding merits and praiseworthy deeds. And the multitude of books ought not at this juncture to prevent what is truly worthy from going out to the people, but rather pains should be taken to bring forward good things so that this multitude of books, as far as it can be done by us, should die out and diminish. But, most of all, the public and common consideration of utility moved me, for from this sacred history indeed no small utility seemed likely to reach all men. But if we are accustomed so pleasurably to devote ourselves to other histories which treat of civil and external affairs, and rejoice in these to contemplate the divers chances of human affairs, to consider the stratagems of generals and emperors, the din of wars, the plunderings of cities, the tides of kingdoms and peoples, and if we think it contributes not a little to the public utility of life if we keep the memory of pagan antiquity bound up in literary records and illustrated by the

¹⁰² See previous extract for bibliographical details.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

bellatorum, sed mitissimorum ac constantissimorum Martyrum historias, quae non aures sed uitam excolant, utilissimis exemplis informant, ac mentem denique ad omnes pietatis Christianae partes instituant. Primum enim de Deo uiuum dant testimonium contra atheos, omnesque Epicureorum sodalitates.

3. Quemadmodum de Harpalo olim dictum est a quodam, quod uiuum daret testimonium contra Deum, in cuius longa uidelicet impunitate, Deus uelut negligere res humanas uideretur. Ita in istis e diuerso uiuum et apertum habemus de Deo testimonium, quorum non in uita solum, sed et in morte multo magis, manifesta diuinitatis uis quaedam elucet, dum in tanta suppliciorum asperitate, tam constantem in eis, supra humanum modum firmitatem, in respondendo praesentiam, in uinculis patientiam, in ignoscendo pietatem, in moriendo alacritatem cernimus. Praeter multiplicem spiritus sancti sensum et experientiam, quam ipsi in uariis suis consolationibus, nosque per ipsos addiscimus. Conducunt praeterea non parum passiones sanctorum, ad bonam mentem atque mundi huius contemptum, adque timorem Dei, fidem confirmant, pietatem adaugent, superbiam in secundis retundunt, in aduersis rebus spem coelestis aperiant solatii. Quis enim in piorum calamitate non potest suae fortunae admoneri, quantumlibet siue pius sit, siue impius? Nam si pius tot tantisque subiicit malis diuina bonitas, quid est tandem quod uel polliceantur sibi boni, uel mali non metuant? Quumque ex reliquis fere historiis rerum peritiores, hinc certe meliores euadimus: atque etiam ad consimiles conflictus, si quando diuina uoluntate incidant, eorum tum doctrina prudentiores, tum etiam exemplis confirmatiores reddimur. Denique ueram fortitudinem mundo ostendunt, ac uincendi uiam, quae non in humanis praesidiis, sed in spe resurrectionis futurae, nec diu abfuturatae sita est. Quo nomine in primis mihi optandum uidetur, ut cum caeteri omnes, tum potissimum regum ac principum heroica ingenia, quae plerumque solent heroicis maxime historiis delectari, eiusmodi piorum martyrum historias in manibus circumferrent, oculisque proponerent, non ad legendum modo, sed etiam ad imitandum, in parietibus, in poculis, in annulis ac foribus depingerent.

4. Neque paulo enim hoc mihi honore digniores uidentur isti, quam sexcenti Alexandri, Hectores, Scipiones, ac Iulii bellatores. Nam utcunque de rebus praepostere hic mundus iudicet, uere hi quidem magni sunt apud Deum iudicem, non qui fortiter impacto telo occidunt alterum: (quid ni enim hoc pacto ursos, leones, lupos, leopardos, fortitudinis gloria attollamus?) sed qui constanter pro pietate occumbentes, inuictum spiritum aduersum tyrannorum minas et carnificum iniurias retinent. Atque hi demum uere mundi uictores sunt, a quibus ueram discimus fortitudinem, quotquot Christo, non mundo militamus. Hac fortitudine primum praecessit mitissimus ille agnus, atque idem inuictissimus leo de tribu Iuda, de cuius stupendo robore prophetiam audimus admirationem: Quis est, inquit, iste qui graditur in multitudine fortitudinis suae? Ipse nimirum Dei supremi supremus filius, uictus quidem a mundo, sed eadem ratione uincens mundum qua uictus est. Eadem sequuntur et caeteri eius martyres, quibus merito tantum honoris tribuit pia et religiosa Ecclesiae antiquitas, quantum nullus unquam imperator aut rex, statuis, columnis, pyramidibus, triumphis, templis, indictisque honoribus impetrare etiam in hoc mundo potuit. Declarant hoc ueterum Christianorum studia, ad martyrum cineres tanto ardore concurrentium, et oscula etiam figentium catenis quibus alligati erant. Quin et gladius quo plectebantur, inter reliquias asseruabatur. Superstitionem non probo, a simplici religione postea degenerantem. Sed haec tamen posteritatis superstitio facile declarat apud antiquiores, quam laeta ac festiua memoria olim in Ecclesia solebat esse sanctorum Dei martyrum. Testantur et hymni sacri, Prudentianae et Nazianzenae cantiones, quibus nunquam aequae Pindarus sua Olympia aut

light of oratory and the genius of the writer, then it is right that each individual man should regard as more commendable the histories of men who are not warriors but most gentle and courageous martyrs, histories which cultivate not the ears but the life, which inform by most useful examples, and finally direct the mind to every part of Christian piety. For first of all they give a lively testimony concerning God against atheists and all companies of epicureans.

3. 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, so in these men on the other hand we have a lively and open testimony concerning God since not only in their lives but also and much more in their deaths a certain manifest power of the deity shines out, while amid such great asperity of torments we see in them so constant a firmness beyond human measure, a readiness in replying, a patience in bonds, a piety in forgiving, a cheerfulness in dying, apart from a manifold sense and experience of the Holy Spirit which they themselves in their various consolations learned and we learn additionally through them. Moreover, the passions of the saints conduce not a little to a good mind and contempt of this world and fear of God; they confirm faith, increase piety, they check pride in prosperity, and in adversity they reveal the hope of celestial solace. For who amid the affliction of the pious can not be reminded of his own fortune, howsoever pious he be or impious? For if the divine goodness subjects pious men to so great and so many misfortunes, what is there, I ask, which good men can promise themselves or bad men not fear for themselves? And whereas from most other histories we come away more knowledgeable, from here certainly we come away better, and also we are rendered both wiser, thanks to their doctrine, and stronger also, thanks to their examples, so as to face similar blows should they ever fall on us by the divine will. Finally, they show forth to the world true fortitude and a path to victory, which is situated not within human protection but in the hope of future resurrection, not for long to be delayed. On this account it seems to me pre-eminently desirable that both everyone else and then above all the heroic minds of kings and princes, which are generally accustomed to delight most in heroic histories, should carry around in their hands the histories of pious martyrs of this kind, and set them before their eyes not merely to read but also to imitate, and should depict them on their walls, their cups, their rings and their doors.

4. For these people seem to me very much more worthy of this honour than six hundred warrior Alexanders, Hectors, Scipios and Juliuses. For however perversely this world may judge about things, these men are truly great in the eyes of God the judge, not those who doughtily striking home their weapon slay another (for why should we not after this fashion exalt bears, lions, wolves, leopards, for the glory of their strength?), but those who falling courageously in defence of piety preserve an unconquered spirit in the face of the threats of tyrants and the assaults of torturers. And these men finally are truly victors over the world from whom all we who fight for Christ, not for the world, learn true fortitude. In this fortitude there first preceded that most gentle lamb, and also the most unconquered lion of the tribe of Judah, at whose huge strength we hear the prophet marvelling in the words: Who is this who advances in the multitude of his strength? It is for sure the supreme Son Himself of God supreme, vanquished indeed by the world, but vanquishing the world by the same means by which he was vanquished. 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. This is declared by the devotion of the Christians of old who ran with such zeal to the ashes of the martyrs, and even planted kisses on the chains by which they had been bound. Moreover, even the sword with which they were beheaded was preserved among the relics. Of a superstition subsequently degenerate from simple religion, I do not approve, but yet this superstition of posterity easily

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Nemaeana celebrauit.

5. Quid hic referam disertissimorum hominum, Cypriani, Chrysostomi, Ambrosii, Hieronymi facundas orationes? sed nunquam facundiores, quam quum in piorum martyrum incidunt encomia. Quibus argumentis haud obscure constat, quantum olim apud priscos Christianos consuevit martyrum memoriae tribui: qua gratulatione, quo plausu, quibus tripudiis, et publica laetitia, piorum afflictiones pro Christo cadentium, exceptae sint ac celebratae. Neque uero immerito. Perspexit enim Ecclesia, quantum eorum debuit beneficiis, quorum sanguine suos ditari thesauros sentiebat. Atque si martyres martyribus sint conferendi, haud equidem uideo cur minus et nostris hodie martyribus officii laudisque debeatur: quippe qui nulla commendationis parte sint illis inferiores, siue numerum spectemus morientium, siue afflictionum magnitudinem, aut in moriendo constantiam: uel fructus etiam expendamus, quos uitae hominum et Euangelio amplificando attulerunt. Illi siquidem nascentem ueritatem sanguine irrigarant: hi uero collapsam cineribus restituerunt. 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. Illi tanquam egregia mundi seminaria, primi omnium arua Ecclesiae inculta conseruerunt: at hi irrigua sanguinis sui foecunditate, ad maturitatem hanc prouexerunt. Vtinam iam quod restat, mature Dominus botros in horreum colligat. Quod si piis doctoribus tantum et merito tribuimus, qui tranquillis rebus fortiter praedicant Euangelium: quanto plus illis deferendum, qui fortius moriuntur pro Euangelio?

6. Quae cum ita sint, quumque tam illustres habeamus martyres, ipsine desimus nostro uicissim officio, priscis illis Christianis ingratiore. Etsi eorum cineres, catenas, gladios, pro reliquiis non habeamus: hoc tamen ipsorum demus memoriae, ut Dominum in sanctis suis glorificemus, ac mortem eorum (qua licet) pari constantia, saltem uitam innocentia imitemur. Illi corpora sua lubentes carnificum immanitati tradiderunt: nobis ne magnum sit, carnem nostram mortificare cum membris suis. Illi non solum opes et gloriam huius mundi, sed et uitam, Christi amore neglexerunt: et nos pro uilissimis huius mundi quisquiliis tanto tumultu tantas ciemus tragoedias? Illi in maximis etiam iniuriis ad sanguinis usque profusionem fuere tam patientes: et nos leuem iniuriolam fratri non condonamus, parati ad quoduis dicerium alter alterius haurire sanguinem? Bene illi precantes omnibus, ultro ignoscunt persecutoribus: ideoque et nos, qui martyrum quodammodo filii sumus, a maiorum uestigiis haud degeneremus, qui eorum admoniti exemplis, eandem charitatem in omnes, si exprimere nequeamus, imitemur tamen pro uirili. Ipsi offensam aliis nullam moueamus: aliorum in nos nulla tam atrox sit, quae nos ad uindictam moueat. Nec solum manus cruentas ab aliorum sanguine, sed et linguae obtrectantis et homicidae spiculum ab aliorum fama cohibeamus: quibus insuper ne id quidem graue esse debeat, sanguinem quoque pro grege Domini, si res martyrem flagitet, istorum exemplo habere uilem. Quod si facerent illi, neque ita publice bellis mundum inuoluerent, et ipsi suos quisque imperii fines si non proferrent latius, at quietius possiderent. Atque haec hactenus de historiae huius utilitate: quam tamen ipsam re atque legendo sentiri, quam a me praedicando explicari malim. Nunc de persecutionum atque afflictionum causis, uicissim praefati paucis, ad historiae deinde narrationem (uolente et dirigente Christo) institutum orationis cursum referamus.

shows how joyful and festive the memory of the holy martyrs of God once used to be in the Church in more ancient times. Witness also the sacred hymns, the songs of Prudentius and Nazianzus, which Pindar never equalled in celebrating his Olympian or Nemean victories.

