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**The Manuscript and Editorial Tradition of  
William Thomas's *The Pilgrim / Il pellegrino inglese***

by

Ian Christopher Martin

A thesis in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Ph.D.  
Graduate Department of Italian Studies  
University of Toronto

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## **Abstract**

### **The Manuscript and Editorial Tradition of William Thomas's *The Pilgrim/Il pellegrino inglese*.**

Ian Martin, Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Italian Studies, University of Toronto, 1999.

This thesis examines the manuscript and editorial tradition surrounding William Thomas's *The Pilgrim/Il pellegrino inglese*, a spirited defence of Henry VIII and a virulent attack on the papacy. It is largely a philological study of this Renaissance text which has been variously described as an apology, a defence, a dialogue and *un libello propagandistico*. The text has come down to us in five English manuscripts, two English editions published in London in 1774 and 1861, and an Italian edition, of which there are few bibliographic details, save its publication in 1552 in Venice. Of all Thomas's writings, which include the first English-Italian bilingual dictionary and the first practical English-language reference history to Italy, *The Pilgrim* has been the most neglected. The discovery, in the early stages of my research, that there existed, contrary to the unanimous conclusions of previous commentators, an autograph manuscript among the extant English copies in the British Library, Additional 33383, provided me with the incentive to produce a definitive edition based on that manuscript. The research that followed involved a close examination of the Italian edition which, notwithstanding the significant stylistic differences in the translation, bears significant resemblance to the autograph manuscript.

The thesis is divided into two parts. In the first, Chapter 1 includes a brief biography of Thomas and a review of his other writings. The purpose of this chapter is to acquaint the reader with the historical and thematic context in which these works were conceived. Chapter 2 introduces *The Pilgrim*, its manuscript and editorial history, and an

exposition of the argument for the preeminence of the Additional manuscript as a base text for any editorial endeavors. This chapter is followed by a speculative discussion of the possible sources and traditions, English and Italian, which may have informed Thomas's treatise. It includes references to the works of John Wyclif, Francesco Negri, in addition to an analysis of the language of the Italian *pasquinate*. The edition of *The Pilgrim*, a diplomatic transcription of the Additional manuscript with variants and notes, makes up the second part of the thesis.

**to Hetty, Paul and Teresa**

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## Preface

William Thomas (d.1554) has been the subject of relatively few critical studies. A handful of essays on specific aspects of his literary production and political activity and two comprehensive theses of general purview comprise the little that has been produced on this curious polymath, political thinker and religious zealot who, through his contacts with Italy, introduced Englishmen of his day to the richness of that country. Italy, which he claimed lay at the “crossroads of our world”, was for Thomas a storehouse of history, culture and, most importantly, of example. His life and works, though brief and few, evince the cultural and philosophical preoccupations of the 16th century in England and remind us of the important place that Italy enjoyed during the Renaissance.

The main focus of this thesis is a study of Thomas’s *The Pilgrim*, a partisan defence of Henry VIII and an antipapal diatribe written by the author while in Italy in 1546. The text has come down to us in five English manuscripts, two English editions published in London in 1774 and 1861, and an Italian edition, of which there are few bibliographic details save its publication in 1552, presumably in Venice. Of all Thomas’s writings, which include the first English-Italian bilingual dictionary entitled *The Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar with a dictionary for the better understandynge of Boccace, Petrarche and Dante* (1550), *The Historie of Italy* (1549) and *Vanitee of this World* (1549), the unpublished manuscripts “Travels to Tana and Persia”, “De sphaera”, an assortment of essays of political-economic character inspired by Machiavelli and Guicciardini, and a lengthy catalogue of topics for further exposition entitled “85

Commonplaces of State”, *The Pilgrim* has been most ignored. While the dictionary, history and political essays have attracted the attention of lexicographers, historians and political scientists alike, philologists and Italianists have remained indifferent to what one of Thomas’s earliest modern commentators has considered Thomas’s most well-known work. This is all the more surprising since in this treatise, Thomas’s only truly literary project, variously described as a dialogue, diatribe, defence and apology, has also come down to us in an Italian version entitled *Il pellegrino Inglese ne’l quale si difende l’innocente e sincera vita del pio e Religioso Re d’Inghilterra Henrico ottavo, buggiardamente caloniato da Clemente VII e da gl’altri adulatori della Sedia Antichristiana*. As so often occurs with peripheral historical figures and their work, Thomas has been the subject of scholarship marked more often by passing interest or partisan motivations than by careful study. The discovery, in the early stages of my research, that contrary to the unanimous conclusions of previous commentators including Thomas’s 18th- and 19th-century editors, there was an autograph manuscript among those extant in England, encouraged a closer study of the manuscript and editorial tradition which constitutes the core of this thesis.

In Part I, Chapter 1, I provide a brief biography of Thomas and a review of the works listed above. Little is known of Thomas’s early years, including his date of birth and the University that he attended; however, his life after his flight to Italy and return to England, where he assumed the position of Secretary to the Privy Council, is and makes for intriguing reading. With regard to his writings, I have tried to provide a synthesis of each so as to demonstrate the author’s versatility and interests. Where possible, religious or political questions have been highlighted which bear on the arguments presented in

*The Pilgrim*. I have also tried to shed light, where possible, on some of the discrepancies that have characterized the various commentaries to date.

Chapter 2 focuses on *The Pilgrim*, its manuscript and editorial history and the significant affinities between it and its Italian counterpart, *Il pellegrino inglese*. A summary of the text and examination of the extant manuscripts and editions is followed by a discussion of the editorial conventions adopted in the 18th- and 19th-century editions. J.A. Froude's edition, in particular, is examined in detail. Although it is considered the most authoritative and accessible and, as such, is sought out by students and scholars, it is flawed. Its shortcomings as a supposedly faithful representation of its base manuscript coupled with the editor's disingenuous introduction, raise intriguing questions about the ethical and political forces at play in scholarship last century. It is clear from Froude's edition, however, that Thomas's text stands as one of the early examples of Whiggish polemics and historicizing.

In the latter part of the chapter the Italian edition is examined closely with particular focus on the question and implications of the Italian translation.

In Chapter 3, Thomas's text is situated within the fertile tradition of 16th-century Italian and English reform literature. Since there is no record of Thomas's library, internal evidence is useful in order to establish something concrete with which to better appreciate the motivations and philosophical/theological/political tensions which informed the author. I posit that Thomas was especially influenced by the theology and political philosophy of John Wyclif and the Lollards and argue too that he may well have been a member of the mysterious Christian Brethren, who, through their network of merchant contacts, supplied England and Europe with the literature, intelligence and



monies that encouraged the debate and subsequent reform of the church. The implications of Thomas's decision to dedicate *The Pilgrim* to the "scourge of princes," Pietro Aretino, and his allusion to the Italian reformer Francesco Negri and the reform tradition that he represented in Italy and among the many Italians forced to seek refuge elsewhere in Europe are also considered.

Part II of the thesis presents my edition of *The Pilgrim*, a diplomatic transcription of the Additional 33383 manuscript in the British Library. It is accompanied by a critical apparatus which, including variants at the foot of the page and notes on the text, represents a collation of all of the extant English manuscripts and editions.

# **PART I**

## **Chapter 1**

### **William Thomas: A Brief Biography**

He was drawn on a sled to Tyburn, he was hangyd and after ys hed stryken, and then quartered; and the morrow after ys hed was sett on London Bryge, and three quarters sett over Creppulgate.<sup>1</sup>

On May 18, 1554 Henry Machyn recorded the final moments of William Thomas's life with these words. Since his untimely execution, Thomas has been the subject of comparatively few critical studies.<sup>2</sup> His suspected complicity and conviction, under dubious auspices, for his part in a plot to assassinate Queen Mary in 1553<sup>3</sup> sealed the fate of this Renaissance polymath whose versatility and enterprize in a time of remarkable achievement drew this from his only Italian commentator, Sergio Rossi:

Egli non può essere classificato entro i limiti di un genere letterario preciso perchè la sua versatilità lo colloca contemporaneamente tra gli scrittori di politica, di storia, di grammatiche, nonchè tra i traduttori e divulgatori di opere italiane e latine. (313)

In the first significant treatment of Thomas's life and work, E.R. Adair concludes a solid essay by admitting that Thomas, in spite of himself, deserved "at least a small niche in that temple consecrated to the spacious genius of the sixteenth century".<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, an attempt at biography has been and remains today a frustrating proposition. Previous scholars concerned with offering something new, by way of introduction to their critical

contributions on Thomas, have invariably been obliged to preface their work with the disclaimer that, given the absence of substantive biographical material, much of Thomas's early life, academic preparation, and religious-political formation must remain a mystery.<sup>5</sup> Considering the colourful life of their subject, all commentators have subsequently indulged in conjecture and its attendant digressions which, while providing readable history, have done little to clarify questions of consequence<sup>6</sup>. In fact, since the last comprehensive review of Thomas and his literary corpus--Margie Hankinson's unpublished Columbia University dissertation (1968) entitled "William Thomas: Italianate Englishman"--little has surfaced to help better appreciate his life or further substantiate previous assertions.<sup>7</sup>

Of this early period, all that is comparatively certain is that William Thomas was most probably Welsh and either the eldest son of Thomas ap Philip ap Bleddyn from the parish of Llanigon, Breconshire, or the only son of Walter Thomas of Crickhowel, both in Wales. If we couple this simple unresolved matter with the failure to establish even a tentative date of birth, then we are left with a vexing matter. Therefore any reliable history must begin in 1541 when Thomas was appointed Clerk of the Peace and of the Crown in the counties of Radnor, Brecon and Montgomery with permission to perform the duties of the post by deputy.<sup>8</sup> It is known that in 1545 he entered the service of Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII, and it was under Browne's tutelage that he suffered a serious gambling debacle that forced him to flee the country. Edmund Harvel, the English agent in Venice, recorded the matter shortly after apprehending and interrogating Thomas. He wrote that after "losing monies through folye and misfortunes of playe [he was] forced to flee England reducid to ruin [...] and constraynid to depart

from his master and contre in grete feare and desperacion” (Adair, 135). Sadly, Thomas complicated his misfortune by appropriating monies from his patron. Having deposited these funds with Acelyne Salvago--an Italian banker in London--in return for bills of exchange drawn on the factor of Vivaldes in Venice, he departed for Italy. Shortly after his arrival in Venice on April 10, 1545 he was detained by Harvel who on April 13 entered the following in his diary: “by thayde and favor of the signorye I have stayed the said Thomas who shal remayne in prison til the Kinges Majesties farther pleasure be known” (Adair, 135). Surprisingly, that pleasure was known within a few weeks and on May 31, 1545 the Privy Council in England ordered the return of the bills to Sir Anthony Browne and the release of William Thomas.

For reasons unknown it seems that from this date forth Thomas began a self-imposed exile. In the opening paragraph of *The Pilgrim* he confesses that he was “constrayned by misfortune to abandon the place of my nativitie and to walke at the random of the wyde worlde”.<sup>9</sup> Notwithstanding the desperate note sounded in this passage, a penitent Thomas, characterized by Harvel as a young man given to “continuall and pitiful lamentacions for his trespassis comitted ageinst his master and others” (Adair, 136), managed to parlay this sojourn on Italian soil into a productive episode. He furnished 16th-century Britain with its first bilingual English-Italian dictionary/grammar and the first practical history of Italy while travelling widely and interacting with notable Italians of his day.

Sometime during the early months of 1548 Thomas returned to England where in a short time he assumed a position as clerk of the Privy Council. During this period it can also be assumed that Thomas put the finishing touches on his *Historie of Italy* and

*Principal Rules of the Italian Language with a Dictionary for the better understandyng of Petrarche, Boccace and Dante*, both printed by Sir Walter Mildmay in 1549 and 1550 respectively. In the ensuing years he forged a curious friendship with young King Edward, becoming something of a private secretary and advisor to the young king. Under the aegis of the Earl of Warwick and a cadre of well-placed politicians with whom he enjoyed renewed favor, Thomas amassed a considerable fortune in grants, payments and sundry transactions culminating in a grant of arms from Thomas Hawley in 1552--an honour that consolidated his return and his efforts to rehabilitate himself in the England of his day.<sup>10</sup>

In 1550 Thomas must also have worked on the translations of Sacrobosco's "De Sphaera", Giosophat Barbaro's "Travels to Tana and Persia" and the translation of Livy. Relying heavily on his familiarity with Machiavelli and Guicciardini, he fashioned a catalogue of eighty-five questions of political, economic and ethical import under the title *Common Places of State* that he secretly submitted to Edward for consideration. In an accompanying letter, Thomas expressed his willingness to expound in short-essay form on any of the topics. Edward subsequently requested that six of these topics be prepared for his study. With *The Pilgrim*, these texts form the body of Thomas's literary work.

However, much of this work was to be overshadowed: first, by his involvement in the Wyatt Rebellion and, secondly, by his opposition to the marriage of Queen Mary and the Catholic Spanish King. Along with a number of prominent members of Edward's inner council,<sup>11</sup> Thomas was accused of having been a conspirator by a fellow conspirator, Sir Nicholas Arnold, who had turned Queen's evidence in December of 1553 and stated that Thomas was debating "Whether were ytt not a good devyse to have all thys perylles

that we have talked of taken away with lytle bludshed, that ys to say by kyllyng of the quene".<sup>12</sup> Whether true or not, Thomas's association with a cadre of fierce Protestant nationalists, his inimical position with regard to the Church of Rome--unequivocally declared in *The Pilgrim*--and his attempted suicide while imprisoned were reason enough for a summary trial and execution for high treason.

During the early years of Elizabeth's reign, Thomas's case was reexamined and he was restored in blood. Perhaps a victim of treacherous times or an inveterate firebrand, he was one of the few men of his day who could boast of a cordial relationship with the King of England and state firmly at his execution that he was dying for his country.

## **The Works of William Thomas**

### ***The Historie of Italie***

In the introduction to his edition of William Thomas's *Historie of Italy*, George P. Parks indicates that English contacts with Italy began when Claudius invaded the island and incorporated it as a province of the Roman Empire in 43 A.D.<sup>13</sup> Early economic interdependence was consolidated shortly thereafter when St. Augustine of Canterbury reestablished the Roman Church in England. Since the early decades of the millennium we can speak of fruitful commerce of cultural, economic and spiritual character between the two nations. Of the many merchants, diplomats, churchmen, students and pilgrims who ventured to Rome during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, surprisingly few chronicled their

passage, notwithstanding the eminence in early English letters of a cadre of professional writers--including Alcuin of York, John of Salisbury, and Geoffrey Chaucer--who made the journey. However, it was not until 1450 that Friar John Capgrave provided the first substantial travel log entitled *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*. Like those of his contemporaries--William Wey, William Brewyn and later Wynkyn de Worde--Capgrave's journals and diaries furnished English descriptions of religious centres, relics and shrines. The title of Worde's 1498 text, *Informacion for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Lande*, perhaps best illustrates the didactic and normative character of these accounts.<sup>14</sup>

In 1511, Richard Pynson printed the first in a series of more sophisticated early Tudor travel journals. This record of Guildford's pilgrimage was followed by those of Richard Torkington, Robert Langton and in 1542 Andrew Boorde, whose significant work is entitled *The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*.<sup>15</sup> These writers distinguished themselves from their predecessors in their willingness to depart from a preoccupation with matters of solely religious consequence. As contacts between the two nations flourished, so too did the literature. These English journals include commentary of cultural, political and social relevance, in addition to a more critical approach toward the subject of their exposition. Indeed, Boorde's ambitious travel guide incorporates two new and remarkable features. The first reflects a willingness on the part of the author to depart from the traditional deferential narrative, favouring instead a more colourful subjective and critical one. In fact, K. R. Bartlett has argued that "with Boorde we witness the beginnings of the post-Reformation vilification of Italy" which were later evident in the writing of Cheke, Ascham and Harrison.<sup>16</sup> The second feature was the inclusion of a rudimentary Italian language guide in the form of phonetically written phrases. Whether correct or not, it is

clear from Bartlett's observation that beginning with Boorde, English literati and historians, while still favourably inclined toward what amounted to the religious and intellectual fulcrum of their world, were determined to examine its character with a more critical eye.

William Thomas's *Historie of Italie* is exemplary in this respect. Indeed, Rossi claims that it represents "il suo lavoro più impegnativo e più ambizioso e bene interpreta il fondamentale interesse del suo autore accanto a quello di viaggiatore attento e di osservatore acuto" (294). It is a comprehensive, anecdotal and at times irreverent record of his sojourn in Italy. But, it is foremost a work of synthesis. As has been already thoroughly documented, Thomas, while certainly present in many of the cities that he includes in the *Historie*, was wholly dependent on extant travel and historical literature by Italian scholars for the lion's share of the project.<sup>17</sup> The virtue of the work lies in his having accumulated excellent source material and packaging them precisely for a burgeoning market of scholars and gentlemen travellers.

The *Historie of Italie* begins, as does *The Pilgrim*, with a general review of Italy's geographic position and climatological characteristics--conditions that appear to Thomas so propitious that Italy seems "an open lappe" naturally disposed "to receyve the trade of all countreis" (A1v). Appealing, as he does in *The Pilgrim*, to the "law of Cosmographie" Thomas explains Italy's place at the centre of the world:<sup>18</sup>

It lieth [...] halfe waie betweene the Equinoctiall and the Pole: betwene (I saye) the heate of the sonne and the colde of the Northe. For the citee of Bononia [...] standeth almost in the hert of Italie, and hath his elevacion 44 degrees: so that dividyng the quarter from the Equinoctial to the Septentrion into 90 accordyng to the rule of Cosmographie, and takyng the one halfe therof, whiche is 45 the difference is little, to prove that Italie is in the middest betwene the extremittees of heate and colde. (A1v)



This favourable placement, coupled with the peninsula's almost complete access to the sea, made Italy a natural crossroad for what Thomas called "our halfe of the worlde" (A2r). In an attempt to convey to the uninitiated Englishman Italy's preeminence he develops this observation in the following passage, favouring the instructive use of analogy:

For like as with us in Englande, the most merchautes of the realme resort to London, to utter theyr owne wares, and to bie suche other as make for theyr purposes: even so thei of France, of Spaine, of Germanie, and of all the other westerlie places, that covet the merchaundise of Soria, Aegypt, Cyprus, Candia, Constantinopol, and other easterly partes, as iewells, drugges, spices, perfumes, sylkes, cotton, sugar, malmecies and other lyke: resorte moste commonly into Italie with theyr woulles, clothes, linen, lecher, metalles, and suche other; to Genoa, Mylaine, Venice, Ancona, Missena, Naples, or to some of those places, where a trafficque is used: and there metyng with Jewes, Turkes, Grekes, Moores and other easterly merchautes, sellyng the tone thei bie the other.<sup>19</sup> (A2r)

This strategy of analogy, that he employs throughout the text, evinces the didactic nature of the work. Thomas's history is not simply a work of exposition, but rather one of instruction. Both in the dictionary--where he provides (on his own initiative) English equivalents to Italian concepts--and in the *Historie*, Thomas adopts a similar strategy to ensure that his reader fully appreciates the nature of his commentary. For example, when describing the Capitoline Hill, he includes this clarificatory phrase: "capitoline hille is the principall place of the citie, suche as for example the yelde haul is in London" (B1v).