5. *Why here should I mention the orations of those most fluent speakers, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Ambrose and Jerome, eloquent, but never more eloquent than when they lighted upon the praise of pious martyrs? By these proofs it is most clearly established how much once among the early Christians was accustomed to be bestowed on the memory of the martyrs, with what congratulation, with what applause, with what triumphs and public joy the afflictions of the pious who fell for Christ's sake were received and celebrated. And very rightly so, indeed. For the Church perceived how much it owed to the benefits of those by whose blood it felt its treasures to be enriched. And if martyrs are to be compared with martyrs, I do not myself see why less reverence and praise should be owed to our martyrs today, inasmuch as they are in no aspect of commendation inferior to them, whether we consider the number of the dying, or the greatness of their agonies, or their courage in dying, or even weigh up the fruits which they have brought to the life of men and the spreading of the Gospel. Those men, indeed, had irrigated with their blood the truth at its birth; but these men by their ashes have restored it when it had collapsed. 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. Those men first of all sowed the uncultivated fields of the Church, as it were a glorious sowing field of the world; but these men brought the fields forward to maturity washed by the fruitfulness of their blood. O that for the future now the Lord might in the fullness of time gather the clusters of grapes into his granary. But if we accord so much, and rightly, to the pious doctors who in tranquil circumstances bravely preached the Gospel, how much more is to be bestowed on those men who die more bravely on behalf of the Gospel?*

6. *This being the case, and since we have such illustrious martyrs, should we ourselves in our turn fail in our duty, being less appreciative than those early Christians? Although we do not regard as relics their ashes, chains and swords, let us yet grant this to their memory, that we glorify God in His saints and imitate their death (as far as possible) with equal courage, and their life at least with equal blamelessness. They gladly handed over their bodies to the cruelty of torturers: would it be any great thing for us to mortify our flesh and its members? Those men for love of Christ set at nought not only the wealth and glory of this world but also their life: and do we, for the sake of the most vile trifles of this world, in such great commotion occasion such great tragedies? Those men even amid the worst agonies were so steadfast even to the shedding of blood: and do we not pardon in our brother a small little injury, being prepared the one to drain the blood of the other at any quip you like? Those men praying well for all men voluntarily pardoned their persecutors, and therefore we too who are, so to say, the sons of the martyrs should not degenerate from the steps of our forebears, but admonished by their examples, if we cannot express the same charity to all men, we should at least imitate it to the best of our ability. Ourselves, let us not give any offence to others; no offence of others towards us should be so grievous as to move us to vengeance. Let us not only keep our bloody hands away from the blood of others but also keep the dart of a tongue which disparages and kills away from the reputation of others; moreover, it ought not to be a matter of moment to us to hold even blood cheap for the sake of the flock of the Lord, if circumstances demand a martyr, after their [the martyrs'] example. If those men did this, they would not publicly so involve the world in wars, but themselves would each, if not spread more widely the bounds of empire, yet possess them more peaceably. So much for the utility of this history, which however I would prefer to be felt in actuality and by reading rather than to be unfolded by me in preaching. Now concerning the causes of persecutions and afflictions, having*

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spoken a few prefatory words in turn, let us, with the good will and under the direction of Christ, bring the course of our oration now begun to the relation of the history.

40. *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum*, pp. 232 – 4: The Story of Lady Jane Grey.¹⁰³

1. Aegrotante primum rege Edouardo, Northumbriae dux (penes quem summa tum erat et arbitraria rerum gerendarum potestas) consilia agitatur cum Duce Suffolcensi, filiam ut suam filio ipsius in matrimonium daret. Non hic executio nuptiarum harum mysteria, nec morbum regis, occultasque Ducis petitiones exquiro, nec ea coniecturis in praesentia tanquam uestigiis uenor, quae facilius deplorari a nobis, quam nunc emendari possunt. Verum ita res habuit: Dum illi tam alieno tempore in publico omnium luctu suas agitant nuptias, Edouardus Rex aegre decumbens, suam propemodum agit animam: quali indole, pietate ac literis principem uix scio an Anglia post eum sit habitura. Ne longum faciam, finitis demum nuptiis, ac ingrauescente magis magisque regis morbo, quum iam de salute illius, omnia uiderentur desperata: perfectum interea est, instinctu quidem paucorum, at non sine suffragiis tamen ordinum et iure consultorum omnium, ut rex testamentaria uoluntate sua, haereditariam regni successionem in Ioannam hanc, quam dixi, Ducis Suffolciae filiam, Henrico octavo ex sorore proneptim deuolueret: Praeterita interim utraque sorore, Maria et Elisabetha.

2. Solus e iure consultis D. Halesius euangelicus et iudex, quo nullus in tota Anglia fuit incorruptior, Mariae suffragatus non subscripsit, de quo postea (si permiserit Dominus) plura. Hisque ita constitutis, ac subscriptione omnium consignatis, paucis post diebus Edouardus Angliae rex, tantae spei adolescens, decimo sexto suae aetatis anno, magnitudine morbi adhuc non satis comperti moritur: simulque cum illo Anglorum fortuna fere uniuersa moritur et dignitatis. Hic in misero sane statu res erant Anglorum relictas. Tum eum multo etiam miseriorem reddidit patriciorum et plebiorum intestina inter se et capitalis simultas. Mortuo igitur Edouardo, suffecta est in eius honoris titulum, ex consensu quidem nobilium sed ipsius admodum refragante uoluntate, Ioanna haec: quae Londini mox publico praeconio perque celebriores quasdam ciuitates regina recipitur et salutatur. Erat huius adolescentulae aetas, regis Edouardi annis haud multum impar: quem tamen illa eruditione, literis ac linguis non solum aequaret, sed superaret etiam, sub doctissimo uiro Ioan. Aelmero instituta. Quae si tam foelicem sortita fortunam esset, quam cum foelici ingenio non in foelicem coniunxit educationem, non modo cum Aspasiis, Sempronias, Gracchorum matre, et literaria laude commendatissimis quibusque foeminis, sed uiris, Academicis etiam titulis lauroque onustis, pari certare commendatione potuisset.

3. Interea temporis dum haec Londini geruntur, Maria fratris audita morte, latebris ac fuga sibi procul Londinio cauit, populari potissimum fauore freta, quanquam nec occultis interim ex nobilitate forsitan consiliis destituta. Northumbriensis ubi eius uidet obstinantiam, nec omnia satis ei ad sententiam succederent, comparato quantum potest exercitu, ac conscriptis copiis, ad persequendam Mariam mouet: perfacile, ut uidebatur, hoc negotium confecturus, si suo frui impetu licuisset. Verum quia in recenti regno nihil

1. When King Edward was first ill, the Duke of Northumberland (in whose hands at that time was supreme power and the power of arbitration) made plans with the Duke of Suffolk that he should give his daughter in marriage to his son. I am not here examining the mysterious circumstances of this marriage, nor am I enquiring into the death of the King and the secret petitions of the Duke, nor am I seeking after those things by guesswork at the present as if from signs, which can now be more easily wept over by us than can now be corrected. But this is how things stood: while they were arranging their marriage at a strange time during the public grief of everyone, King Edward, lying gravely ill, was almost breathing his last breath. I scarcely know whether England will have a prince of such character, piety and literary talent after him. In short, when the wedding had finally been accomplished and with the King's illness growing more and more serious, when all now seemed desperate with regard to his safety, it was brought to pass in the meantime, indeed at the instigation of a few people, but not however without the approval of the nobles and lawyers, that the King by voluntary testament devolved the hereditary succession of his kingdom to this Jane, of whom I have spoken, the daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, the niece of Henry VIII through his sister: in the meantime both his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, were passed over.

2. Alone of the lawyers Master Hales, an evangelical and a judge, than whom no-one was more uncorrupt in the whole of England, having given his support to Mary, did not subscribe, of whom more later, if the Lord permits. When these matters had been thus arranged and signed with the subscription of all, a few days later Edward King of England, a young man of such great hope, died in the sixteenth year of his life, with the seriousness of his illness still not sufficiently understood: and together with him died almost the whole fortune and honour of the English. Here the affairs of the English had clearly been left in a sorry state. Then the internal and dangerous rivalry with each other of the nobles and commons put it in an even more sorry state. And so, when Edward died, this Jane was established in the title of that honour, indeed with the consent of the nobles but still contrary to her own wishes. She was welcomed and greeted as Queen by public proclamation in London and throughout some of the more populous cities. This young woman's age was not dissimilar to that of King Edward, whom, however, she not only equalled in learning literature and languages, but even surpassed, having been instructed by that most learned man, John Aylmer. If she had enjoyed as happy a lot as with her fortunate intellect she had not combined a fortunate upbringing, she would have been able to compete in equal commendation not only with the Aspasiias, Sempronias, the mother of the Gracchi, and any other women highly commended with literary praise, but also with men, loaded with university titles and honours.

3. In the interim, while these things were happening in London, Mary, having heard about the death of her brother, took refuge far from London by hiding and fleeing, relying for the most part on the good will of the people, although she was perhaps not in the meantime devoid of secret advice from the nobles. When Northumberland saw her determination, and that not everything was turning out as he had intended, he gathered as large an army as he could, levied troops and moved to pursue her. He thought that he would easily

¹⁰³ See previous extracts for bibliographical details.

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sibi adhuc permittere priuata autoritate audebat, ex publico senatusconsulto rem omnem gubernare cogebatur. Quo factum est, ut itinerum metae, ac dierum spacia, quid, quantumque quoquo die conficeret, ex formula illi mandaretur, quam praetergredi nec licitum erat ei nec tutum.

4. Inter haec Maria huc illuc uariis iactata itineribus, ac tuta sequens, tandem in Northfolciae, Suffolciaeque fines contendit: ubi Ducis nomen quam maxime inuisum, ob rusticorum stragem recens editam, intelligebat. Vbi demum undecunque corrogatis populi praesidiis, in castello Fremynghamensi aliquandiu se continuit. Ad quam primi omnium aduolarunt Suffolcenses, quorum semper accerrimum fuit in propagando Euangelio studium, opem operamque suam ea quidem lege ac pactione pollicentes, modo ne quid unquam moueret contra eum religionis statum, quem frater reliquisset Edouardus. Quid multis? Accepit illa conditionem, fidemque ut quisquam posset credere, suam interposuit: quam si postea tam constanter seruasset illa, quam ipsi lubenter corporibus et armis salutem regebant illius, rem fecisset, mea opinione, et ipsius dignam nobilitate, simulque imperium forsitan sibi ipsi firmiter maiori cum tranquillitate et diuturnitate peperisset.

5. Nam quantumuis per te potentia polleas, difficilis tamen diuturnitatis custos perfidia est, difficilior metus: omnium uero difficillima, crudelitas. Hunc itaque in modum euangelicorum maxime septa praesidiis Maria, caeteros quosque, cum ipso Duce, ad deditionem compulit. Quae quum ita sint, indigna profecto uidetur mihi uox Maria illa qua Suffolcensibus postea fidem sibi datam, per supplicationem appellantiibus, respondit: Quoniam, inquit, membra quum sitis, regere uultis caput uestrum, intelligetis tandem, capiti subesse membra, non praeesse oportere. Quo tempore porro, eademque de causa, in generosum quendam D. Dobum, quin non procul oppido Vuindamo habitarat, animaduersum est: qui propterea in medium forum ter productus, publicam subire ignominiam cogebatur. Sed ita fit communi hominum more, ut semper fere simus, quum officii egemus aliorum, ad quaerendam gratiam, quam postea acceptis beneficiis, ad referenda paratiores. At enim bene hoc habet, quod unum miseris mortalibus firmo esse solatio queat, quod aequitas et fides quantumlibet exclusa a terris, apud homines non reperitur, certo tamen in coelis reperietur apud Deum.

[...]

conclude this business, if he were allowed to rely on his own impulse. But because in the recent reign he still dared not allow himself private authority, he was forced to direct the whole affair by means of a public decree. This resulted in the limits of his journeys and the timings of his days, when and how much on which day he could carry out anything, was mandated to him by regulation, which it was neither lawful nor safe for him to bypass.

4. Meanwhile Mary, buffeted hither and thither by different journeys, and following a safe route, finally reached the boundaries of Norfolk and Suffolk, where she learned that the Duke's name was especially hated because of the defeat of the peasants which had been recently reported. Bringing together there from all sides assistance from the people, she kept herself for some time within Fremlingham Castle. To her came first of all the Suffolk people, whose enthusiasm for spreading the Gospel had always been very keen, promising their aid and assistance with that law and agreement only that she would never move against that state of religion which her brother Edward had left. In short she accepted the condition and pledged her word that anyone could believe her. If later on she had as constantly kept this as they did willingly preserve her safety with their bodies and weapons, she would have done a thing, in my opinion, both worthy of her nobility and at the same time would perhaps have gained for herself a more stable reign with greater peace and duration.

5. 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. And so Mary, guarded especially by the protection of evangelicals, drove the Duke, together with all the rest, into surrender. Since this was the case, assuredly that comment of Mary afterwards to the Suffolk people, who appealed in supplication that her word had been given to them, seems to me unworthy: Since, she said, although you are limbs, you are wanting to rule the head, but you will finally realise that limbs must be subordinate to the head, not rule over it. Moreover, a certain gentleman, Master Dob, who lived not far from the town of Wyndham, was punished at this time and for the same reason: and so he was led three times into the middle of the market place and forced to undergo public humiliation. But such is the common nature of man that we are almost always more ready to seek a favour, when we need the services of others, than later, having received kindnesses, to repay them. But it has this one benefit that can be a firm comfort to poor mortals in that fairness and loyalty, however much excluded from the world, may never be found among men, but will certainly be found with God in heaven.

41. Dedication of *Syllogisticon* of 1560 – 1564 to John Harding, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.¹⁰⁴

Eximio Theologo
Ioan. Hardingo Collegii Χαλκοῦβριου
I. Titulo Aenei Nasi apud
Oxonienes praefecto.
Io. Foxus S.

To an outstanding Theologian
John Harding, Principal
of Brasenose College
Oxford
Greetings from John Foxe.