Having established Italy's place and importance in the Renaissance world, he moves on to a discussion of the Italian people. Of Italian gentlemen and their manner Thomas is favourable, characterizing them variously as "so honourable, so courteise, so prudente, and so grave withall, that it shoulde seeme eche one of them to have had a

princely bringyng up” (A3v). He remains most impressed, though, by the uniformity and discipline that is displayed in gesture and particularly in language among those of gentle birth. In a land already linguistically divided, he notes:

[I]t is a mervaile, that in maner all gentilmen dooe speake the courtisane. For notwithstanding that betwene the Florentine and Venetians is great diversitee in speeche, as with us betwene a Londoner and a Yorkeshyreman, and likewise betwene the Mylaine and the Romaine, the Napolitane and the Genouese: yet by the tounge you shall not lyghtlie discerne of what parte of the countreye any gentilman is, because that beeyng children they are brought up in the courtisane onely. (A3v)

He is more circumspect when discussing the women. Indeed, he avoids any real discussion, offering instead this curious little poem, apparently of his own doing, that is both stereotypical and unflattering:

Some be wonders gaie/ And some goe as they maie./ Some at libertee dooe  
swymme a flot,/ And some woulde faine but they can not./ Some be  
meerie, I wote well why,/ And some begile the housbande, with finger in  
the eie./ Some be maried against theyr will,/ And therefore some abyde  
maidens still./ In effect they are women all,/ Ever have been and ever shall.  
(B2r)<sup>20</sup>

This introductory section ends with a breakdown of the various states that constituted Italy. In the manner of a statebook or almanac, Thomas first lists the respective political heads of state, follows this with a description of the basic geographic characteristics of the region, and then adds a very brief general history. The most comprehensive of these entries is for Naples and it provides an example of his methodology:

The greatest prince of dominion there at this present is Charles the V Emperour of Almaine, who for his part hath the realme of Naples and the Duchie of Mylaine: whyche realme is divided into 8 regions, and to the entent the readers maie the better be satisfied, I have set forth as well the auncient names of those regions, as the present.

The Realme of Naples. The present names: Campagnia di Roma, Maremma (Parte of Latium); Terra di lavoro (Campania), Principato (Picentini), Basilicata (Lucania); Calabria (Brutii, Grecia Magna); Terra d'Ontranto (Salentioi, Calabria antiqua, Iapigia, Mesapia); Puglia (Apulia Peucetia, Aetholia, Apulia Daunia); Abruzzo (Frentani, Peligni, Marrucini, Vestini, Precutii, Marsi); Valle Beneventana (Samnites).

As for that part of the Duchie of Mylaine that the emperour hath, it lieth in Lumbardie aunciently called Gallia Cisalpina, for the most parte on that side of the river Pò, that was called Transpadana. (B3r)

The second part of the *Historie*, entitled “The abbridgement of the state of Italie from the beginninge untill the Romaine Empire was utterly divided,” comprises a sweeping history that begins with “Noe” (Noah) is followed by a review of the mythological arguments for the creation of Italy by the gods Janus and Saturn, and ends with the story of the founding of Rome by Romulus and Remus. This section, entirely derivative in character, amounts to a synthesis of two principal works contained in one volume and published in Italian in 1543 in Venice entitled *Roma ristaurata et Italia illustrata* by Flavio Biondo. In addition to this text he also draws heavily on Andrea Fulvio in his *Antiquitates Urbis*, paraphrasing and even imitating the stylistic elements.<sup>21</sup> Here too Thomas departs from the romantic historicizing characteristic of earlier commentators by juxtaposing the popular myth of Romulus and Remus’s infancy with a more accurate account. He again communicates his determination to demystify Italy and to present it to the student-traveller in factual reliable language:

Amulius was so offended that he [...] commaunded the two children to be thrown into the Tyber, so that thei were left on the banke, and there fed by a she woulfe (as the poetes feigne) but the trouthe of the historie is, that they were founde by a shepherde, whose wife (for hir beauty and licencious living) was called Lupa: and so taken and nourished till thei grew unto suche yeres, that they revenged them selves. (C1v)

He follows the history of Rome with a discussion of the thirty-eight Roman Emperors from Julius Caesar through to Charlemagne. For each of these entries he includes a sketchy biography and some anecdotal history. For instance, under Emperor Claudius the thirty second emperor after Caesar he writes:

Claudius elected by the senate, reigned one yere and ix monethes, fought against the Gothes and Germaines, and discoumfited bothe theyr powers: but he sickened shortly and died, whereupon the armie elected hys brother Quintilianus emperour, who within xvii daies after was slayne. (D1r)<sup>22</sup>

With few exceptions, this part of the *Historie* follows the pattern of the example above. The only significant digression allows Thomas to incorporate his political and religious position in the text. His entry for Constantine I provides him with an opportunity to level a first attack against the Catholic Church and its claim of papal supremacy. Alluding to Lorenzo Valla's refutation of the *Constitutum Constantini*, in his *De Falso Credita et Ementita Constantini Donatione*, Thomas includes the following passage:

Constantinus the fyrste, reduced the Romaine astate to tranquiltee. [...] He was converted to the Christian faieth by bischoppe Silvester, unto whome (as the clergie holde opinion) he gave his roiall seate in Rome, with auctoritee to use all imperiall rites and honours, and made him head of the Christian church: and therupon removed his imperiall seate from Rome to Constantinople [...] And though authours agree that he in deede builded Constantinople, and chaunged it from the auncient name, which was Bizantium, yet many allow not Constantines donacion to Silvester to be true: but saie, that some one of those bischops of Rome longe after Silvester, that usurped the name of Peter's successour, to enlarge theyr creadite and auctoritee, and to mainteigne theyr pompe, invented this donacion. (D2r)

The third part of the *Historie*, "The Description of Rome", is divided into brief succinct chapters, again organized to provide the uninitiated with a comprehensive, uncluttered understanding of the eternal city.<sup>23</sup> As was mentioned earlier, Thomas's work

distinguished itself from previous or coeval ones in its willingness to incorporate what would have been considered superfluous--indeed trivial--information of sociological, psychological and cultural consequence. Notwithstanding the secularization of historical reporting, Thomas was the first to present the English student with a history that was not religion-specific. The sections on the *thermes* and *naumachie* are exemplary in this regard. Of the former he writes:

You shall understande, that the Romaines used oftentimes to bathe them selves, wherfore at the first, private men made them stewfes or hotehouses of theyr owne: But afterwardes (as a thyng necessarye for the common wealthe) the emperours gave them selves to the makyng of these Thermes. [...] These were not onelie common baines for washyng, but also for sumptuose baules, goodly chaumbers, faire walkyng places [...] some with a number of hotehouses in everie Therme, some several, some common, with lodgings accordyng, and offices assigned for the service of them that would eate there. (G4r)

Of the latter, undoubtably foreign to the 16th-century Englishman, he explains:

There were certaine pondes of water called Naumachie, made of purpose so large, that small shippes myghte mete in theym. For lyke as the Romaynes were diligent in bryngyng up theyr youthe in feates of chevalrie, so also they exercised them in practice of the water. (H1r)

In this chapter, Thomas again abandons the traditional objective historical narrative to indulge in a second criticism of the Church. Sandwiched between “Of Graners and Arsenals” and “Of St. Peter’s Church”, the chapter entitled “Of the Present Astate of Rome” seems almost an afterthought, or at least out of place. Its importance is, however, quickly made clear.

This brief chapter provides Thomas with a foil which he uses to criticize the corrupt and licentious Catholic clergy. Having witnessed firsthand the amusing pageant of Catholic excess during an Easter procession, he provides an account of the clandestine

workings of the institution, exposing, as he does in *The Pilgrim*, the difference between surface and essence:<sup>24</sup>

Under theyr longe robes they hyde the greatestt pride of the worlde, it might happen some men wolde beleve it, but that thei are the vaynest men of all other, theyr owne actes doe well declare. For theyr ordinarie pastime is to disguise them selves, to go laugh at the Courtisanes houses, and in the shrovyng tyme, to ryde maskyng about with theym, which is the occasion that Rome wanteth no iolie dames, speciali the strete called Iulia, which is more than halfe a myle longe, fayre buylded on both sydes, in maner inhabitedd with none other but Courtisanes, some woorthe X and some woorthe XX thousande crownes. [...] Rome is not without 40000 harlotes mainteigned for the most part by the clergye and theyr folowers. (K3v)

It is interesting that Thomas ends this passage with a proverb: “In Roma vale piu la putana, che la moglie Romana” (In Rome the prostitute is worth more than the Roman wife), which he translates as “in Rome the harlotte hath a better life, than she that is a Romaines wife” (K3v). This too seems characteristic of his work because, as we shall see, he introduces a number of proverbs in his dictionary and in the devotional sermon *Vanitee of this World* he ends one of his arguments citing an Italian proverb.

The next section of the *Historie*, entitled “The Abbridgement of the Lyves of the Romaine Byshoppes,” is again a catalogue--indeed a genealogy--of the popes from Silvester to Paul III. Here again Thomas exhausts two texts, Flavio Biondo’s *Le Historie de la declinatione de l’imperio di Roma infino al tempo suo* and Bartolomeo Sacchi’s *Vita et fatti di tutti i sommi pontefici romani*, both printed in Italian in 1543 at Venice. Following the pattern employed in the previous chapter, each entry is accompanied by a brief explanatory paragraph. However, it is evident that Thomas’s interest lies in using the historical data in order to challenge the legitimacy of the papacy, and not simply to provide a reference manual for the English student. As my analysis of *The Pilgrim* will

demonstrate, much of Thomas's argument against the Catholic Church hinges on the authority of the Pope and the legitimacy of his historical claim to being Peter's successor.

The argument that Thomas presents in the *Historie* reflects the dominant Lutheran position that most reformers endorsed and, in one form or another, incorporated into their writing. Whereas in *The Pilgrim* Thomas devotes the better part of the dialogue to this pressing question, here he limits himself to a number of essential points. In concert with "some auncient authors" (L1v), he first explains that Peter, having converted the Church in Asia, came to Rome in the second year of Claudius's empire, where he apparently remained to consolidate the gospel of Christ for twenty-five years. He then relates that in the last year of Nero's reign, thirty-seven years after the crucifixion of Christ, that is, the year 70 AD, both Peter and Paul were executed. Having established these two factual parameters, he proceeds to undermine the tenability of the timeline following the example of Ulrich Velenus, Martin Luther and a host of other writers, whom he characterizes as the "learned men of these daies" (L2r).<sup>25</sup> They all argue that, if Peter had ministered in Rome during these years, then either Luke in the Acts, or Paul in the Epistles would certainly have recorded the fact. Instead, there is no record of Peter in these histories. It is interesting that Valla's repudiation of the Donation, with which Thomas was certainly familiar, also focuses on the failure to substantiate the claims of the Church Fathers with material documentation.<sup>26</sup> Thomas then examines the chronology more closely in order to validate Luther's contention:

If Peter were of that age, that it should seme he was at Christes death, and after continued in Antioche and other places so manie yeres, as is to be proved, it seemeth impossible he should come to Rome, and there live 25 yeres. (L2r)

Having questioned the origin itself, Thomas presses on with yet another reference to the Donation of Constantine. Again substantiating Valla's conclusion, he first writes:

And there is an auncient wrytyng in the Vaticane librarie, called the Donacion of Constantine, which is so vehement liberall, that it should seeme the emperour spoyled him selfe of all his glorie and honour, and of a great part of his dominion, to geve them to the church of Rome: by authoritie wherof the Romaine bishops have taken upon them the imperiall vestementes, maiestee, commaundementes and dominion over some countreys. (L3r)

He then provides the following endorsement of Valla's philological enquiry:

In deede Laurentius Valla, an excellent learned man, and a Romaine borne, hath written a boke to confound this *Donation of Constantine*, and proveth by many reasons, that it hath been feigned by some byshop of later tyme than Silvester. (L3r)

The section ends with a six-page summary of the chronology-- a sort of ready-reference index which is presented as follows:<sup>27</sup>

Anno do.	Numbre of by[shop]	Names	Yeres	Monethes
33	1	Petrus	25	7
1535	232	Paulus 3	14	--

The final section of the *Historie* provides the reader with a review of the principal Italian cities: namely; Venice, Naples, Florence, Genoa, Myllaine, Ferrara, Placentia, Parma and Urbino. In these instances Thomas was able to identify the defining text of his day and in many instances simply translated or paraphrased whole portions of the respective texts.<sup>28</sup> For example, in the chapter on Naples he uses Pandolfo Collenuccio's *Compendio delle historie del regno di Napoli* and for Florence he himself tells us in the *Historie* of his utter reliance on Machiavelli's *Istorie fiorentine*:



Conferryng the discourse of divers authours togethers toucheyng the Florentine histories, and findyng the effectes of them all gathered in one by Nicolas Macchiavegli, a notable learned man, and secretarie of late daies to the common wealthe there: I determined to take hym for myne onely auctor in that behalfe. (DO1r)

These studies differ substantially from Thomas's earlier treatment of Rome, in that they deal more specifically with the practical socio-political dynamic of the respective cities. Laven goes so far as to declare that in this part of the *Historie* Thomas presents nothing short of the first institutional history of Italian cities which includes an extensive review of their laws and institutions.<sup>29</sup> The chapter headings for Venice illustrate this point:

Of the Marvailous Site; Of Buildings; Of Reveniewe; Of Dignitee and Office; Of the Great Counsayle; Of the Charitable Deeds; Of Customes in Theyr Lyvyng; Of the Libertee of Straungers; and, An Abbridgement of the Venetian Histories from the Edification of the Citee unto this Day.

Not surprisingly, most of his attention is devoted to Venice, where Thomas seems to have prospered after an inauspicious beginning. In *The Pilgrim*, Thomas also singles out Venice's particular status in Italy. Shortly after finishing his defence of Henry VIII, one of the Italian gentlemen present compliments him on his spirited and successful refutation of the charges, and then cautions him stating, "I wolde not be in yor coate for an other crowne" (60r). Thomas responds phlegmatically, acknowledging--as he had done in the opening exchanges of the dialogue--that he is well aware of the risks associated with his defence, but states confidently "neverthelesse I woll keepe me as well out of his daungier as I may ffor I woll straight to Venice wheare I trust to be free" (60v). In *The Historie*, Thomas addresses this theme in "The Libertee of Straungers" where he writes admiringly of Venetian pluralism and tolerance:

All men, especially strangers, have so much libertee there. [H]e that dwelleth in Venice, maie reckon him selfe exempt from subiection. For no man there marketh an others dooynges, or meddleth with another mans livyng. If thou be a papist, [...] a godspeller, [...] a Jewe, a Turke, or beleevest in the divell [...] thou arte free from all controllement. (Z1r)

As the preceding discussion of *The Historie of Italy* demonstrates, it remains one of the principal records of Italy from the English Renaissance. It successfully advanced the work of its predecessors and served as a paragon for a literary genre which was to capture the imagination of subsequent generations. Regardless of Thomas's penchant for plagiarism, his foresight and bibliographic adroitness must be recognized and applauded. J.L. Lievsay writes in *The Englishman's Italian Books 1550-1700* that Thomas "provided the initial formal impulse to that interest in and study of Italian language and literature which was to characterize Englishmen, increasingly, for the next century or more" (6). Parks concludes his abridgement stating that "the description of Italy was modest and truthful, and his book is still the first to read for those who wish to study the long history of English attraction to Italy" (xxviii). It seems, thirty years on, that these conclusions are both still valid assessments of Thomas's historical work.

### ***The Principal Rules***

In *A History of Italian And English Bilingual Dictionaries*, Desmond O'Connor indicates that before the 19th century, all such vocabularies, with one exception, were compiled in England by lexicographers of Italian extraction (9).<sup>30</sup> The exception, and for that matter the forerunner, was the one compiled in 1546-1548 by William Thomas. Indeed, the *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar With a Dictionarie for the Better*

*Understandyng of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante*, published in 1550 by Thomas Berthelet, not only anticipated the work of the industrious Anglo-Italian lexicographers led by John Florio, but also the work of other European lexicographers including Cristóbal de Las Casas in Spain (1559), J.A. Fenice in France (1584) and Levinus Hulsius in Germany (1605).

In *Avventure linguistiche del Cinquecento*, T.G. Griffiths prefaces his discussion of “la prima grammatica e il primo dizionario italiano ad uso degli inglesi” with the disclaimer that Thomas’s lexicographic accomplishment has been long overshadowed by scholars drawn to his “attività politica, la sua conoscenza del Machiavelli, dai suoi scritti sulla storia italiana e dalla sua carriera come segretario del Privy Council”.<sup>31</sup> In his 1966 essay, Sergio Rossi proposed the first “visione globale dell’attività del Thomas scrittore” (281), and he characterized the grammar as “il primo lavoro completo per la diffusione della lingua italiana in Inghilterra” (284).

Thomas’s work on grammar was one of synthesis; indeed Mario Praz concludes that it amounts to a “compilazione di manuali italiani seguita da un dizionario per la lettura dei nostri classici”.<sup>32</sup> It was therefore not the product of Thomas’s genius or fascination with lexicography, but rather a humble first attempt to endear himself to a fellow English Italophile whose political and social place in England might, upon Thomas’s return, prove valuable. In fact, the idea itself for the grammar was not Thomas’s. In “The Occassion”--the preface to the grammar--Thomas explains his motivation:

After that William Thomas had been about three yeres in Italie, it happened John Tamworth gentleman to arrive there, who beeyng desirouse to learne the tongue, intreated the saied William Thomas, to draw him out

in Englishe some of the principall rules, that might leade him to the true knowlage therof: and further to translate the woordes, that Acharisius and Pietro Alumno had collected oute of certeine the best auctours in that tongue.

The grammar consists of 63 unnumbered pages divided into the following sections: Articles, 6.5; Nouns, 9 pages; Pronoun, 9 pages; Verbs, 29 pages; Adverbs, 6 pages; Conjunctions, 1.5 pages; Prepositions and Interjections, 2 pages, and is followed by a dictionary of 291 unnumbered pages with an average of 30 Italian headwords per page for a total of nearly 9,000 words.

While principally employing Acarisio's *Vocabolario*, Thomas also made use of Acarisio's 1536 edition of *La grammatica volgare*, most notably for the format:<sup>33</sup> De gli articoli, Ne nomi, Pronomi, De verbi, De gerondi, De participi, De gl'impersonali, De gli avverbi locali, Gli accenti, De le voci simili alle latine, Orthografia.

In spite of Thomas's reliance on the Italian source material it is important to point out, as previous commentators have, that Thomas's work was in many respects a more substantial and useful pedagogical tool than were the unwieldy Italian texts. With reference to Acarisio's grammar, Rossi notes:

[S]i sa è una spositione delle *Prose* del Bembo in brevità ridotte e lo scopo principale dell'autore fu quello di trattare questa materia con ordine e sistematicità; purtroppo egli non sempre riuscì [...] inoltre egli tralasciò alcune regole indicate dal Bembo mentre il Thomas le include nella sua opera dando prova di aver esaminato anche la fonte della sua stessa fonte. (284)

Similarly, Griffith observes the following with respect to Thomas's methodology: "la grammatica del Thomas dimostra chiarezza, metodicità e una qualche dipendenza nell'uso che vien fatto dell'Acarisio" (71). Considering that the dictionary was prepared

by Thomas for Tamworth, and indirectly, for any Englishman inclined toward the Italian language, it is not surprising that it was both accessible and manageable. It was after all, the first substantial project of its kind.<sup>34</sup> Accordingly, Thomas made necessary digressions in order to clarify certain points of grammar where appropriate. In certain instances, as Rossi notes--for example where Bembo fails to formulate “in maniera categorica, ma lascia intuire attraverso molti esempi” (285)--Thomas introduces his own grammatical note. In order to illustrate the difference between *di* and *de* he writes: “So that the difference between *di*, and *de* is none other, but that *di*, is used without the article: as *di me* and not *del me*. And *de*, is used with the article: as *del campo*, and not *di campo*” (A2r).

These improvements are enhanced by Thomas who provides more examples which illustrate the rules introduced by Acarisio. This is also true of the dictionary, where Thomas generally favours two English equivalents for the Italian headwords. It is noteworthy that the author occasionally anticipates the potential confusion over individual words and explains distinctions. When discussing nouns that end in -o- that may form their plural in either -i- or -a-, Thomas lists nineteen examples, whereas Acarisio includes only five. It is also interesting that almost all of Thomas's entries in this section refer to commonplace words which would be indispensable to students and travelers; for example, *sacco*, *filo*, *vestimento*, *coltello* and *lenzuolo*. Yet another purely practical consideration is Thomas's decision to differentiate graphically between the two languages by marking the English words with a darker, thicker ink.