1. Salutem in Christo Domino. Quod publice et uniuersim communibus Theologorum studiis, iudiciisque destinatum uolui, id tibi seorsum et nuncupatim (Hardinge obseruande Maecenas, et in christo frater plurimum diligende) ceu pro tesserā qualicunque, meae erga te uoluntatis et studii, mittere libuit. Scio enim, ac memini, nec excidet unquam, quantum

1. Greetings in Christ the Lord. I am pleased to send, what I wished to be intended publicly and generally for the studies and judgements of theologians, to you separately and by name, Harding, my esteemed Maecenas and most beloved brother in Christ, as some kind of token of my good-will and affection for you. For I know and I remember, nor shall it ever escape my

¹⁰⁴ J. Foxe, *Syllogisticon, hoc est: Argumenta, seu probationes* . . . (London: Day, 1560-64). STC 11249 / microfilm copy from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

Domino per te, tibi que in Domino pro ueteribus in me officiis debeam. Neque putauit conuenire, ut quum puer olim ad literas has Academicas (quantulumcunque sit quod in Academia profecerim) Diuina per te prouidentia, tuoque apud Socerum impulsu primum attractus sum, adultior nunc factus segnior essem in referenda gratia, quam tum in beneficio accipiendo sum uisus.

2. Accedit insuper ad hanc uoluntatem erga te propensam non uulgaris stimulus.

Pernoui enim iudicii tui acrimoniam sine pertinacia grauem, et in hoc disputandi genere bene tritam. Neque uero dubitauit pro ueteri candore tuo, quin aut argumenta ipsa, si quid praeuaricentur, iustam censurae tuae animaduersionem sint subitura, aut ipse ex argumentis fructum ueritatis aliquem sis percepturus. Quod ut possit contingere, uotis omnibus exopto in Domino: Qui senilem aetatem tuam ueritatis suae luce, pariter et longa incolumitate confirmet stabiliatque ad perhennem salutis felicitatem. Amen.

mind, how much I owe to the Lord through you, and to you in the Lord for your past kindnesses to me. And I did not think that it was right, that, when in days gone by I was first drawn as a boy to this academic study (however little may be what I achieved at the University) by Divine Providence through you and by your influence with my step-father, being more grown up now I should be slower in giving thanks than I seemed to be at that time in accepting the kindness.

2. *There is in addition to this well-disposed good will towards you an extraordinary incentive.*

For I am thoroughly acquainted with your sharpness of judgement which is sound, without bigotry, and well versed in this kind of argument. Indeed I have no doubt that, in accordance with your old frankness, either the arguments themselves, if they in any way proceed crookedly, will incur the just notice of your censure, or you yourself will obtain some benefit of truth from the arguments. I hope through all my prayers in the Lord that this may happen: may he strengthen and fortify your old age with the light of his truth, together with long-lasting good health, for everlasting happiness in salvation. Amen.

42. The Hortatory Epistle prefacing the Syllogisticon of 1560 – 1564: ‘To the Pontifical and Castrated members of the Roman Church whom they commonly call Papists: A Hortatory Epistle from John Foxe’.¹⁰⁵

1. Quum tot tantasque contentionum turbas de re ac materia unius sacramenti adeo iner¹⁰⁶ (sic) Christianos feruere uideamus, ut fraternae charitatis nusquam fere integra sit communio, dum de sacra communione inter nos rixamur tantopere: optabile mihi cum primis fore uidetur, si post longas tamque atroces discordiae procellas, tandem aliquando Christianorum animi, uel ipsi sua sponte in pacis redire communionem uelint: aut possit satem¹⁰⁷ aliqua pacificationis uia iterum restituendae commonstrari. Atque ut scio permultos esse, qui iisdem mecum uotis ducuntur: ita nec defuerunt, qui hoc ipsum iam saepe sunt conati sedulo: licet hic illi industriam magis suam ostendere, quam remedium afferre potuerunt¹⁰⁸. Vsque adeo infoelix quaedam Ate, ac dissidorum cacoethes, nescio quo¹⁰⁹ mortalium his temporibus impellit ingenia: ut quod de terrigenis olim fratribus dictum sit, nulla tam leuis esse possit occasio, unde non grauissimam ilico arripiamus pugnandi atque digladiandi materiam. Nam alioqui cui non mirum id, monstrique simile uideatur, ex ea re, quae una omnium maxime ad concordiam comparata sit¹¹⁰, tantum discordiae incendium conflari potuisse? Iam in hac tam morosa et irritabili mundi senecta, etsi difficile sit sperare bene, difficilior inuenire aliquid quod rebus tam desperatis mederi queat: attamen neque ita rursum omnes abieci bonas spes quin adhuc confidam, posse utcunque his malis obduci cicatricem si unum hoc a Theologorum modo posset¹¹¹ scholis impetrari, ut ablegata hac paululum affectuum tyrannide, sua ipsi uel candide proponere, uel aliena audire modeste sustinerent.

2. Nunc dum suae quisque seruit opinioni, dum factio cum factione pugnat, uixque quisquam aequis auscultet rationibus,

1. *Since we see so many great commotions seething among Christians concerning the substance and the matter of one sacrament that almost nowhere is the communion of brotherly charity unimpaired while we wrangle so much among ourselves concerning holy communion, it seems especially desirable to me that after such long and bitter storms of discord the minds of Christian men should finally at length either themselves of their own accord be willing to return into the communion of peace or that at least some way of again restoring peacefulness should be pointed out. And, as I know that there are very many who are drawn by the same hopes as I am, so there has been no lack of persons who have often zealously attempted this very thing; although here they were able rather to display their own industry than to apply a remedy. To such an extent indeed does a sort of cursed bane (Ate) and a certain habit of discord drive on men's minds at this time that, as was once said of the earth-born brothers, no occasion can be so slight as not to make us at once seize on a most weighty cause for fighting, and fighting moreover to the death. For otherwise who would not find it remarkable, and like a portent, that so great a conflagration of discord could have been created from that matter which alone of all matters was designed especially for concord? Now in this peevish and irritable old age of the world, although it is difficult to hope for the best, it is more difficult to find something which can heal our desperate case. But yet again I have not cast away all good hope, but still trust that the scar can somehow be drawn over these misfortunes, if only this one thing may be got from the schools of theologians, that, setting aside for a little while this tyranny of the affections, they should deign either themselves candidly to advance their own ideas or modestly to hear those of others.*

2. *As things are, while each man is the slave of his own opinion, while faction fights with faction, and scarcely anyone*

¹⁰⁵ See previous entry for bibliographical details.

¹⁰⁶ A misprint for *inter*.

¹⁰⁷ This should read *saltem*.

¹⁰⁸ Strictly this should be the perfect subjunctive form *potuerint*.

¹⁰⁹ This should probably be read as *quod*. The printed version has *quod*.

¹¹⁰ More correctly should be *est*.

¹¹¹ Should more correctly read *possit*.

perit omnis fere literarum libertas. Scholae et diatribae in tribunalia uersae praetoria, ius pene suum ac amaenitatem amiserunt: aut ita sane rixis, conuiciis, odiis, fauoribus, clamoribus laborant, ut disputationes saepe multas, at nihil hinc concludi uideamus. Vsque adeo priuata partium studia cuncta ubique uitiant, contaminantque quae uelut cubi illi platonici pessimas nobis giguunt¹¹² harmonias. Atque haec uobis potissimum debemus (o uiri Diuini) autoribus, qui primum barbaricam hanc uim in scholas introduxistis, uestrisque importunis tumultibus, concentum ingeniorum ac iudiciorum omnem e rebus humanis sustulistis. Atque utinam uero, quod de Orphei cithara fabulata est olim antiquitas, tale quiddam uel uotis, uel orationi huic inesset nostrae, ut animos uestros tandem¹¹³ aliquando ab inueterata hac dissensionum pertinacia ad aequas, aut aliquas saltem concordiae condiciones reuocare possem. Neque enim difficilis adeo ueritatis est per se indagatio: si abesset peruicax animi addictio.

gives ear to reasonable thoughts, pretty well all freedom of letters is destroyed. Schools and lecture rooms have turned into praetorian tribunals and have all but lost their rights and attractions; or they so labour indeed under brawling, abuse, hatred, partisanship and clamour that we often see many a disputation but no conclusion at all drawn from it. So far indeed do the private interests of groups vitiate and contaminate everything everywhere, engendering for us like Plato's spheres [circuli or cycli for cubi?] the most discordant harmonies. And this we owe principally to you writers (you divines) who first introduced into your schools this barbaric power, and by your importunate disturbances removed from human experience all harmony of intellect and judgement. How I could wish that, as antiquity recorded in fable of the lyre of Orpheus, some such quality were present in my wishes or this utterance of mine which would enable me finally at length to call back your hearts from this inveterate persistence in dissension to reasonable, or at least some, conditions of concord. For the search for truth is not intrinsically difficult, provided that stubborn mental fixation be absent.

43. Ad Doctum Lectorem from the A&M 1563 edition.¹¹⁴

1. Cogitanti mihi, versantique mecum in animo quam periculosae res aleae sit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculosque multorum subeat, his praesertim tam exulceratis motibus temporibusque, ubi tot hominum dissidiis, tot studiis partium, tot morosis capitibus, tam rigidis censuris, & Criticorum sannis feruent ferè omnia, ut difficillimum sit quicquam tam circumspectè scribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur: perbeati profectò fœlicésque videntur ii, quibus eum vitae cursum tenere liceat, ut in otio viuentes cum dignitate, sic alienis frui queant laboribus, uelut in theatro ociosi sedentes spectatores, ut nullum interim ipsis uel ex actione tedium, uel ex labore periculum metuendum sit. Me uero nescio quo pacto longe diuersa quidem hactenus exercuit vitae ratio, quippe cui nec fortunae illam fœlicitatem, in cuius complexibus tam multos suauiter foueri uideo, nec otii amœnitatem experiri, uix etiam per omnem vitam degustare in continuo laborum ac negotiorum feruore ac contentione contigerit.

1. When I think and turn over in my mind how dangerous and hazardous a thing it is to send out now something in public, which may come to the hands and eyes of many people, especially in these so troubled ways and times, when almost everything is boiling with so many disagreements of people, so many desires of parties, so many fretful individuals, such rigid censures, and mockery of Critics, that it is very difficult to write anything so circumspectly, that it is not seized upon for some grounds for misrepresentation, assuredly they seem very fortunate and lucky who are allowed to hold such a course of life, that living in leisure with dignity, they are able so to enjoy other peoples' labours, as though sitting as idle spectators in the theatre, that they must not in the meantime fear any weariness from doing it or any danger from their work. But a very different way of life has indeed somehow or other exercised me so far, since it has not fallen to my lot to experience, scarce even to taste throughout my life, either that happiness of fortune, in whose embraces I see so many being sweetly cherished, or the delight of leisure, amid the constant fervour and strife of my labours and employment.

2. Quanquam de fortuna parum queror, quam semper contempsi, quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, si modo labores ii, tantum uel prodesse uel placere cæteris possent hominibus, quantum me priuatim atterunt incommodantque. Nunc ad meae infœlicitatis cumulum accedit insuper, quod in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod praeter lugubrem rerum ipsarum materiam, praeter linguæ inamœnitatem, praeter tractandi difficultatem, quæ uix nitorem recipiat orationis, eo porro autorem ipsum redigit angustiae, ut neque falsa narrare sine iniuria historiae, nec uerum dicere sine magna sua inuidia odióque multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo historiae argumento mihi uersandum fuit, quod non ad superiorum modo temporum res gestas atque repetitas pertineat, sed hanc ipsam aetatem nostram, nostraeque gentis nunc homines etiamnum praesentes uiuósque sic attingat, sic perfricet, sic designet, quemadmodum in hoc materiae genere necessario faciendum fuit: quæso quid hinc mihi aliud expectandum sit, nisi postquam frustra me defatigando, ualitudinem attriuerim, oculos perdiderim, senium acciuerim, corpus exhauserim, demum ut post hæc omnia multorum me hominum odiis, sibilis, inuidiae ac calumniae exponam.

2. And yet I complain little about fortune which I have always despised, and indeed I will not say much about my labours, if only those labours may either benefit or please other people as much as they privately wear me down and inconvenience me. Now there is added on top of the pile of my misfortune the fact that I have had to work on that kind of subject matter which, beside the mournful nature of the matters themselves, beside the unpleasantness of the language, beside the difficulty of treatment, which may scarcely receive the elegance of speech, furthermore 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. For since I have had to engage in such an historical theme of history, as does not relate only to events of earlier years recalled from the distant past, but touches upon this very age of ours, and men of our race who are even now present and alive, rubs on them, and points them out in such a way as has of necessity to be done in this kind of subject, I ask what else I should expect here, except, after I have destroyed my health in vainly wearing myself out, damaged my eyes, hastened the onset of old age, and exhausted my body, finally after all this to expose myself to the hatred, hissings, ill will and censure of many people.

¹¹² Misprinted for *giguunt*.

¹¹³ A macron is missing above the *a*, which would give *tandem*.

¹¹⁴ J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perilous dayes* . . . (London: John Day, 1563). STC 11222 / microfilm copy from the Huntingdon Library, California.

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

44. A letter accompanying the presentation copy of the *A&M* to Magdalen College, May 2 1563.¹¹⁵

Multis magnisque dotibus ornatissimo uiro, D. Laurentio, Collegii Magdalenensis Praesidi: pariter cum uniuerso Choro reliquorum Iuuenum,¹¹⁶ lectissimisque eiusdem Collegii Sociis, Joannes Foxus salutem et pacem in Christo sine fine.