O'Connor claims that the dictionary “demonstrates an almost complete dependence on the work of Alunno and Acarisio” (12). Thomas's strategy was to use

Alunno's more substantial wordlist as a master, expanding it where necessary with reference to Acarisio's. To illustrate this argument, O'Connor examines the entries for the letter *L*. Of Thomas's 303 words, 151 are drawn from Alunno, 70 from Acarisio and 82 appeared in both lists. Thomas also adopted Alunno's alphabetical sub-headings: "*A innanzi B*", "*A innanzi C*" etc. Again here Thomas manages to contribute a personal touch which renders the dictionary more useful. In addition to providing two English equivalents for Italian headwords, he also tries, where possible, to match a purely Italian concept with an approximate English one. For instance (and note well the precision), *Bagattino* is described as "a certain piece of money of so small value, that xxiiii amount not to an Englishe penie" (D3r). Here too, the more detailed entries deal with practical consideration such as currency, weights, measures and foodstuffs. Furthermore, in an attempt to minimize confusion, Thomas accompanies, with an explanatory note, a number of Italian headwords, whose meaning varies according to where in the position in the word the stress falls. *Balia* is qualified thusly: "by pronouncyng the *i* long, signifieth power or lordship, and makyng the *-i-* shorte, signifieth a nurses" (D3v). He was equally prudent in highlighting Italian words whose multiple meanings were denigratory or insulting. *Becco* is described as "the point or beeke, and it signifieth also a goate, and many tymes it is taken for a cuckolde, that knoweth him selfe and will not" (D4v).

As was previously mentioned, Thomas's dictionary also included several Italian proverbs. Rossi alone points to the significance of these inclusions. Indeed, he credits Thomas with laying the foundation for what was to be one of the most enduring language-learning strategies--rote learning of proverbs and phrases: "questo dei proverbi sarà una

pratica che si svilupperà largamente fra i lessicografi stranieri residenti a Londra nell'età elisabettiana al punto di orientare l'insegnamento delle lingue moderne" (293).

Thomas wished to use the dictionary to communicate to the English the importance of the Italian language in the Renaissance world. His firsthand appreciation of the thriving literary, philosophical and political tradition in the peninsula moved him to suggest in the dedicatory letter to Tamworth that Italian was fast becoming a language on a par with classical Greek and Latin and that the Englishman would be wise to consider the consequences of such a development seriously:

And as experience sheweth, how much those twoo have flourished, remaignyng yet (as they dooe) in great estimacion: so seemeth this nowe to growe as a thirde towards them. For besides the auctours of this tyme (whereof there bee manie woorthie) you shall finde no parte of the sciences, no parte of any woorthie historie, no parte of eloquence, nor any parte of fine poesie, that ye have not in the Italian tongue. So that if the Italians folowe other tenne yeres the diligence, surelie their tongue will be as plentifull as anie of the other. (preface)

Thomas's insight, and his determination to champion national vernacular languages and encourage their instruction were the fruit of his close reading of Bembo--the greatest exponent of this view in Italy. In the introduction to his translation of Sacrobosco's "De sphaera", Thomas writes that the absence of 'good auctours' in the English language is due largely to the insistence in school curriculum on Latin and Greek much to the detriment of the English. He subsequently entreats that schoolmasters begin to "teache his scholer tunderstande well his owne tonge, and than divert him unto the maner of speache, and consequentlie unto the other liberall artes or sciences" (A1v). In his characteristically progressive attitude, he concludes that "if our nation desier to triumph in civile knowledge, as other nations do, the meane must be that eche man first covett to flourishe

in his owne naturall tongue: without which he shal have much ado to be excellent in any other tongue” (A1r). In this respect Thomas was the first Englishman to advocate a pedagogical and institutional commitment to the English language--an honour that has been attributed to Richard Mulcaster who, in *The Epistle of The First Part of the Elementarie which entreateth chefelie of the right writing of our Englishe Tung* of 1582 , wrote as follows:

I did promis an Elementarie, that is the hole matter, which children are to learn, and the hole matter how masters ar to teach (iii) [...] Further I do not take it to be anie disparagement to your honorable conceit to seme to favour so mean a thing, as an orthographie is, considering verie great states and princes to, in the places, where thei lived, did not think meanlie of it, but were dealers therein and writers themselves, as M. Masala the grave counsellor, M. Cicero the great orator, C. Caeser the famous conqueror, who dealt this waie in the Latin tung, and thereby did win, both credit to themselves, and countenance to their country.

But Adair unearthed and analysed Thomas’s translation of Sacrobosco, and now the credit must go to Thomas.

### ***Vanitee of this World***

*Vanitee of this World* is a curious tract that some commentators reluctantly include in the corpus of Thomas’s work. In the bibliography of Parks’ abridged *History of Italy* he states:

this sermon on eschewing the pleasures of this world in order to follow Christ is entered in the Short-title Catalogue under William Thomas. It is dedicated to Lady Anne Herbert of Wilton, whose father may have been a patron; but nothing in the content relates the work in any way to the William Thomas we know. (136)



Rossi's discussion of the *Vanitee* is couched similarly in questionable language: "si potrebbe accettare come opera del Thomas un controverso trattatello di morale stampato dal Berthelet nel 1549" (312).

In this section of the thesis I intend first to address the issue of the question of authorship, and then briefly to summarize the text itself. My research suggests that a close reading of the *Vanitee*, a familiarity with Thomas's work in general, and a measure of common sense prove that the work was unquestionably authored by Thomas.

The first matter deals with the date of publication--1549--and with the publisher Thomas Berthelet. Among the commentators there is a consensus on both of the issues. Now, it would be surprising, if not curious, that in the same year that Berthelet published William Thomas's *Historie of Italie* and in the following, his *Principal Rules*, that neither the publishers nor Thomas saw fit to note the fact that an individual sharing William Thomas's name was penning and publishing devotional tracts. This is particularly problematic considering the small number of legitimate publishing houses in the 16th century, and also the fact that relatively few books were being published. The absence of such a notice in the frontispiece or elsewhere in the bibliography suggests that Berthelet, the King's publisher, published the work of only one William Thomas.

Rossi's essay draws attention to the ubiquitous presence in Thomas's work of the "*concetto nazionalista*". He notes that a thorough understanding of Thomas's work can in fact be culled from a close reading of the prefaces and dedicatory letters:

Se però vogliamo ricostruire un pensiero che qualifichi il Thomas dobbiamo rivolgere alle lettere dedicatorie ed alle introduzioni che precedono i suoi lavori. Al di là delle frasi convenzionali e laudatorie, si può riconoscere una preoccupazione costante: quella del convinto nazionalista che già anticipa le esaltazioni dell'Inghilterra. (283)

This said, why is Rossi so reluctant to include this patently nationalistic passage, drawn from the preface to the *Vanitee*, as a further example of this *preoccupazione costante*. Here the author describes himself as: “Beyng persuaded, that at this present the lyght of the trouthe dooeth more flourishe here amongst us in Englande, than elsewhere throughout the whole world” (A2r). Again, my analysis indicates that this preface in particular, and that which accompanies Thomas’s translation of Barbaro’s *Viaggi*, are the best examples of Rossi’s important observation.

The final point to be made regarding the question of authorship focuses on certain compelling internal questions raised in the sermon. The first concerns the general sense of humility that marks this work. In the preface, the author claims to have published this “little woorke scraped out of the dust not thynkyng therby to obtaine redresse of al men, but in hope that some vertuous myndes beholdyng here as in a glasse, the spottes of theyr hertes towardes charitee and contempt of these worldly vanitees” (A2v). Now, while this deferential disposition represents a conventional dedicatory strategy of Renaissance writing, it appears that this passage is strikingly similar to those that accompany his other projects. In the preface to his translation of Barbaro, he refers to this “litell booke [...] this poore newe yeres gift” (2r), and in the translation of Sacrobosco’s *De sphaera* he includes the following caveat in the dedication “beseaching therfore your grace to regarde more the goode will of him that sendeth it you then the worth of so small a present” (A2r). This phrase is followed later by another reference to “this litle booke”. It is possible that both the language and the self-effacing posturing of these passages is coincidental. However, having read the various works closely, I disincline from this position, and conclude

instead that this is a literary flourish of William Thomas and should be recognized as such. Further, there is also a vein of contrition that runs through the sermon. In fact, given Thomas's checkered past, the treatise seems something of a penance--an autobiographical reflection--in which the author numbers himself among the men, so mired in "negligence that almost deserveth not to be warned any more of his folie" (A2v), to whom it is directed.

In the *Vanitee*, where Thomas discusses the difference between a lawful lord and a tyrant ("What a lawful lorde is"), he sounds a more practical and expedient note. As shall be discussed later with regard to the *85 Commonplaces of State* and essays prepared for King Edward, Thomas was greatly influenced in his political orientation by the work of Machiavelli. The question of tyranny is broached with allusion to Plato who indicates that "he that governeth accordyng to the lawes, is trulie a kyng and a lawfull lorde. And he that departeth from them (as the same Plato affirmeth) is a tyranne" (B7v). This quotation is supported with a reference to Moses who claims that the king "ought to be with the law, and to reade in it all the daies of his life: to the ende that he learne how to fear his lord God, how to keepe the woordes of his law, and the constitution of the same, and how to put it into execution" (B8r). The tyrant, on the other hand, is described with recourse to a simple refrain: "He that maketh his wil a law, and for hymselfe woorketh al/ A tyranne and not a prince you maie hym cal" (B8r). It is also interesting that, as in *The Historie* with regard to Italian women, Thomas chooses to make his point in verse form.

In *The Pilgrim* he describes the tyrant in much the same manner:

The principall toaken of a tyraunt is the immoderate satisfaction of an onlaufull appetite when either by right or wronge hath power to achieve his sensuall will: and that the person also who by force draweth unto him

by force that which of right is not his in the onlaufull usurping comitteth  
 expresse tyrannie. (7v)

The parallel treatment in these texts is repeated with reference to philosophy and philosophers. In *The Pilgrim*, Thomas refers to philosophers as “beastly,” and characterizes them as pedantic fence-sitters who, while tirelessly searching for understanding, remain “ever enclinable unto either parte indifferentlie” (22r). He places constancy, faith and attention to Scripture ahead of scholarship. Speaking of More and Rochester, he first admits their learning and then suggests the following: “But in veray dede their learneng was much more grounded on the Tomistical, Aristotelicall and Scotisticall philossophie, then in the Gospell of Christ” (23r).

In the *Vanitee*, Thomas’s conclusions on this matter are reminiscent of the view expressed above:

Finally amongst the philosophers there have been divers opinions, wherin shoulde consist the ende of all goodnesse. And they all togethers wantyng the lyght of the trouth, went about to finde this goodnesse in the bodies of the worlde. But seeyng the worlde is compounded and corruptible, sufferyng mutacion and alteracion, it is impossible to fynd any stedfastnesse in it. And therefore those wisemen of the world with theyr doctrines, have remained wrapped in a labyrinthe of ignoraunce: nor there hath been seen amongst them any lyght of the trouth, savyng onely in the doctrine of Plato, who denieth it shoulde be possible for men to be happie before theyr myndes (separated from these earthly bodies) be retourned unto theyr propre nature. (C4v)

Later, in the sermon, Thomas speaks of a Prince’s responsibility in much the same way as he characterizes Henry’s responsibilities in *The Pilgrim*:

The prince is gods minister unto men for their wealth, and is a minister to avenge with wrath the ill workes of the wicked: by reason wherof he ought not to have regard unto his owne interest, but to the wealth and benefite of them that are committed to his charge. [...] He must kepe them from the

assault and violence of straungers [...] And wheather it be in peace or in warre, openly or privilie, speakyng or doying, alwaies it shalbe necessarie for hym to folowe the lawes, and not to departe from them, but to be an executour of them. (B6r)

While discussing Henry's course of action regarding the legality of his marriage to Katherine in *The Pilgrim*, Thomas tells of Henry's determination to pursue the matter with strict adherence to the law and in the interest of his people:

Not trusting yet altogether unto the divine inspiration of the spirite howe well diverse of his prudent and learned counsaillors had persuaded him plainlie that the matter could not stande well, he neverthesse sent first unto Rome to Clement the seventh for the resolution of his iudgement. (13r)

And as for the "violence of stranngers", Thomas reminds the reader of Henry's remarkable achievements, particularly on the military front:

howe well that at oon self tyme he hath had oopen warre on three sides, that is to saye with Ffraunce, Scotlande and Ireland insomuch that being in person with his person with his armie in Ffraunce he hath had blouddie battle stryken in the borders betwene him and the Scottes of seventie or eightie thousande men whereof his perpetuall good fortune graunted him most famouse victorie. (63r)

The first section ends with a stinging commentary on the accumulation of wealth and ambition. Thomas lists the many ways in which men, perverted by a longing for material well-being, pursue their ends. He punctuates the list with reference to gambling and gaming which, as we recall, were the bane of his own earlier days: "And finally noubres there be, that bestow theyr labour in most vile and dishonest exercises, onely to thentent to become riche" (B4r).<sup>35</sup> Quoting Ecclesiastes 10, he asserts that there is

“nothyng more mischivous than a covetous man [...] there is nothyng more wicked than the love of money for who loveth it, selleth his owne soule” (B2r).

It is fairly obvious from the number of observations above that although the work itself is of little consequence a strong case exists for including *Vanitee of this World* in the corpus of Thomas’s work. Rossi declares that it possessed no particular merit and Adair writes economically that it is a “vigorously written sermon adorned with numerous classical and biblical quotations” (Rossi, 296; Adair,139).

The essence of this devotional sermon is expressed in the first chapter entitled “The Folie of Man”:

Consideryng how we are created of two partes, that is to wete, of soule and of bodie, the one wheerof is most noble, and the other most vile: thone celestiall and thother terrestiall: the one eternall, and the other mortall. Ought it not to be called an expresse folie, that we universally gevyng our selves to the satisfaction and pleasure of this vile earthly and mortall part...  
(A1r)

Thomas’s purpose in the work was to explore and assess these passions with an eye to establishing the “spiritual” as the sole avenue to prosperity and peace: “wherefore examyng them by one and one, I determine nowe to see whether there be any thyng in any of them, that shoulde cause us therupon so muche to fire our desyres” (A2r). In the first part of the book, Thomas discusses the myriad pitfalls that contrive to pervert the soul with allusion to biblical, classical and Scriptural references and the philosophical insight of Plato. Moving from the sins of the flesh through the seven deadly sins, he provides examples of historical figures who have triumphed because of their faith and how those who have compromised themselves through sin have invariably failed. The best illustration of this approach can be found in the section on lechery, where Thomas invokes

the authority of Epicurus, Plato and Sophocles to countenance his position. They describe lechery as “a fierce a cruell tyraune” so capable of thoroughly undermining man “that it so doeth ravishe him, that skarcely may he attend to any other thyng” (A5r). Later in the same chapter Thomas illustrates the pernicious effects of depravity citing Semiramis who, so utterly consumed by this sin, coupled with her own son. This flair for the dramatic and torrid description is a feature of the first part of the sermon. Having catalogued the “unnaturall uses” of Caligula, Tiberius, Nero and Heliogabalus he proceeds to remind the reader of the dramatic and summary ways with which God has justiced those given to the pursuit of the flesh (A5v). With recourse to Scripture and popular historical anecdote, he cites the “general flood”, the five cities consumed by “celestial fire”, the rape of Dinah daughter of Jacob, and the annihilation of the tribe of Benjamin for the “violence dooen to his wife” (A6r). Of interest to our summary is Thomas’s last rhetorical observation in this section: “and of late daies for their disordinate life in this vice, were not all the frenchmen in Sicile slaine at the ringyng of the evensonge bell?” where he adds the following by way of conclusion: “wherof yet remaineth the proverbe of the sicilian evensonge” (A6v). This last point (as mentioned in the previous section) evinces the author’s knowledge of Italian language and popular history and is consistent with a strategy of including proverbs invoked by Thomas in the *Historie* and the grammar.

In the final section, “The Greatest Goodnesse”, Thomas affirms that there is no other end than “God onely” (C5v). Only through God can man realize the spirit with which he is blessed. He admonishes all to abandon the vanity of the body and

liftyng our eies unto heaven, and our mindes above heaven: and confessyng our passed errorrs, the vanitees of our present lyfe, and the waies of the worlde, despisyng also the worldly doctrines: let us now beginne with an

hote desyre to saie with the prophete, ‘Who shal geve me the feathers of a dove/ That I maie flee to rest me there above. (sig. C6v)

The chapters that follow: “Christ is the Waie, the Veritee and the Life”; “Christ Uniteth Man unto God”; and, “The Life of Christe in the Worlde”, simply illustrate Christ’s example of humility, steadfastness, purity, kindness and faith in God—qualities that Thomas encourages in his peers. In the chapter entitled “The Knowlage of God,” he speaks to the importance of grace and faith in transforming contrition, through Christ, into salvation. Here Thomas introduces the Protestant ethics centred on the righteousness of trial and work: “For we must kepe the waie of lyfe, mainteinyng our faieth lively with good workes” and later, invoking the notion of the justification of faith, the central tenet of Protestantism, he writes “For (as Paule saieth) not they that heare the law, but thei that fulfill the law shall be iustified before God: dooyng us to understande, that though we have our iustification of faieth: yet in maner it suffiseth us not without workes” (D2v).

The tract ends with a brief chapter, “The Conclusion of our Dooynges, What They Ought to Be”, that concisely summarizes the essence of Thomas’s message:

Now havynge founde, what the true felicitie of man is, and what is the meane and waie to brynge hym thereunto, shakynge of all these shorte worldely pleasures, the fraile corporall prosperitees, the corruptible riches, the ambiciouse and inconstant honours, the great and perillouse lordshippes, and the transitorie smoke of mortall fame; lette us dispose our selves with all our hertes and with all our myndes unto this most holy love, that Christ calleth us unto. (D7v)

It is followed by a plea for clement, thoughtful living, which reads: “beare pacientlie all iniuries, forgevyng them that offende us, and praiyng for our enemies” (D7v). Interestingly, this is precisely the sort of humane reception that Thomas would have wanted upon his return from exile in Italy.



### ***The Political Writings***

The “85 Commonplaces of State and the Disquisitions of the Affairs of State” are at once a testament to Thomas’s ideological and political orientation and an indication of his wholesale philosophical and political dependence on the nascent political thought of Italian thinkers, particularly as embodied by Machiavelli. It is a list wherein Thomas gathers eighty-five questions of political import for young King Edward’s perusal and study. Consistent with the pattern which has emerged from this discussion of his works, these manuscripts evince Thomas’s gift for recognizing appropriate texts from within a given tradition and also illustrate the fashion in which he appropriates such documents for his own personal advancement. In this respect, *The Commonplaces* are perhaps the best example of his predilection for synthesizing published materials in a foreign language largely unfamiliar to his peers. Of the eighty-five questions included in *The Commonplaces*, Laven has shown that all but five can be traced directly to either the *Prince* or the *Discourses*.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore only one of these, “What discommoditie it is to a Prince to lack armour”, seems to have no recognizable connection with the works cited above by Machiavelli.<sup>37</sup> Many of the questions are direct translations of individual chapter headings in the *Prince*:

*Prince XXI: Come si debbe governar un principe per acquistarsi riputatione.*

*Question 31: How a prince ought to governe himselfe to attaine reputacion;*

*Prince XVI: Delle Liberalità e Miserie.*

*Question 33: What is Liberalitie and Miserie.*

Others are transcribed almost verbatim from the *Discourses*:

III, ix, Come conviene variare coi tempi volendo sempre haver buona fortuna.

Question 38: Whether it be not necessarie for him that woll have contynuall good fortune, to varie with tyme.

I, xlii, Quelli che combattono per la gloria propria sono buoni e fedeli soldati.

Question 45: Whether they that fight for their own glory are good and faithful soldiers.

The questions of philosophical and political consequence are accompanied in the catalogue by matters of practical military concern: “Se le fortezze e molte altre cose che spesse volte i principi fanno, sono utili o dannose”, Question 78 echoes this: “Whether fortresses are not many times more noisome than profitable”.<sup>38</sup>

Although the young King commissioned Thomas to discuss only three of these questions, it is clear that the purpose in writing this work was to stimulate Edward’s interest in a cross section of political, ethical and practical questions of state.<sup>39</sup> That Edward had developed so intimate a friendship with Thomas as to encourage his project remains something of an anomaly that has confounded most Tudor historians.<sup>40</sup> However, all agree that there was between the two a good deal of affection, mutual admiration and confidence. In fact, Adair remarks that the King seemed, “in his reasoning, to have favoured Thomas’s advice over that of his privy council” (143). Now, while there are those who question so dramatic a conclusion, the documentation reveals that the King personally requested, in secret correspondence with his mentor, Thomas, that the latter expand on a number of these questions.