1. Etsi nihil erat in rebus meis dignum atque idoneum quod Beatae Mariae Magdalenae, ueteris hospitae ac nutricis meae, pixidi mitterem; at uiduae tamen euangelicae opulentam illam imitatus penuriam, has qualescunque lucubrationum nostrarum minutias, pro ueteri meo erga uos studio, uel officio potius (eximie idemque Doctissime Laurenti, praesidum decus, uosque pariter uniuersi eiusdem sodalitatis collegae coniunctissimi) in publicum aerarium uestrum coniiciendas censui. Vos in admittendo libro statuatis, pro libero arbitratu uestro, quod uidebitur. Mihi, ut ingenue fatear, indignius quiddam, ac ieunius esse uidetur, quam ut in chartophylacium uestrum recipi debeat, praesertim quum eo sermonis genere conscripta historia nullum magnopere usum studiis uestris praestare queat.

2. Et tamen huc me, nescio quo pacto, pertraxit, uincens pudorem et iudicium meum, Garbrandi Bibliopolae pellex oratio, sic ad persuadendum instructa, ut non frustra in tali tam diu academia uideri possit enutritus. Auxit porro nonnihil hanc mittendi fiduciam tacita quaedam et iam olim insita mihi erga collegium illud propensio, uestrae deinde erga me humanitatis, simulque mei uicissim erga uos officii recordatio. Intellego enim quid ueteri scholae, quid charis consodalibus, quid demum uniuerso Magdalenensium ordini ac caetui, sed praecipue quid ipsi imprimis charissimo collegiarchae, uiro ornatissimo, D. Laurentio debeam, cui quot quantisque sim nominibus deuinctus nullo modo obliuisci aut praeterire potero.

3. Praeter hos stimulos accedit denique, quod quum historiae huius bona magnaue pars Oxoniensem hanc uestram attingat Academiam, unde, ceu ex fonte, prima non solum initia sed et incrementa sumpsit ac sumit quotidie foelix haec et auspiciata reformatae per orbem Christianum religionis propagano, idcirco rem facturum nec uobis ingrati, nec meo indignam officio uidebar, si de rebus maxime Oxoniensibus conscriptam historiam ad Magdalenaum gymnasium uestrum, hoc est, ad primarium ac nobilissimum Oxoniensis Academiae collegium, uelut in arce quadam studiorum ac literarum penes uos asseruandam commendarem. 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. Habetis rationes et causas, quibus ad mittendam historiam sum prouocatus.

4. Nunc historiam habete ipsam, quam ueluti pro tessera Foxianae erga uos uoluntatis mittimus. Eam pro candore uestro, rogo etiam atque etiam, benigne susceptam uelitis. atque ne nihil aliud quam historiam nudam et incomitam¹¹⁷ mittere uideamur, en simul cum historia, inter caeteros, quos in hoc multiplici et numeroso Christianorum militum satellitio Oxonia uestra, tanquam foelix mater, tum imprimis Magdalenae foelicissima foecunditatis, produxit, Jocelinum uestrum Palmerum, e choro uestro proximis his annis ereptum,

To Master Lawrence, a man most splendidly endowed with many great accomplishments, President of Magdalen College, together with the entire body of the rest of the young men, and the most excellent Fellows of the same College, John Foxe sends greetings and everlasting peace in Christ.

1. Although I had nothing worthy and suitable that I might send to the offertory box of St. Mary Magdalen, my old hostess and nurturer, yet, however, having imitated that noble penury of the gospel widow, I have decided to press these as it were insignificant trifles of our little nocturnal studies as a mark of my old affection towards you, or rather duty, most learned Lawrence and likewise distinguished ornament of Presidents, together with all of you who are connected with the same college fellowship, into your public finances. In receiving this book may you decide as seems best, according to your own free will. To me, to confess frankly, it seems to be 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

2. And yet the solicitous request of the bookseller Garbrand dragged me here, somehow or other, getting the better of my sense of shame and judgement, having been thus prepared to persuade me that my nourishment in such a university for so long could not be seen to be in vain. Moreover this confidence in sending it has been increased somewhat by a certain and now for a long time deep seated inclination I have towards that college, secondly of your kindness towards me, and at the same time a remembrance of my duty towards you. 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, but especially to Master Lawrence, a most distinguished man, to whom I have been obliged in so many and such great debts which I shall in no way be able to forget or pass over.

3. In addition to these incentives finally is the fact that a good and large part of this history touches upon this your University of Oxford, from where, as if from a source, this happy and auspicious propagation of the reformed religion throughout the Christian world took not only its first beginnings but also its growth and every day takes them. For that reason I seemed to be about to do something which was neither thankless to you, nor unworthy of my duty, if I were to entrust to your hands the preservation of a history written especially about Oxford matters in your College of Magdalen, that is, in the first ranking most noble college of the University of Oxford, in so to speak a stronghold of studies and literature. 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.

4. Now you have the history itself, which we send as though for a token of Foxian good will towards you. I ask you again and again, to consent to, in accordance with your frankness, that which has been undertaken freely. And so that I may not seem to be sending anything other than a bare and unaccompanied history, behold, together with the history, among the others whom in this multiple and numerous convoy of Christian soldiers your Oxford produced, as if a fortunate mother, and then in particular the most fortunate mother of Magdalen

¹¹⁵ Magdalen College Library, call reference ARCH.B.I.4.13. The Latin text has been copied from the transcription in *A&M* 1870, Appendix to the 'Life of John Foxe', pp. 20-21.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Murena* 24. 49: *chorus iuuentutis*.

¹¹⁷ Should this read *incomitatam*?

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denuo ad uos tanquam redeuntem et restitutum recipietis, simulque cum eo caeteros, nec paucos, nec uulgares Oxoniae uestrae quondam alumnos, nunc illustres Christianae militiae Agonistas, tanquam ueterem suam reuisentes scholam, gratis animis suscipite, et christum in suis martyribus glorificate. quod superest, quoniam Chartae arctatur angustia, rogo (praestantissimi Iuuenes) ut Dominus Iesus istum uobis Praesidem, uos orbi et ecclesiae Christianae, diu seruet incolumes, uestraque studia in dies in maius ac melius prouehat ad nominis sui gloriam.

Vester in Christo,
Ioannes Foxus

fruitfulness, you will be receiving your own Jocelyn Palmer, snatched away from your band during these last years, as if returning to you afresh and restored to you, and together with him not a few of the rest and not ordinary former alumni of your Oxford, now famous combatants in the Christian army, as if revisiting their old college. Receive them with grateful hearts and glorify Christ in their martyrdoms. For the rest, since we are limited by the narrowness of the paper, I ask, distinguished young men, that the Lord Jesus may long preserve your President and yourselves for the world and the Christian church, and that he may advance your studies daily to greater and better things to the glory of his name.

Yours in Christ,
John Foxe

45. Poems in the A&M 1563 by Foxe:¹¹⁸

a) an epitaph on Lady Jane Grey (A&M 1563, p. 923)

De Domina Ioanna. I.F.

On Lady Jane. John Foxe

Tu, quibus ista legas, incertum est lector, ocellis:
Ipse equidem siccis scibere¹¹⁹ vix potui.

It is uncertain, reader, with what eyes¹²⁰ you read these words:
I myself, to be sure, could scarcely write them with dry eyes.¹²¹

b) on the wedding of Philip and Mary in 1554 (A&M 1563, p. 1005)

Nubat vt Hispano Regina Maria Philippo
Dic age nunc, Calchas quos voluisse vides?
Noluit &¹²² voluit quid inanis turba refert nil,
Velle & nolle dei est: quid volet ille, refert.
Hoc quoniam voluit dominus, voluistis: at ille
Quod voluit, quoniam nescis (inepte) scias.
Scilicet hoc voluit, vates vt vanus & augur
Et mendax Whitus pseudopropheta foret.
Regi, non regi, petitur mox spernitur, Angla est,
Non Angla est, grauida est, non grauida est, grauis est.
Parturit atque parit sic vos voluistis ouantes.
Nil tamen illa parit: hoc voluit dominus.
Ergo papistarum sic irrita vota malorum
Semper eant, numen stetque in honore dei.

That Queen Mary should marry the Spaniard Philip, tell me now, Calchas,¹²³ whom do you see to have wanted it? It makes no difference what the foolish mob wanted and did not want, it belongs to God to want and not to want: what he wants does matter. Since the Lord wanted this, you wanted it. Know what he wanted, you fool, since you do not know. Of course he wanted this, that White should be an empty prophet and seer and a deceitful false prophet. She is sought for a king who is not a king, soon she is rejected. She is English, she is not English, she is pregnant, she is not pregnant, she is big. She is in labour, she is bearing a child.¹²⁴ So you wanted in your rejoicing, nevertheless she bore nothing: the Lord wanted this. And so let the prayers of the evil papists always be frustrated in this way, and may the will of God be honoured.

46. Letter to Queen Elizabeth following her visit to the University of Cambridge in 1564¹²⁵

Translation of Sections 4 and 5 taken from Cattley-Pratt 1877, Appendix VII.

1. Quum non alia res in his terris existat, quae summi numinis maiestatem propius representat, magisque nobis exprimit imaginem, quam principum recte gubernantium autoritas (Principum flos ac decus Elizabetha Regina serenissima) tum meo quidem iudicio, iidem principes, nulla re alia simulachrum aeternae illius maiestatis uerius efficaciusque

1. Whereas nothing exists on earth which more closely represents the majesty of God Almighty and more faithfully expresses His image to us than the authority of princes who govern aright, O flower and glory of princes, most serene Queen Elizabeth, it is in my judgement then the case that those same princes in nothing more truly and effectually reflect the

¹¹⁸ For the text of both poems, see the copy of the 1563 A&M, cited above in note 101.

¹¹⁹ Only the 1563 edition has *scibere*. The later editions all have the correct form *scribere*.

¹²⁰ For metrical reasons the diminutive *ocellis*, 'little eyes', is used here with the simple meaning of 'eyes'.

¹²¹ Foxe was so upset by Jane's last words and execution that he wept.

¹²² The later editions all have *aut* ('or') rather than *&*.

¹²³ Only in the 1563 edition does the name *Calchas* appear. In the later editions it is *Whyte* with addition of *mihi* after *Whyte* to make up for the syllable lost in substituting *Whyte* for *Calchas*. The latter was the seer who accompanied the Greek army to Troy at the start of the Trojan War.

¹²⁴ Presumably the contradictions in these lines reflect the rumours and counter rumours flying around about the marriage and the prospect of the imminent birth of an heir to the throne.

¹²⁵ BL Harleian MS 417, foll. 97r-98r.

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referunt, quam propitio et continuo quodam miseros mortales iuandi studio. Quemadmodum enim Deus ipse rerum opifex, ac luminum pater a quo cuncta e sublimi defluunt, quaecunque dona optima et perfecta sunt, nullius ope cum egeat nec accipeat (*sic*) a quoquam, nunquam tamen desistit ipse de suo impartire quo possit uniuersis. consimile quiddam et iis qui uices illius quodammodo gerentes in Republica cum laude imperant monarchis, usuuenire solet, quorum quum omnes, favore et beneficencia subditi indigeant, atque ab ipsis ditantur multi, ipsi tamen suis abunde bonis opulenti nullius nec ope egent, nec ditiores cuiusquam fiunt beneficio.

2. Nam siquid praestet Princeps in subditos, id ego beneficium esse interpretor. siquid uero ipsi in Principem uicissim collocent, etsi bene quidem ab ipsis fit quod faciunt, non tamen beneficii sed officii potius aut debiti rationem subit. Atque de caeteris quidem Monarchis omitto in praesentia plura dicere: Inter quos Maiestas tua, peculiari quodam fato tuo, uelut in plurimorum nata utilitates, ita praelucere uidetur, ut non modo ipsis spectandum [*should this be spectaculum?*] esse ad conferendum, sed ad imitandum etiam regula uideri poteris. Quanquam immensum hoc pellagus (*sic*) laudum ac uirtutum tuarum, quid incipiam hic ego attingere, quum et uniuersa haec Anglia tua, quanta quanta est, cui imperas, si una uoce ei daretur singulorum cogitationes exprimere, non solum non gratias tuis meritis pares agere sed nec beneficia ipsa, genere tam uaria, tempore tam oportuna amplitudine immensa, numero pene infinita possit enumerando consequi.

3. Nam ut uulgaria illa praeteream quod in ipsis statim felicissimi regni tui auspiciis tot periclitantes cives, et homines extorres ab exilio reuocaris, quod patriam ipsis, nec solum ipsis, sed patriam quodammodo patriae reddideris, Angliamque iam iam pene expirantem luci ac uitae suae restitueris, quod pacem tuis illis auspiciis partam pergas quotidie studiis ornare et artibus, bonis legibus suum uigorem reuocas, noxias tollis, salutare sufficis, nocentes et otiosos in ordinem redigis, latrocinia et praedonum agmina, quibus regnum tuum foedis modis hodie exundare dicitur compescis, miseros exaudis, collapsa restauras, nec monetam solum depuratam, sed mores hominum multo magis deformatos repurgas, postremo cuncta suo, et plusquam suo nitore restituis, ac caetera id genus permulta: Quae etsi per se beneficia leuia non sint, et permagna etiam in aliis (*sic*) monarchis, uideri queant tuarum tamen laudum, nescio quo pacto nondum satis magnitudinem expriment.