Three of *The Commonplaces* figure among the titles included in *The Disquisitions of State* along with two letters on coinage and one on foreign policy. These brief

expositions confirm Thomas's familiarity with and dependence on Machiavelli. Indeed, the likeness between Thomas's essays and selected passages from the respective chapters in Machiavelli's works confirms that Thomas's intention was to fashion a political primer for the King drawing unabashedly on the argument and historical example of the Italian thinker. Peter Donaldson remarks in this respect that "Thomas made Machiavelli the basis for his secret advice to Edward VI".<sup>41</sup> In *The Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Strype indicates that the King was particularly keen and impressed by Thomas and his expertise:

Among those he made great use of William Thomas, Esq.[...] excellently qualified to instruct the King in these and such like political matters, by his travels abroad, and his thorough acquaintance with the Roman and other histories, joined with an accurate skill of dexterity in drawing proper and useful inferences and conclusions from former accidents and transactions. Thus Thomas drew up proper questions of state polity, devised for the exercise of the young king's contemplations entitled *Common places of State*.<sup>42</sup>

Striking an ambiguous note, Thomas communicates as much to the King when, in one of his letters, he writes the following outlining his methodological approach:

And when so ever there shall appeare any difficultie that yo[u]r ma[ies]tie wolde have discussed, if it shall stande w[i]th yo[u]r pleas[u]re I shall most gladly write the circumstance of the best discourses that I can gather tooching that parte, and accordingly present it unto your highnes. (Strype, vol II, i. 156)

And finally, in the opening words of the first letter on the reform of the coin, Thomas communicates his earnest writing in response to the King's request:

Upon fridaie last, Mr Throgmorton declared yo[u]r Ma[ies]ties pleas[u]re unto me, and delivered me w[i]thall the notes of certein discourses, which according to yo[u]r highnes commaundement I shall gladly applie; to send you one everie week if it be possible for me in so litle tyme to compasse it. (Strype, vol. II, i. 157)

The two references to discourses are ambiguous, and purposely so. In fact, Thomas was referring exclusively to the *Discourses* of Machiavelli, and not, as the statements imply, to a number of different authors and texts. In their respective discussions of *The Commonplaces* and *Disquisitions*, Rossi and Donaldson point out that while Thomas claimed to draw his inspiration from Machiavelli and “other divers authors”, this is pure artifice and his sole dependence on the latter, as we have seen with Alunno and Acarisio, was complete.<sup>43</sup>

Reviewing the material, Rossi concludes that there is obviously little literary value in either of the texts and considers the work rather ‘conventional’ (310).<sup>44</sup> All agree however, with Weissberg, that the importance of the *Commonplaces* and *Disquisitions* lies in the fact that they were among the first writings to appear in English on Machiavelli.<sup>45</sup> In this respect, Thomas seems again to have had the uncanny ability to discern the most progressive and practical political sources for his England. His contribution, in a larger sense, to English political philosophy, while obvious, remains to be fully charted.

### ***The Translations***

Thomas’s translations--Johannes Sacrobosco’s “*Libellus de Sphaera*”, Giosaphat Barbaro’s “*Viaggi Fatti alla Venetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India et in Constantinople*”, and “*An Argument, wherin the apparaile of women is both reproved and defended by Livy*”-- provide an interesting final glimpse at the industrious Thomas during the years 1551 to 1554.

Thomas was the first to translate into English in 1551 what Lynn Thorndike refers to as the “clearest, most elementary, and most used textbook in astronomy and

cosmography from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century” in 1550.<sup>46</sup> This fundamental medieval text had previously been translated into Hebrew, French, German, Spanish and Italian. Ever concerned with England’s cultural shortcomings, Thomas’s translation, entitled the *Booke of the Sphere*, dedicated to the young King Edward, presented a review of the cosmos by Ptolemy along with selected passages from *De Anni Ratione*--a second treatise on the calendar by the same Sacrobosco. That he reproduced a text incorporating both books suggests that Thomas used a continental edition for the translation, likely the 1538, 1543 or 1549 Wittenberg editions in Latin. Hankinson claims to have failed to identify exactly which edition he used but narrows it down to the editions cited above (288). This thesis is substantiated by Rossi who, while first noting that the work possessed no literary merit, states that the illustrations included in Thomas’s translation are those included in Melanchthon’s editions.<sup>47</sup> He adds, by way of conclusion, that it was altogether likely that Thomas was familiar with and sympathetic to Melanchthon’s religious and political convictions, and consequently would have found these editions irresistible.<sup>48</sup>

Regardless of the edition, it is the project itself that is of interest. In the introductory note, Thomas admonishes, in characteristic language, the failure of the English to keep pace with their continental counterparts in intellectual, philosophical and scientific disciplines and proposes his translation as a first step toward a scientific revival. In so doing he hoped to counter what he dubbed “a lacke that unto this houre hath beene the ennemye of al oure glorie” (A1v). In a translation that again betrayed its sources only through the negligence in a handful of instances of the scribe<sup>49</sup>, Thomas characteristically

chose to facilitate this initiation with a “litle alphabete”--a list of 150 words in all--wherein he defines a number of unfamiliar and technical words and concepts.<sup>50</sup>

The translation of Barbaro’s *Viaggi* entitled *Travels to Tana and Persia* is, as has been noted by Laven and Hankinson, a work of little practical consequence that is a direct translation of its source in the Cheke-Wilson-Hoby tradition (Hankinson, 284). Laven in fact states that “Thomas omits nothing” (282). Indeed, the only difference between the Italian and English texts is the inclusion of explanatory marginal glosses that once again evince Thomas’s preoccupation with language, and his concern to present his reader with a suitable key to the “new” material. As an intriguing travel history designed to appeal to a young man and a broader audience with a limited knowledge base, the translation is accessible and clear. It is curious, but not surprising then, that the Hakluyt Society, publishers of Thomas’s translation in the 19th century, favoured his idiosyncratic translation over that of the established translator at the British Museum, a certain Mr. Roy.<sup>51</sup> It is also certain that in preparing the text for King Edward, to whom it is dedicated, Thomas took care to moderate between the King’s knowledge and “this poore newe yeres gift”. In *King Edward VI*, Markham writes the following of Thomas’s contact with the King:

Master Thomas made a translation for him (Edward) of the travels of Josafa Barbaro who described Eastern Europe, Cairo, the journey to Tabriz, the state of Persia just before the accession of the Sufavi dynasty, and the trade of the Caspian, Central Asia and Cathay.[...] Master William Thomas, King Edward’s good friend and advisor, was not forgotten. Respect was shown to his memory by the reversal of the unjust sentence, and his restoration in blood. (157, 221)

Rossi commends Thomas on ushering in, with his translation, a type of narrative--travel histories and chronicles--that would enjoy a primary position among books published in subsequent centuries. He also remarks on its pleasing character describing it as “una versione fedele, senza digressioni, fatta in un modo dal quale risulta un testo scorrevole e ben leggibile” (307).

Thomas’s last translation, *An Argument, wherein the appaile of women is both reproved and defended*, has only recently surfaced at Harvard University.<sup>52</sup> To date the only essay on the book-- A.J. Carlson’s 1993, “Mundus Muliebris”-- indicates that it is likely autograph and is the only extant record of Thomas’s partial translation of Livy’s Fourth Decade of *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* (541). The translation recalls a lively debate between Consul Cato and Lucius Valerius in the Roman Senate c. 195 B.C. regarding the repeal of the *Lex Oppia*. Using a similar rhetorical strategy that we shall find in *The Pilgrim*, Thomas relates a heated exchange between a gentleman and a gentlewoman which he then mediates with recourse to a lengthy monologue. In this, Thomas reviews the historical and scriptural argument presented by the gentleman in order to apprise the company of the specific argument. He prefaces his remarks with the following: “For (under correction, quoth he) though ye have eloquently rehersed Cato’s tale, yet have you not tolde the occasion of the mattier, nor the end that it came to which if ye had done, shulde rather make against you than with you” (A3r).<sup>53</sup>

It would seem that Thomas’s main wish in presenting this discussion to his contemporaries was to reiterate the misgivings that he had previously expressed in the first position paper on currency reform. In order to safeguard the integrity of an ailing economy that threatened to compromise the political stability of Edward’s kingdom,

Thomas encouraged the English plutocracy to consider carefully the example of the Romans whose extravagant living undermined their ability to marshal sufficient resources to defend themselves adequately against Hannibal's armies. The significance of this work lies in the fact that it emphasizes Thomas's pragmatic political side while at the same time illustrating his profound humanist conviction that historical example--particularly the close study of the history of policy decisions of previous great republics or commonwealths--could serve to fortify modern ones during periods of similar distress. In keeping with this position, he urges his countrymen to return the old debased coins for the newly minted issue of 1551 arguing, with Cato, for a far-seeing patriotic approach to private life: "For as longe as we preserve the estate of our common wealthe: so longe we dooe mainteyne the suretie of oure owne private thynges" (556).

It is also noteworthy, in conclusion, that Thomas included a glossary of unfamiliar terms bearing the title "A Table of suche wordes as the reder smally skilled, shall not well perceive" (D3r) at the end of the work. The list includes twenty-six entries, alphabetically arranged, which pertain to Rome, Roman government and its history.

It is clear from this brief introduction to Thomas's works that he was both industrious and versatile. His interests in politics, religion, history, culture and pedagogy are readily apparent. And while almost all of his work is derivative, one should not ignore the vision and discriminating mind which enabled him to compose and compile a handful of important works which Englishmen and women were to consult, study and improve upon for centuries.