4. Certe multo maiora haec, omniumque maxima sunt quod inclyta tua celsitudo rem ecclesiasticam non minus quam publicam propugnans tam fortiter, quod religionis curam atque defensionem in te suscipis tam clementer: quod saeuas persecutionum faces extinguis, conscientias diu interclusam libertatem apperis, templum Dei et euangelicae doctrinae gloriam illustras et prouehis; uidelicet modis omnibus hoc agens ut, profligatis sensim ueteris superstitionis reliquiis, sincera euangelii ueritas ad natium suum nitorem redeat. Declarauit id nuper egregia uox illa, ac responsio maiestatis tuae, ad quorundam preces reddita theologorum, de modo uidelicet uestiendi, qua uoce quantam uno in die uniuersae ecclesiae pepereris faustitatem, quantum piorum omnium animis solatium, quantum posteritati beneficium, quantum omnibus temporibus lucem, tum tuo insuper nomini quantum quamque immortale decus, quouis aere perennius¹²⁶ attuleris, uix aestimari poterit. Ingratae omnium Anglorum linguae ac literae futurae sunt, si patiantur tam diuinum hoc, caeteraque

image of that eternal Majesty than in a certain propitious and continual desire to aid wretched mortals. For just as God himself, the creator of the universe and father of lights, from whom on high flow all the best and perfect gifts that there are, although he needs no help from anyone and receives none from anyone, nevertheless never ceases himself to impart from his own store to all men as he is able, so something similar generally falls to those monarchs who, acting on His behalf, so to say, govern with praise in the state, for, whereas all their subjects need their favour and beneficence, and many of them indeed are enriched by them, they themselves yet are abundantly wealthy in their own goods and neither need the help of anyone nor are made richer by the beneficence of anyone.

2. *For if a prince bestow anything on his subjects, that I interpret as an act of beneficence; but if they themselves in turn should bestow anything on the prince, for all that what they do is well done by them, it is not accounted an act of beneficence but rather of duty and obligation. And of other monarchs I say no more for the present, for among them you in your Majesty, who were by that particular destiny which is uniquely yours born to supply the needs of very many, seem so to shine out that you may be seen to be not only a spectacle for those monarchs themselves to compare, but even a rule for them to imitate. And yet why should I here begin to touch on this immense ocean of your praises and virtues, since even the whole of this England of yours, great as it is, over which you rule, were it to be granted a single voice to express the thoughts of its individuals, could not only give thanks equal to your merits, but not even succeed in enumerating the actual benefits, so various in kind, so apt in their season, immense in their amplitude, and in their number almost infinite?*

3. *For to pass over those commonly known benefits – that at the very moment of inaugurating your most blessed reign, you recalled from exile so many citizens in danger and men deprived of their country, that you not only restored their country to them, and not only to them, but in a manner of speaking the country to the country, and brought back to light and life England which was almost at the point of death, and that you daily proceed to adorn with studies and arts the peace which was won under your auspices – you call back their vigour to good laws, rescind harmful ones and supply salutary ones, bring harmful and idle persons to order, check footpads and the companies of thieves with which your kingdom in shameful wise is said to abound, give ear to the wretched, restore the things that have fallen down, and cleanse not only the currency which was become impure but also the morals of men which were become more deformed, and finally restore all things to their true, and more than true, brightness, and many other things of a similar kind. Although these benefits in themselves are not slight, and may be seen, many of them, in other monarchs, yet they do not somehow or other adequately express the magnitude of your praiseworthy deeds.*

4. *But assuredly these things that follow are much greater still; and of all the greatest, that your excellent highness defendeth so vigorously the ecclesiastical state no less than the commonwealth; that you take upon you so affectionately the care and protection of religion; that you quench the direful flames of persecution; that you open a liberty to consciences so long shut up; that you illustrate and promote the temple of God and the glory of evangelical doctrine; that is, by all means endeavouring, that the remainder of old superstition by little and little be destroyed, the sincere truth of the gospel return to its native brightness. This was lately declared by that excellent voice and answer of your majesty given to the petition of some divines concerning the habits. By which words, then by your majesty spoken, it can scarce be thought how great prosperity you did in one day bring to the whole church, how great comfort to the minds of all godly people, how great benefit to posterity, how great a light to all succeeding times; and moreover to your own name how great*

¹²⁶ cf. Hor. *Odes* 3. 30. 1.

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multa tuarum uirtutum trophaea ulla temporum uetustate obolescere.

5. Accedit ad hunc cumulum, singularis porro maiestatis tuae erga literarum studia fauor in quibus excolendis prouehendisque nunquam tam propensam te declarares, nisi ut ipsa in iisdem exulta tam eleganter et perpolita fuisses. Sensit id nuper faelix Cantabrigia, nec dubito quin olim et Oxonia nostra idem expect[at]ura sit: Persensimus praeterea et nos, etiamsi illinc abfuimus ex oratione maiestatis tuae Latina Cantabrigiae tum habita quae nuper ad manus meas inter caetera historicarum rerum monumenta peruenit, non indigna ut mihi uidetur, quae transmittatur posteritati, atque etiam transmittetur, siquidem tua patiat sublimitas. Interim hoc unum mihi dolet, quod quum plenam quandam historiae tuae descriptionem meditemur, multaque habeamus congesta, at multa rursus desunt, quae adhuc nobis incognita, non nisi per tuam ipsius maiestatem sciri possunt, et si possent, nullius possint melius quam tuo ipsius comentario describi: quod utinam ab excellenti ingenio tuo per hoc uitae tuae tempus et spatium possit impetrari. Sed de his excellentiae tuae praeconiis alias (uolente Christo) nobis uidendum erit.

6. Accedo nunc ad rem ipsam quae praecipue hanc mihi subministravit scribendi materiam. Est hic quidam Gulielmus Masterus tuae sublimitati, opinor, non omnino incognitus. Diuina sic prouidentia euenit, ut nos duos congungeret (sic) unius simul Ecclesiae communio, et societas. Me etenim Maiestas tua paulo ante fecit Praebendarium: Ego illum nuper eiusdem parochiae feci uicarium. Iam utrique haeremus in solutione illius pecuniae, quae tibi pro primi anni fructibus debetur, quum tamen neuter ne teruncium quidem habet ad persoluendum. Eius pecuniolae ut remissam nobis faciat reginea tua pietas, etsi rogare uix audeat uerecundea (sic), at necessitate tamen impulsus rogare uel inuiti cogimur.

7. Freti deinde mansuetissima tua benignitate, adeo in utilitates subditorum exposita, maiorem etiam concipimus rogandi audaciam, nihil diffisi quin huic audaciae, qualiscunque sit, tua facile condonabit pietas, si sciret quanto nobis detrimento quantoque obstaculo ad res gerendas sit infelix huius aeris remora. Quanquam nihil esse in studiis aut laboribus nostris haud ignoramus, quod uel tenuissimam tui fauoris partem promereri queat, cui plusquam facultates etiamnum nostras debere fatemur. Attamen si serenissima tua pietas, in remittenda hac nobis solatiuncula, gratias nostras maluerit, quam pecuniam eam deberi tibi, quid in altero fiscus tuus lucratus sit nescimus, in altero honoris ac nominis tui memoriae et splendori nihilo fortasse minus accrescet apud posteros, si quid tamen apud posteritatem Literariae nostrae ualebunt gratiae.

and how immortal an honour, more lasting than any monument of brass. The tongues and learning of all Englishmen would be stained with ingratitude, should they suffer as well this godlike thing, as all the other trophies of your virtues, by an antiquity of time to be abolished.

5. Hither must be added your Majesty's singular favour towards learned studies. In the adorning and furthering whereof, you would never have shown yourself so inclinable, had you not been so exquisitely furnished and dressed yourself with them. Happy Cambridge lately perceived it: and I doubt not but hereafter our Oxford also will look for it. And further, we all, though absent thence, well perceived it, by your late speech delivered there at Cambridge; which is come to my hands (among other monuments of historical matters), not unworthy, methinks, to be transmitted to posterity; and so it shall be transmitted, if your highness give way to it. In the meantime this only grieves me, that when I am preparing a full account of the history of you, and have great collections serving thereunto, many things are wanting, which are yet unknown to me, and cannot be known but to your majesty. And if they might, they could not be described better by any than by your own commentary. Which I heartily wish might be obtained by your most excellent wit, in this time and space of your life; but of the commendations of your excellent parts, I shall elsewhere, God willing, have occasion to speak.

6. I come now to the actual matter which has particularly afforded me this occasion for writing. There is here a certain William Masters who, I think, is not entirely unknown to your Majesty. By divine Providence it has so fallen out that the two of us are joined together by communion and society in one church. For your Majesty a short while ago made me prebendary, and I have recently made him my deputy in the same parish. Now both of us are in a quandary concerning the payment of that money which is owed to you as the first fruits, since neither of us has even a farthing to make payment. That your royal pity should make remission to us of the small amount, although shame scarcely dare ask, yet necessity compels us even against our will to request.

7. Relying, then, on your most gentle kindness, which has been so greatly set forth to serve the needs of your subjects, we entertain a petition of even greater audacity, in no wise failing to trust that your pity will readily condone this audacity, such as it is, if it knows how great a detriment to us and how great an obstacle to our business would be the unhappy hindrance occasioned by this money. Although we are well aware that there is nothing in our studies or labours which might deserve even the slightest part of your favour, to which we confess we owe more than the competence which is even now ours, yet, if your most serene pity, in remitting to us this small payment, should prefer our thanks to be owed to you rather than that money, we know not what your treasury has gained in the one of us, while in the other it will be none the less perhaps accrue to the memory and splendour of your honour and name in the eyes of posterity, if indeed our literary thanks shall have any value in the eyes of posterity.

47. A letter to Edmund Grindal, 1570, re Paul's Cross sermon.¹²⁷

1. Aeternam in Christo salutem. Mitis illa tua columba¹²⁸ in literis ad me uolitans (Praesul amplissime) sic mihi totam melancholiam ex imo pectore perturbauit, ut quid literis tuis respondeam uix satis sciam. Nam quaeso ego te, quo pacto id tibi uenire in mentem potuit? aut quisnam ille miluus

1. Everlasting greetings in Christ. That gentle dove of yours flying to me in a letter, most noble bishop, has stirred up complete sadness from the bottom of my heart, in such a way that I scarcely enough know how to make any reply to your letter. For I am asking you how it could have come into your

¹²⁷ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 129r.

¹²⁸ Erasmus, *Adagia*, III. vi. 48: *Mitior columba* ('More peaceful than a dove') must surely be meant here by Foxe in a letter full of Erasmian adages of which this is the first immediately after the opening greeting.

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(quisquis ille fuit) columbinum¹²⁹ hunc animum tuum instigauit adeo, ut me ad Crucem Diui Pauli crucifigeres. Quin etiam eadem opera Reuerenda tua mandat autoritas, asino alicui Antronio,¹³⁰ ut sumpta in manibus Orphei cithara, auletam agat ut choreas fortasse saltet camelus.¹³¹ Nam quis tandem asinus ad lyram,¹³² seu bos usque ad clitellas ineptior,¹³³ quam ego ad hoc prouinciae genus obeundum? Vbi neque uox, neque aspectus, nec usus, nec memoria, nec latera satis, tum deinde multo etiam minus audacia subseruiat.

mind, or which kite (whoever he was) has goaded this dove-like mind of yours to the extent that you would crucify me at the Cross of Saint Paul [i.e. Paul's Cross in London]. Yes indeed, by the same effort let your reverend authority instruct some Antronian ass, so that, having taken up Orpheus's lyre in his hands, he may play the part of a flute-player like a camel doing dances. For in the end which ass is more unsuitable for the lyre, or which ox more unsuitable for the pack-saddle than I to be a candidate for this type of duty, where I have neither the voice, nor the appearance, nor the practice, nor the memory, nor sufficient lung power, then finally even much less confidence to to accommodate myself to this?

2. Et quid in his rebus futurum credis, nisi ut dum parturiunt montes pollicentes aliquid, prodeat interim mus quispiam ridiculus.¹³⁴ Atqui, si hic periculum meae duntaxat uerecundiae ageretur, minus haberem pensi. Nunc uide mihi quanta hic sequuntur incommoda. Primum locum ipsum dehonestas, populo injuriam facis, tibi deinde ipsi conflas dedecus. Etsi enim penes me potissimum huius temeritatis nota residebit, tamen haud dubitandum quin in te ipsum aliqua ejus pars aequae redundabit, qui prouocasti. Praeterea hoc tecum considera per tuam prudentiam, quam inique hic tecum agitur.

2. And what do you believe will happen in this situation, except that while mountains which promise something are labouring away, in the meantime some ridiculous mouse may come forth. And yet, if there was a risk here of attention being paid at least to my my shyness, I would have less of a burden. Now see how many inconveniences follow for me here. First you are dishonouring the place itself, you are creating an injustice for the people and then you are bringing disgrace upon yourself. For although the mark of this rashness will rest with me in particular, yet there is no doubt that some part of it will equally overflow on to you yourself, who brought it about. Furthermore, think over to yourself through your own common sense how unfairly this is treating me.

3. Cum etenim nullus usquam opinor sit asinus, aut mulus marianus,¹³⁵ qui sic ferendis oneribus, obstupuit, obrigit, occalluit, ut ego jam diu literariis istis molestiis quotidie exhauriendis, peruestigandis Scriptoribus, legendis ac relegendis exemplaribus, describendis materiis, quae publico Ecclesiae usui seruiant, totus pene conficior, ut interim de ualetudinis et librorum inopia nihil querar: tamen inter tot istos labores et defectus quos commemorauit, ad Crucem insuper uocor Diui Pauli, tam celebre uidelicet theatrum, ubi tanquam simia inter purpuratos,¹³⁶ uel sannis excipiar, uel sibilis explodam multitudinis.

3. For since I am of the opinion that that there is no ass anywhere, or Marian mule, who in bearing his burdens in such a way, has been so paralysed, become stiff, become warm, as I have now for a long time become almost completely worn out in undergoing those literary annoyances every day, examining the Scriptures, reading and re-reading transcripts, writing about subjects, which are to be of public use to the Church, so that in the meantime I make no complaint about the lack of good health and books: yet amidst those so many tasks and failures which I have mentioned, I am being called to the Cross of St. Paul, namely that celebrated theatre, where as an ape among the purple clads, I shall either be received with jeers or driven away by the hisses of the crowd.

48. Second letter to Grindal, 1570, re Paul's Cross Sermon.¹³⁷

1. Salutem in eodem Christo Domino. Famulam tuam heri adfuisse apud Dayum Typographum sero intellexi, ipse tamen non uidi. Quem si conuenissem, responissem fortasse aliud. Verum, etsi illum non uidi, uideo tamen hic amicos esse, qui nullo modo sinunt, id apud Celsitudinem tuam negare, quod omnibus modis negare statuerim. Denique, uideo illos non destituros, priusquam me ad Crucem Diui Pauli inuitam

1. Greetings in the same Lord Christ. I have just learned that your servant was here yesterday at the printer Day's house, but I did not see him myself. If I had met him, perhaps I would have given a different reply. But, although I did not see him, yet I see that here there are friends who are in no way allowing me to give a negative response to your grace on a matter to which I would have decided in every way to say no.

¹²⁹ Cf. the fable of Aesop in Phaedrus, I. 31: *Milvus et Columbae*, where the kite succeeds in exercising his tyranny over the doves by trickery.

¹³⁰ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. v. 68: *Antronius asinus* ('An Antronian ass') - a man of shapeless and overgrown physical bulk, a booby and a blockhead. Antron was a place in Thessaly which got its name from its abundance of caverns and grottoes. CWE, Vol. 33, pp. 270 - 71.

¹³¹ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. vii. 66: *Camelus saltat* ('The camel dances'), i.e. someone is trying to do something but ungracefully.

¹³² Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. iv. 35: *Asinus ad lyram* ('An ass to the lyre'), referring to someone trying to perform a task in which they have no experience. Cf. CWE, Vol. 31, p. 344.

¹³³ Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. ix. 84: *Non nostrum onus, bos clitellas?* ('Not my burden: a saddle on the ox?'), probably used here of someone who is rejecting a task as being unsuitable for him. Cf. CWE, Vol. 34, pp. 121 - 3.

¹³⁴ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. ix. 14: *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus* ('The mountains labour, forth will creep a mouse'), meaning that while people are waiting for some momentous event to happen, something insignificant happens. CWE, Vol. 32, p. 188.

¹³⁵ Erasmus, *Adagia*, IV. iv. 79: *Muli Mariani* ('Marius's mules'), a reference to the heavy packs carried by Roman footsoldiers, following the army reforms of Gaius Marius at the end of the second century B.C.

¹³⁶ Erasmus, *Adagia*, I. vii. 10: *Simia in purpura* ('An ape in purple'), referring to someone having some inappropriate dignity thrust upon him. Cf. CWE, Vol. 32, p. 71

¹³⁷ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 129v.

protrudant. Vsque adeo modis omnibus, precibus, minis, iurgiis, urgent, sollicitant, fingunt praeterea te mihi subiratum de posterioribus ad te literis quas miseram. Adde his quod solenni insuper obstringunt adiuratione in nomine Domini Jesu, quod quidem omnium maxime me mouet ne recusem.

2. Ora pro me Dominum iterum atque iterum te rogo (Praesul charissime) ut qui autor fueris ad onus imponendum simul adiutor sis ad sustinendum. Hoc interim ualde mihi mirandum occur[?] in tuis literis, quod quemadmodum autoritas tua necessitatem mihi impo[?] concionandi, ita et pietas tua commode animo meo materiam suggerit, ut Dominum Iesum eumque crucifixum praedicem. Dominus Iesus pro nobis crucifixus in ampla hac dignitate uocationis tuae, integram animi humilitatem custodiat, idemque cum animi tui humilitate, sublimem dignitatis celsitudinem tueatur, in longam Ecclesiae suae utilitatem. BL *Harleian* MS, fo. 129v.

Finally I see that they will not stop before they push me reluctantly to St. Paul's Cross. To this end in all ways they are pressing and harassing me with prayers, threats and disputes, and in addition are pretending that you are somewhat angry with me concerning the last letter I had sent to you. Add to this the fact that they are binding me with a solemn oath in the name of the Lord Jesus, which indeed moves me most of all not to refuse.

2. *Pray to the Lord for me again and again, I beg you, dearest Prelate, who have been responsible for placing this burden on me and at the same time helping in keeping up the pressure. Meanwhile a very remarkable thing has happened to me in your letter in that just as your authority has laid upon me the obligation to preach, so also your piety has conveniently supplied a subject to my mind, that I should preach on the Lord Jesus, and him crucified. May the Lord Jesus, who was crucified for us, keep the humility of your mind whole in the full dignity of your calling, and may he protect the same exalted dignity of rank with the humility of your mind for the lasting use of his Church.*

**49. Opening of Foxe's continuation of
Walter Haddon's work in *Contra H.
Osorium*, 1577.¹³⁸**

Ad ea, quae inchoata reliquit
Haddonus contra Osorii
nugas
Continuata Responsio

To those words, which Haddon left
unfinished against the rubbish of
Osorius
A Continued Response

1. Apelles quum Cois aliquando (authore Plinio) Veneris effigiem quam ἀναδυσομένην uocabant, summa arte et maxima uenustate exprimere uoluisset, iamque dimidiatam deliniasset, morte interceptus, alteram relinquere partem cogebatur: sed ita, ut qui operi succederet, ad praescripta lineamenta, ex omni pictorum posteritate prodire nemo sit ausus. 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.

1. *Once when Apelles in Cos (according to the author Pliny) had wanted to portray the statue of Venus, which they used to call 'rising from the sea' with the utmost skill and the greatest beauty, and had already sketched out half of it, he was taken away by death and was forced to leave the remaining part unfinished, but in such a way that no-one dared to come forward out of all the later artists to succeed to the task of adding to what had been drawn before. 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.*

**50. Dedication in Greek in a copy of Erasmus's
Institutio Principis Christiani, dated 1589,
apparently written by Foxe.¹³⁹**

Translated by John Wade and Barrie Hall

Ἀγλαοτατῆ
τῆ βασιλίδι ἡμῶν, καὶ
σεβαστῆ εὐκλεεστατῆ, τῆ
Ελισάβετ,
ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, τὸ κλέος, καὶ

To our most glorious
Queen and
most famous empress,
Elizabeth,

¹³⁸ J. Foxe & W. Haddon, *Contra H. Osorium* . . . (London: John Day, 1577) See STC 12593/ Harl. 5936[323], microfilm of the copy in the British Library.

¹³⁹ Taken from a digital image made by St. John's Library, Cambridge, call reference Aa.6.51., from the opening flyleaf pages of the volume donated by Thomas Baker (see thesis main text, p. 260).

Appendix I: Texts and Translations

τὴν δι' αἰώνιος σωτηρίαν.

glory and everlasting salvation

in Christ.

1. Χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ, ἔπος παλαιὸν καὶ ἀλήθινον. τοῦτο καταμαθεῖν ἔστι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἅπασι κατὰ τὸν βίον πεπραγμένοις· καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ τουτῷ τῆς διαφερούσης ὑπερόχης ὑμετέρας βαθμῆς ἐφανερώθη. ὡς περὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστι ἐν ἀνθρωπίνους τὸ κλῆμα κάλλιον τοῦ τῶν πολλῶν βασιλεύειν· οὕτω πάλιν ἀνδρὶ τῷ βασιλεύοντι, καὶ ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐξουσίᾳ καθισταμένῳ οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν πραγμάτων χαλεπώτερον τοῦ ἀξίως ἅπαντα κατορθῶσαι, ὥστε μηδὲν καθήκοντος μηδέποτε διαμαρτάνειν.

1. It is an ancient and true saying that good things are difficult. This may be discerned in all of life's actions, and above all it has been made manifest in this queenly rank of your pre-eminent supremacy. For as there is no station in human affairs finer than to be the ruler of many people, so again there is nothing more difficult for a ruler, and one placed in the position of having free rein to do everything, than to order all things worthily so as never in any particular to fail in one's duty.

2. ταύτης δὲ τὸ αἴτιον χαλεπότητος οὐ χάλεπον ἐξευρεῖν ἔστιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ὑψηθρόνοις οὐ πλησιάζουσι διὰ ὕψος τῆς δυναστείας. οἱ δὲ συνόντες τὰ πλείστα τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον θεραπεύοντες πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλοῦσι. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀληθειάν ἢ ἀπειρώς ἔχουσι οἱ πόλλοι, ἢ εἰδότες τὰ δεόντα, φοβῶ ἐλευθεροστόμως παρρασιάσασθαι οὐ τολμῶσιν· ὥστε χαλεπώτατον εἶναι τοῖς ἐν βασιλείᾳ καθισταμένοις τ' ἀληθῆς εἶτε δι' ἑαυτοῦς συνιδεῖν, εἶτε διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσακούειν.

2. It is not difficult to find the reason for this difficulty. For most people do not draw near to rulers on their high thrones by reason of the height of their power, while those who associate with them for the most part court power and wealth and consort with them to win their favour. Most people are either without experience of the truth or know what is fitting but for fear do not dare to speak out freely and openly. It is thus most difficult for those set in authority either to see the truth for themselves or to hear it from others.

3. καὶ περὶ ἐτέρων μὲν βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ περὶ δὲ τῆς σῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας, καὶ συμβουλευτικῶν ὑπηρετῶν σου σεμνοτάτων οὐκ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ πολὺ κρείττονα νομίζειν ἔχομεν. Σὺ γὰρ ἀπάσας ἀρχηγικὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν τοῖς στερνοῖς κατέχουσα τοσοῦτον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐν τουτῷ καιροῦ, βασιλεῦσι προεχθὲν δοκεῖς, ὅσπερ οὗτοι αὐτοὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ ἀξιώματι τῆς δυναστείας τῶν πολιτευομένων διαφέρουσιν. Εὐδὴλον τοῦτο ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὑποδειγμάτων, μάλιστα δ' ἐκεῖθεν, ἔανπερ ἴδῃ τις τὴν πολέων καὶ πραγμάτων ὑπὸ σου καθισταμένων εὐταξίαν, ὅπως τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φιλανθρωπῶς, ἐπεικῶς, φιλοξένως, καὶ εἰρηνικῶς διοίκησιν.

3. Concerning other sovereigns, thus much. But concerning your magnificence and the most noble servants your advisors we may entertain not these thoughts but far better ones. For you who hold all queenly virtues in your breast seem at this time so far to surpass other monarchs as they themselves are superior to those they govern in the honour and esteem of their power. This is very clear from many great proofs, but especially if one should contemplate the good order of the cities and affairs under your administration and observe how you govern the affairs of your citizens in a kindly, equitable, hospitable and peaceable manner.

4. ταύτης δ' εὐπραγείας τὸ μὲν αἴτιον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστι· τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον ἐκ τούτου φαίνεται, ὅτι τοσοῦτον τῶν ξένων πλήθος πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σὴν, ὡς περὶ εἰς ἀσφαλεστάτην καταφυγὴν συνεκκλησιάζειν ὄρωμεν· καὶ μὲν διὰ καὶ τούτον τοὺς πλείστους ἐνταῦθα διαμενόντας ἡδίων, ἢ ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου πατριωτῆτι χώρᾳ. διὰ ἣν αἰτίαν τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστήρια τῷ θεῷ παναγαθῷ ὀφείλομεν, ὅστις τοιαυτὴν τὴν ἡμῖν μὲν βασιλίδα· τῇ δὲ βασιλίδι τοιαύτας τῶν χαρίτων καὶ ἀρετῶν δωρεὰς ἐχαρίσατο, οἷωνπερ οὐ γινώσκω, εἰ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ τῶν νῦν ἀρχόντων βασιλέων ἠξιώσε.

4. The reason for this successful achievement is from God. And the proof is revealed in the fact that we see so great a multitude of strangers gathering together into your realm as into a most sure haven, and, moreover, remaining here most of them with greater pleasure than in the land which is most truly the home of each one of them. For this reason we owe great thanks to all-bountiful God who has graced us with a queen of such quality, and that queen with gifts of grace and virtue of such quality as He has not in my view deigned to grant to any other monarch now ruling.

5. τούτου δὲ ραδίως ἂν τις πείραν λάβοι, εἰς τὰς τῶν ἐκείνων πράξεις, καὶ τὴν τῶν τρόπων σου διαγωγὴν ἐπιβλέψας, ἅπερ πολὺ μεγίστην διαφορὰν ἐκατέρωθεν εἰλήφασιν. Ἄλλὰ περὶ τούτων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως, καὶ τ' ἄλλα, ἔαν θέλῃ ὁ κύριος. τοῦ λοιποῦ, ὃ νῦν ἠβουλήθη, τοῦτ' ἔστιν. διασκοπούμενος γὰρ κατ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν τῆς ἀξιολογώτατης μεγαλότητος σῆς σπουδὴν τε, καὶ τὸ καταμύθιον πρὸς Ἱερα ἀναγνώσματα, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν συνέτων συγγραμμάτων ἀκρόασιν, ἐδόκουν ἑμαυτῷ οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον μῆτε τῆς σῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης μεγαλότητος, ὡ κρατίστη βασίλισσα, μῆτε τῆς μικρότητός μου ἀπαλλότριον ἐργασόμενος, εἴπερ ἂν ἦκω φέρων βουλευτικὸν τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον βασιλικῆ τῇ σῇ γαλιτώτητι, περὶ βασιλικῆς τῆς ὁδηγίας, παρ' ἔρασμου ποτὲ σχεδιαθὲν.

5. One may easily make trial of this by considering their actions and the conduct of your manners, for these things show the sharpest difference between the two sides. But concerning these matters, otherwise and at another time, and other things if the Lord will. For the rest, this is what I now desired. For considering in my mind the zeal of your most praiseworthy greatness, and your inclination to read in Holy Writ and to hear wise writings, I thought, most mighty Queen, that I would do nothing unworthy of your most distinguished greatness or unsuited to my insignificance if I came bearing to your regal serenity this little book concerning the guidance of monarchs which was previously put into circulation by Erasmus.

6. οὐκ ὡς ἄξιον τῆς λαμπρότητος ὑμετέρας δῶρον, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδειον, (ὕμεις γὰρ, εὖ οἶδα, ἀπροσδεεῖς τούτων νομοδιδάκτων ὄντες) ἀλλὰ μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆς πρὸς σε θεραπείας τεκμήριον· καὶ ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ σύμβολον, ὃν σῆ μεγαλοσύνη σωτήριόν τε, καὶ μακαριστὸν ἐπεύχομαι γενέσθαι.

6. Not as being a gift worthy of your distinction, or as being required for any compelling need on your part – for you, I well know, have no need for these manuals of conduct – but as a proof, such as it is, of my service to you, and a token of the new year which I pray may bring safety and blessing to your greatness.

Ἔτει ἀπο τῆς γενέσεως

τοῦ σωτήρος

ἡμῶν

1589

Ἰωαν

Φοξίος

In the year after

the birth of

our Saviour

1589

John

Foxe

Appendix II

Foxe's Network of Contacts up to the end of his exile period

A 1545 - 1546

Name	Profession	Dates	University	Interests / Connections with Foxe	Dates & Residence(s) in Exile
Bertie, Richard	Gentleman	1517 – 1582	Oxford, Corpus & Magdalen	Linguist (French, Italian and Latin), husband of Duchess of Suffolk	1555 – 1559, Wesel, Strassburg, Frankfurt, Poland
Bull, Henry	Theological writer, Physician	died 1577	Oxford, Magdalen	Shared reformist views, but avoided expulsion from college until 1553	
Cheke, Sir John	Professor of Greek, Gentleman, Administrator	1514 – 1557	Cambridge, St. John's	Linguist (Latin, Greek)	1554 – 1556, Strassburg. Kidnapped, taken to Tower, recanted, released. Prots. shocked.
Cooper, Thomas	Theologian and later Elizabethan Bishop	c. 1517 - 1594	Oxford, Magdalen	Linguist – compiled Latin dictionary, Lifetime friend	Not an exile. One of Elizabethan bishops 'in waiting' (ODNB)
Crowley, Robert	Priest & briefly a Printer	c. 1517 – 1588	Oxford Magdalen	Lifetime friend, shared opposition to vestments	1555 – 1559, Frankfurt
Faulkner, John	Deacon	died 1560	Oxford	Friend	1554 - ? 1559, Strassburg, Frankfurt
Harding, John	Priest, Principal of Brasenose	died c. 1566/7	Oxford, Brasenose	Local rector in Coningsby, Encouraged Foxe in university career	?
Latimer, Hugh	Henrician Bishop, Preacher	c. 1485 - 1555	Cambridge, Clare	Friend, later lived in Warwickshire	Marian Martyr
Lever, Thomas	Priest, Preacher	1521 - 1577	Cambridge, St. John's	Friend, Latin correspondent in exile	1554 – 1559, Strassburg, Geneva, Frankfurt
Nowell, Alexander	Priest & Gentleman, Elizabethan Dean	c. 1507 – 1602	Oxford, Brasenose	Lifetime friend, Master at Westminster School, introduced Terence & Greek NT	? 1555 – 9, Geneva, Basel, Strassburg

B 1547 – 1554

Name	Profession	Dates	University	Interests / Connections with Foxe	Dates & Residence(s) in Exile
Bale, John	Carmelite Friar, Edwardian Bishop	1495 – 1563	Cambridge, Jesus	Close friend, shared exile in Basel, polemicist, dramatist, preacher	1554 – 1559, Frankfurt, Basel
Bertie, Richard	Gentleman	1517 – 1582	Oxford, Corpus & Magdalen	Linguist (French, Italian and Latin), husband of Duchess of Suffolk	1555 – 1559, Wesel, Strassburg, Frankfurt, Poland
Bull, Henry	Theological writer, Physician	died 1577	Oxford, Magdalen	Shared reformist views, but avoided expulsion from college until 1553	
Cecil, William	Privy Councillor				
Cheke, Sir John	Professor of Greek, Gentleman, Administrator	1514 – 1557	Cambridge, St. John's	Linguist (Latin, Greek)	1554 – 1556, Strassburg. Kidnapped, taken to Tower, recanted, released. Prots. shocked.
Cooper, Thomas	Theologian and later Elizabethan Bishop	c. 1517 - 1594	Oxford, Magdalen	Linguist – compiled Latin dictionary, Lifetime friend	Not an exile. One of Elizabethan bishops 'in waiting' (ODNB)
Crowley, Robert	Priest & briefly a Printer	c. 1517 – 1588	Oxford Magdalen	Lifetime friend, shared opposition to vestments	1555 – 1559, Frankfurt
Faulkner, John	Deacon	died 1560	Oxford	Friend	1554 - ? 1559, Strassburg, Frankfurt
Harding, John	Priest, Principal of Brasenose	died c. 1566/7	Oxford, Brasenose	Local rector in Coningsby, Encouraged Foxe in university career	?
Hooper, John	Edwardian Bishop, Preacher	? 1495 - 1555	Oxford, Unknown	shared opposition to vestments, close friend of Bullinger to whom he sent documents from prison, linked closely with founding of London stranger churches,	Marian Martyr Twice in pre-Edwardian exile in Zurich.
Latimer, Hugh	Hennician Bishop, Preacher	c. 1485 - 1555	Cambridge, Clare	Friend, later lived in Warwickshire, encouraged Foxe to write <i>De Censura</i>	Marian Martyr
Lever, Thomas	Priest, Preacher	1521 - 1577	Cambridge, St. John's	Friend, Latin correspondent in exile	1554 – 1559, Strassburg, Geneva, Frankfurt
Nowell, Alexander	Priest & Gentleman, Elizabethan Dean	c. 1507 – 1602	Oxford, Brasenose	Lifetime friend, Master at Westminster School, introduced Terence & Greek NT	? 1555 – 9, Geneva, Basel, Strassburg
Richmond, Duchess of, Mary Fitzroy	Noblewoman	c. 1519 – 1555?		Patroness, Catholic Howard family, but strong Protestant	
Ridley, Nicholas	Edwardian Bishop, Professor of Greek	1502 – 1555	Cambridge, Pembroke	Ordained Foxe deacon in 1550. Foxe dedicated <i>Expositio</i> to him in 1550	Marian Martyr
Singleton, Hugh	Printer and bookbinder	died 1593		Printed some of Foxe's early works	ODNB says 1553 -1556, Wesel. Garrett says he was in Strassburg and Basel 1553 – 1557.
Suffolk, Duchess of, Katherine Brandon	Noblewoman	1519 – 1580		Patroness, links with both universities, including Parkhurst and Humphrey, married to Richard Bertie in 1552	

C 1554 – 1559

Name	Profession	Dates	University	Interests / Connections with Foxe	Dates & Residence(s) in Exile
Ametbach, Boniface	Professor of Roman Law	1495 – 1562	Basel	Correspondent, patron for <i>Tithili Locorum Communium</i>	1554 – 1559, Strassburg, Zurich
Aylmer, John	Elizabethan Bishop of London	1520/21 – 1594	Cambridge, Queens	Sends account of Jane Grey (he was her tutor) to Foxe	1554 – 1559, Frankfurt, Basel
Bale, John	Carmelite Friar, Edwardian Bishop	1495 – 1563	Cambridge, Jesus	Close friend, shared exile in Basel, polemicist, dramatist, preacher	1554 – 1558, Zurich, Basel, Frankfurt
Bentham, Thomas	Elizabethan Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield	1513/14 – 1579	Oxford, Magdalen	Lived in Klaradoster with Foxe, was godfather to Christina	1555 – 1559, Wesel, Strassburg, Frankfurt, Poland
Bertie, Richard	Gentleman	1517 – 1582	Oxford, Corpus & Magdalen	Linguist (French, Italian and Latin), husband of Duchess of Suffolk	Frankfurt
Binks, John	Merchant	?	?	Dedicatee of <i>Christus Triumphans</i>	Frankfurt
Bullinger, Heinrich	Swiss Reformer in Zurich	1504 – 1575	Cologne		1554 – 1556, Strassburg. Kidnapped, taken to Tower, recanted, released. Prots. shocked.
Cheke, Sir John	Professor of Greek, Gentleman, Administrator	1514 – 1557	Cambridge, St John's	Linguist (Latin, Greek)	
Crespin, Jean	French protestant publicist and martyrologist	c. 1520 – 1572	? Paris, studied law	Used material from <i>Rerum</i> in his martyrology	
Episcopus, Nicolaus	Printer	1501 – 1564	Basel (matriculation), honorary MA from papal legate	Scholarly friend and correspondent of Erasmus, Printing partner of Froben, Foxe & co proof read for the firm	
Escot, John	Merchant, from London?	?	?	Delivered letter from Chambers in Strassburg to Bale in Basel	Frankfurt
Frencham, Edward		died 1559	Cambridge, St. Catharine's	Gets comforting letter from Foxe in June 1559 while in poor health	? 1558 – 1559, Zurich
Froben, Hieronymus	Printer	1501 – 1563	Basel (matriculation), honorary MA from papal legate	Scholarly friend and correspondent of Erasmus, Printing partner of Episcopus, Foxe & co proof read for the firm, friend and correspondent of Bullinger	
Froschover, Christopher	Swiss Printer in Zurich			Contemplated printing Foxe's translation of Cranmer's <i>Eucharist</i> , but did not	
Gilby, Antony	Preacher	? 1510 – 1585	Cambridge, Christ's	May have hosted Foxe in Strassburg at time of <i>Commentarii</i> publication	1554 – 1559, Frankfurt, Geneva
Grindal, Edmund	Priest, Elizabethan Bishop of London, Archbishop of York and then Canterbury	1516/20 – 1583	Cambridge, Magdalene, Pembroke	Directed project to collect materials for English & Latin martyrologies, regular correspondence with Foxe	1554 – 1559, Strassburg
Haddon, James	Preacher, Edwardian Dean of Exeter,	c.1520 – c.1556	Cambridge, Kings, Trinity	Sent a crown to Foxe in 1557, brother of Walter Haddon, whose <i>Contra Osorium</i> tract Foxe completed in 1577	1554 – 1556, Strassburg. Died of the plague.
Humphrey, Laurence	Later President of Magdalen	1525/7 – 1589	Cambridge, Christ's, Oxford, Magdalen	Close friend, shared exile in Basel, wrote dedicatory poems for <i>Christus Triumphans</i> and for the <i>Rerum</i>	1554 – 1559, Zurich,

Kelk, John	Merchant, from Bristol?	?	?			Frankfurt
Knox, John	Priest, Preacher	1514 – 1572	? St. Andrews	Close friends (as were their wives), Chided by Foxe over language in <i>First Blast</i>	1554 – 1558, Frankfurt, Geneva	
Lever, Thomas	Priest, Preacher	1521 – 1577	Cambridge, St. John's	Friend, Latin correspondent in exile	1554 – 1559, Strassburg, Geneva, Frankfurt	
Martyr, Peter	Priest, Abbot of	1500 – 1562	Padova	Friend, Corresponded with Foxe re Frankfurt		
Norfolk, Duke of, Thomas	Nobleman	1538 – 1572		Pupil, Patron		
Oporinus, Johannes	Printer	1507 – 1568	Basel			
Pantaleon, Heinrich	Basel Physician, Writer	1522 – 1595		Completed second volume of Foxe's Latin martyrology in 1563		
Pilkington, James	Elizabethan Bishop of Durham	? 1520 - 1576	Cambridge, St. John's	Friend, presented Foxe to Durham prebend in 1572	1554 – 1559, Zurich, Geneva, Basel	
Rihelius, Wendelin	Printer					
Sleidan, Johannes	Historian, Linguist	1506 – 1556	Liege, Cologne	Foxe stayed with him in Strassburg		
Suffolk, Duchess of, Katherine Brandon	Noblewoman	1519 – 1580		Patroness, links with both universities, including Parkhurst and Humphrey, married to Richard Bertie in 1552		
Walton, William	Merchant					
Whittingham, William	Student, Gentleman, Elizabethan Dean of Durham, (unqualified as minister?)	died 1579	Oxford, Brasenose & Christchurch	Linguist (French & German), may initially have been agent of Cecil, had helped get Peter Martyr to England, very involved with stranger churches, on committee with Foxe in Frankfurt	1554 – 1559, Frankfurt, Geneva	
Württemberg, Duke of, Christoper	Nobleman	1515 – 1568		Lutheran, but in European context maintained strict neutrality in matters of religion		

Single page from John Foxe's Tables of Latin Grammar (1552)?

Lansdowne No. 819, Folio 90

Grammer ys an art, teachyng ryght formations?[? forms] of congruent in speakyng or wrytyng. partes wheroff are

1. Orthographia. wh[ich] standyth in trew wrytyng of letters
2. Prosodia. in trew accentyng or quantite of syllabes
3. Etymologia. in trew origins of wordes
4. Syntaxis. in trew congruente of oration.

D. 1. part
of oration

Partes of oration be 8. Noune. pronoune. verbe. participle. [*something inserted here with an omission marking 'declined'?*] aduerbe. coniunction. praeposition. interiection. underxxxx?.

Noune Substantive. ys known to whom the word man, or thyng cannot be added.

Adiective. to whom this word mean, or through may be added. as a good man, a good thing.

- | | | | |
|------------|---|-------------|----------|
| | propre | primative | Simple |
| 1. Qualite | 2. Species | 3. Figurat. | Compound |
| | Appellative. | derivative. | |
| 4. Gender. | Masculine. as Hic
Feminine. as Haec
Neuter. as Hoc. | | |
| 5. Number. | Singular. of one. Plurall. of many. | | |
| 6. Case. | Nominative. Gen. Dat. Acc. Voc. Ablative. | | |

Greke nouns in as. es. be of ye first decl.		1	N. a	G. ae	D. ae	Ac. am	V.	Ab. a		N. ae	G. arum ¹	D. is	Ac. as	V.	Ab. is
	T a no une be longyth 8.?	2	er. ir. ur. us. um	i	o	um		o		i a	orum	is	os a		is
All nouns neu trall have N. Ac. V. lyke in both numbers The plurall they end in a.		Verse forms 7.	3 a. e. o. r. l. n. r. s. t. x.	is	i	em		e		es	um ium	bus	es		bus
		4	us	us	ui	um		u		us	uum	bus	us		bus
		5	es	ei	ei	em		e		es	erum	ebus	es		ebus

Positive

Compa Comparative
rason

Superlative

¹ There is clearly an 'a' in the manuscript, but it is followed by what appears to be an 'i' crossed through with two right inclined parallel lines.

Appendix IV

Books published by Oporinus, 1554 – 1559

Castellio, Sebastian	<i>De haereticis, an sint persequendi</i> , ed. Martinus Bellius, Magdeburg, Georg Rausch	1554
Castellio, Sebastian	As above, revised and supplemented by selections from Josephus, books 11-18 (Reprinted 1556)	1554
Cousin, Gilbert	<i>Epistolae laconicae</i> (incl. F. Andrelini, G. Cousin & J. Sturm's ed. of Cicero's letters)	1554
Lullus, Antonius	<i>Progymnasmata rhetorica ad Franciscum Baumensem</i>	1554?
Barnes, Robert	<i>Vitae Romanorum pontificum</i>	1555
Brodeau, Jean	<i>Miscellaneorum libri sex</i>	1555?
Latomus, Jacobus	<i>Psalmi Daudici triginta . . . in carmen conuersi</i>	c1555
Perdrier, René	transl. Coluthus Thebanus, <i>Helenaë raptus</i> , with annot. by Bernard Bertrand, and Tryphiodorus, <i>De Ilii expugnatione</i>	1555
Perdrier, René	<i>Orphel . . . opera</i>	1555
Périor, Joachim	<i>Ethicorum . . . libri</i> , revised by N. de Grouchy	1555
Tunstall, Cuthbert	<i>In Aristotelis ethicorum . . . libri decem</i>	1555
Baudouin, François	<i>Commentarii de pignoribus et hypothecis</i>	1556-8?
Baudouin, François	<i>Constantinus Magnus</i>	1556
Bertrand, Bernard	Dionysius [Periegetes] Alexandrinus, <i>De situ orbis</i> (Greek & Latin), together with: Latin transl. of the commentary by Eustathius Thessalonicensis.	1556
Castellio, Sebastian	<i>Salomonis Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes, Sapientia</i>	1556
Foxe, John	<i>Christus triumphans, comoedia apocalyptica. Accessit in Christem triumphantem autoris eiusdem panegyricon</i>	1556
a Lasco, John	<i>Epistolae tres lectu dignissimae, de recta et legitima ecclesiarum Bene, instituendarum . . .</i>	1556
a Lasco, John	<i>Purgatio ministrorum in ecclesiis peregrin. Francofurti, aduersus eorum calumnias . . .</i>	1556
Sturm, Johannes	Michael Toxites, <i>Commentarii . . . in libros quatuor rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium ex scolis Ioannis Sturmi</i> (Reprinted 1564 and in Offic. Oporiniana in 1568)	1556
Sulpicius, Seuerus	<i>Sacrae historiae . . . libri II</i>	1556?
Villegagnon, Nicolas	Caroli V. Imp. expeditio in Africam: in L. Chalkokonndulas, <i>De origine et rebus Turcorum</i>	1556

Bale, John	<i>Scriptorum illustrium Maioris Britanniae . . . catalogus</i> (Reprinted 1559)	1557
Baudouin, François	<i>Ad edicta ueterum principum Romanorum de Christianis</i>	1557
Baudouin, François	<i>Commentarii de legibus XII Tabularum</i>	1557
Baudouin, François	<i>Iuris ciuilis catechesis</i>	1557?
Baudouin, François	<i>Notae ad lib. I & II Digestorum</i>	1557?
Becon, Thomas	<i>Gnomotheca Salomonis . . . in locos digesta communes. Additae sunt praeterea Iobi . . . etc.</i>	1557
Bucer, Martin	<i>De Regno Christi Iesu seruatoris nostri, Libri II. Ad Eduardum VI. Angliae Regem . . .</i>	1557
Castellio, Sebastian	<i>Theologia Germanica, Libellus aureus . . . ex Germanico translatus, Ioanne Theophilo interprete</i>	1557
Foxe, John	<i>Ad Inclytos ac praepotentes Angliae procures . . .</i>	1557
Foxe, John	<i>Locorum communium tituli & ordines centum quinquaginta . . .</i>	1557
Foxe, John	<i>Mira ac elegans . . . Historia . . . I. Philpotti</i>	1557?
Bale, John	<i>Acta Romanorum pontificum . . .</i>	1558
Baudouin, François	<i>Commentarius de iurisprudencia Muciana</i>	1558
Bertrand, Bernard	<i>Lycophon, Cassandra, with commentary by Isaac Tzetzes (Latin)</i>	1558
Francus, Hieronymus	<i>In regulas iuris . . . commentarii</i>	1558-9
Hollier, Blaise	<i>In Hippocratis iusiurandum commentarius</i>	1558?
Lullus, Antonius	<i>De oratione libri septem</i>	1558
Alciato, Andrea	<i>De formula Romani imperii libellus</i>	1559
Bale, John	<i>Scriptorum Brytannia catalogus</i>	1559
Becon, Thomas	<i>Coenae sacrosanctae Domini nostri Iesu Christi, & missae papisticae, comparatio</i>	1559
Baudouin, François	<i>Ad leges de iure ciuili Voconiam . . .</i>	1559
Bèze, Théodore de	<i>Nouum Testamentum</i> (Greek and Latin)	1559
Foxe, John	<i>Germaniae ad Angliam, de Restituta Euangelii luce, Gratulatio.</i>	1559
Foxe, John	<i>Rerum in ecclesia gestarum . . . commentarii . . . Basileae, per Brylingerum et . . . Oporinum</i>	1559
Humphrey, Laurence	<i>De religionis conseruatione & reformatione uera</i>	1559
Marianus Scotus	<i>Chronica ad euangelii ueritatem . . . conscripta . . .</i>	1559
Périon, Joachim	Some transl. by N. de Grouchy	1559

Appendix V

Exchanges between Thomas Cranmer and Stephen Gardiner on the Eucharist

Summer 1550: Thomas Cranmer. *A Defence of the True and Catholike doctrine of the sacrament of the body and bloud of our sauour Christ, with a confutation of sundry errors concernyng the same, grounded and stablished vpon Goddes holy woorde, & approued by y consent of the moste aucient doctors of the Churche.* London 1550.

26 January 1551: Stephen Gardiner. *An explication and assertion of the true Catholique fayth, touchyng the most blessed Sacrament of the aulter with a confutation of a booke written agaynst the same* [by Archbishop Cranmer]. London 1551.

September 1551: Thomas Cranmer. *An Answer . . . vnto a crafty and sophisticall cauillation deuised by Stephen Gardiner doctour of law, late byshop of Winchester, agaynst the trewe and godly doctrine of the moste holy Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Sauour Iesu Christe.* Reynolde Wolfe: London 1551. [Another brief answer on the same subject by Richard Smith appended to this work].

1552: Marcus Antonius Constantius [alias Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester]. *Confutatio cauillationum, quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiae*

sacramentum, ab impiis Capernaitis, impeti solet, authore Marco Antonio Constantio, Theologo Louaniensi. Apud Ioannem de Roigny: Paris 1552.

March 1553: Latin version of *Defence*, with preface by Cranmer,¹ according to Strype prepared by Cheke at Cranmer's request, although it is also elsewhere in Strype attributed to John Young.²

1555 – 1557: Both John Cheke and John Foxe were working separately on a translation into Latin of Cranmer's *An Answer*,³ although Cheke died on 13th September 1557 with his work unfinished. (The full title of Foxe's unpublished manuscript can be found in the passage cited from Strype, but I have assumed as its short title *De tota Sacramenti Eucharistiae causa*). This is the immediate context of Foxe's letter to Cheke, dated 1557.⁴

1557: Republication in Emden of the Latin version of Cranmer's *Defence* from a copy which he had annotated and revised while in prison, using further patristic and classical sources rather than additional arguments, and which was carried out to the exiles there either by Cheke or Scory (Superintendent of the English church in Emden).⁵

¹ D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 535.

² J. Strype, *Thomas Cranmer*, vol. II, p. 331; but cf. 314 – 5. See also D. McCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 535.

³ Cf. *Mozley*, p. 46.

⁴ BL Harleian MS 417, fol. 96v, printed in full with translation as No. 30 in Appendix I. See Chapter Four pp. 174 – 176 for comment on the Latin of this letter.

⁵ Alan Bryson in his article on Cheke in the *ODNB* says that Cheke 'probably went to Emden in 1555 to supervise republication of his Latin translation of Cranmer's *Defence* (1557) . . .' See A. Bryson, 'Cheke, Sir John' in *ODNB*.

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- _____, *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae scriptorum, hoc est, Angliae, Cambriae, ac Scotiae summariu[m] : in quasdam centurias diuisum, cum diuersitate doctrinaru[m] atq[ue] annoru[m] 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>
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_____, *An Answer of the Most Reuerend Father in God Thomas Archebysshop of Canterburye, primate of all Englande and metropolitane unto a crafty and sophisticall cauillation deuised by Stephen Gardiner doctour of law, late byshop of Winchester, agaynst the trewe and godly doctrine of the moste holy sacrament of the body and bloud of our sauour Iesu Christe [electronic resource]: Wherein is also, as occasion serueth, answered such places of the booke of D. Rich. Smyth, as may seeme any thing woorthy the aunsweryng. Item ye shall fynde here also the true cople of the booke written, and in open courte delyuered, by D. Stephen Gardiner, not one woorde added or diminished, but faythfully in all poyntes agreeyng with the oryginall.* (London: Reynold Wolfe, 1551).

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against the martyrs of Christ sought and wrought as well by heathen emperors, as now lately practised by Romish prelates, especially in this realme of England and Scotland : whereunto are annexed certaine additions of like persecution which have happened in these latter times / now againe as it was recognised, perused and recommended to the studious reader by the author Mr. Iohn Fox (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1641).

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