## **Endnotes**



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<sup>1</sup> Henry Machyn, *Diary*, ed. J.G. Nichols. London: Camden Soc. XLII, 1848, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> E.R. Adair, "William Thomas: Forgotten Clerk of the Privy Council", in R.W. Seton-Watson (ed.), *Tudor Studies*. London: Longman, 1924, 133-160; Sergio Rossi. "Un Italianista nel Cinquecento inglese", *Aevum* 40 (1966) 281-314. A.J. Carlson. "Mundus Muliebris The World of Women Reviled and Defended ca. 195 B.C. and 1551 A.D And Other Things..." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24/3(1993) 541-560; T.G. Griffith. *Avventure linguistiche del Cinquecento*. Firenze: Le Monnier, 1961. He has also been the subject by way of introduction for Desmond O'Connor's "Our William Thomas hath done prettilie", chapter 1 in *The History of the Italian -English Bilingual Dictionaries*. Firenze: Olschki, 1986. Three full unpublished studies also figure in this list: P.J. Laven, "The Life and Writings of William Thomas" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, London University, 1954). Margie M. Hankinson, "William Thomas: Italianate Englishman" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967) and Edward J. Baskerville, "The English Traveller to Italy 1547-1569" (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Columbia University, 1967)

<sup>3</sup> For a useful summary of the circumstances of the trial see Griffith (62-65) and Adair's conclusions (150-151). For a comprehensive historical discussion see either the Laven or Hankinson dissertations.

<sup>4</sup> Adair, 160.

<sup>5</sup> In the introduction to his M.A. thesis, Laven, whose work remains the most comprehensive, admits dejectedly that "in the chapter on the life of William Thomas I have simply gathered together all the facts I could find and introduced them chronologically; as far as possible". He further states that his point of departure was "obviously" E.R. Adair's 1924 essay "William Thomas Forgotten Clerk of the Privy Council". Margie Hankinson too states in the introduction to her Ph.D dissertation that "in the course of my research I was disappointed to find how little I could discover, at least in this country, of the significant events of Thomas's life" (iv). The importance of Laven's work is confirmed by the following admission included in her introduction "[I]t was only when I had, I thought, completed my research and written a large part of my book that I encountered the unpublished thesis done by P.J. Laven at the University of London in History. At three points--his examination of the Welsh genealogy of Lewis Dwnn, his dating of the composition of *Il pellegrino inglese*, and his examination of the Privy Council Register-- he made observations I was unable to make: and I have, with his permission, incorporated his convincing arguments on these three points into my own dissertation" (pp. iv-v).

<sup>6</sup> Laven and Hankinson provide thorough, albeit speculative, reconstructions in the opening chapters of their respective dissertations.

<sup>7</sup> Both Carlson and Peter Donaldson (*Machiavelli and the Mystery of State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992) have published recent papers where Thomas figures

prominently. Neither, however, has included any substantial information by way of biography. Carlson suggests that his discovery of the lost translation represents one more piece in the intriguing puzzle of William Thomas's career. However, its biographical use is nil and in private correspondence Carlson has informed me of his failure to recover any new details about Thomas's life in Italy.

<sup>8</sup> All biographical information has been collected from Adair, Laven and Hankinson.

<sup>9</sup> William Thomas, *The Pilgrim*, 2r. From this point I will indicate the folio number for the quotations from *The Pilgrim* in parenthesis in the text.

<sup>10</sup> For a full account of the grants, prebends and awards extended to Thomas see the list in Laven, 38-42.

<sup>11</sup> In *Two Tudor Conspiracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965, D.M. Loades points out that Sir Peter Carew, Sir James Croftes, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir William Pickering, William Winter, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir George Harper were all present at a meeting wherein an appropriate course of action was broached. Since Thomas was already well-known for his religious and national concerns it has been suggested, perhaps unfairly, that the idea to employ the services of John Fitzwilliams for the killing was solely his.

<sup>12</sup> Loades, 58.

<sup>13</sup> George B. Parks. *The History of Italy by William Thomas*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963, p. ix.

<sup>14</sup> A full review, discussion and bibliographic guide can be found in Kenneth R. Bartlett. *The English in Italy 1525-1558*. Centro Interuniversitario di Ricerche sul "Viaggio in Italia." Geneva: Slatkine, 1991. See also Jonathon Wolfson.

<sup>15</sup> Pynson's journal bears the title *This is the begynnyng, and contynuaunce of the Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Gulyforde, Knyght, and controller unto our late soverayne lorde kynge Henry the vii. And howe he went with his servaunts and company towards Iherusalem, 1511*. Torkington's similarly bears the title *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell: Being the Hitherto Unpublished Narrative of the Pilgymage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem, 1517*. Langton's is entitled *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton, 1522*. A sense of Boorde's comprehensive and ambitious work can be gathered from its full title *The fyrst booke of the Introduction of knowledge, the which bothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to know the usage and fashion of all maner of countreys. And for to know the moste parte of all maner of coynes of money, the whych is currant in every region. Made by Andrew Borde, of Physicke Doctor, 1547*.

<sup>16</sup> Kenneth Bartlett, 15.

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<sup>17</sup> Laven, Hankinson, Rossi and Adair all clearly illustrate Thomas's reliance on the source material in their respective studies. In what follows I will provide a sense of their findings.

<sup>18</sup> "Whereunto I answered, that after the description of cosmographie it did extende in compasse upon the poinct of twoo thousande Italian miles." *The Pilgrim*, 3r.

<sup>19</sup> "Ffor liek as your merchanntes do practise in Englande, so our merchantes do nowe trafficque abroad, and by travayle have attaigned such knowledge of civiltie, that I warrant you those stranniers that nowe repaire into Englande arr as well received and seen and as much made of as in any other region of all Europe". *The Pilgrim*, 4v. Note the similar style, argument and diction in these two passages.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas also includes a comment on the fact that Italian women, whether "courtisanes" or married, exceed all other women in the world both in manner and style. He then indicates that many of these bejewelled women reside "speciallie where churchemen doe reigne" and appear more like princesses than common women. Further comments on the lascivious sexual appetites and habits of the clergy are left until later in the text. This is the first in a series of critical asides contained in the text.

<sup>21</sup> Rossi's essay discusses and illustrates this thorough dependence on the sources. Laven, Hankinson and Baskerville each devote entire chapters to this question.

<sup>22</sup> In this section Thomas also takes the opportunity when possible to interject an element of partisan history. Under the entry for Claudius the fifth emperor he writes: "Claudius reigned xiii yeres and viii monethes, and was poysoned. Some write, that the seconde yere of Claudius reigne, Peter the apostle came to Rome, and there continued xxv yeres after. Which other some doe disallow, groundyng them upon Peters age, that reckenying the time it was impossible Peter should live so longe after Christes passion". *Historie of Italie*, C3r. As we shall see this practice is consistently employed throughout the work.

<sup>23</sup> Of the River of Tyber; Of the Bridges; Of the Walles; Of the Gates; Of the vii Hills; Of the Conduites of Water; Of the Thermes; Of the Naumachie; Of the Arches of Triumphe; Of Theatres; Of the Circles; Of the Porches; Of Temples; Of the Pyllers; Of the Obeliskes; Of Pyramides; Of Colosses and Images; Of the Hill of Testacchio; De Hippodromo; Of Graners and Arsenales; Of the Present Astate of Rome; Of St. Peters Church; Of the Bishops Palaice with Belvedere; Of Castel Sant'Angelo; and, Of Buildings in General.

<sup>24</sup> "Universally in all thinges do I finde oon singler and perfect rule, which is that the outwarde apparence is alwaies preferred before the inwarde existence, and that most commonly the thinges do all otherwise appeare to be then as they arr indeede". *The Pilgrim*, 10v-11r.

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<sup>25</sup> Luther presents his argument in the *Table Talk* ed. William Hazlitt. London: Bohn, 1857, chapter DLXVII, p. 244 “Of the Apostles and Disciples of Christ”: “The reason why the papistes boast more of St. Peter than of St. Paul is this: St. Paul had the sword, and St. Peter the keys, and they esteem more of the keys, to open the coffer, to filch and steal, and to fill their thievish purse, than of the sword. That Caiaphas, Pilate, and St. Peter came to Rome, and appeared before the emperor, is mere fable; the histories touching that point do not accord”. A discussion of the sources that may have informed Thomas in his writing of *The Pilgrim* follow in chapter 3 of this thesis.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas’s search for concrete proof of the matter recalls Valla’s argument as to the question of reliable evidence of Constantine’s donation: “Ma questa donazione di Costantino, così magnifica e inaudita, non si può provare con nessuna documentazione, né in oro né in argento né in bronzo né in marmo né infine in forma di libri, ma solo, se crediamo a questi, con una carta o pergamena”. Lorenzo Valla. *La falsa donazione di Costantino*, ed. O. Z. Pugliese. Milano: Rizzoli, 1994, p. 135.

<sup>27</sup> The first and last entries are included by way of example.

<sup>28</sup> For a full discussion of the source materials and examples of Thomas’s wholesale appropriation of these texts see Laven and Rossi (notes 23-25). Particularly comprehensive is the plagiarizing of Agostino Giustiniani’s *Castigatissimi Annali di Genoa*, of 1537. Rubenstein acknowledges this same fact in his “Machiavelli storico”, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 17 (1987) 730.

<sup>29</sup> This idea is more fully examined by Baskerville in the first chapter of his Columbia University unpublished dissertation “The English Traveller to Italy 1547-1560” entitled “William Thomas and the Reasons for Italian Travel” (153-219). In it, he acknowledges his debt to Laven for having first discussed the review of Venice in this way in his thesis

<sup>30</sup> See O’Connor “Our William Thomas hath done prettilie” chapter 1.

<sup>31</sup> Griffith, T.G. *Avventure linguistiche del Cinquecento*. Firenze: Le Monnier, 1961, p. 55.

<sup>32</sup> Mario Praz. *Machiavelli in Inghilterra*. Firenze: Sansoni Editori, 1962, p. 374.

<sup>33</sup> The full titles of the two works are: *Vocabolario, Grammatica et ortographia de la lingua volgare d’Alberto Acarisio da Cento, con ispositioni di molti luoghi di Dante, del Petrarca, et del Boccaccio* and *Le Ricchezze della lingua volgare di M. Francesco Alunno*. Both were published in Venice in 1543. Thomas was clearly inspired by the latter in choosing his title, *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar, with a Dictionarie for the better understandyng of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante*.

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<sup>34</sup> Of the *Principal Rules* Mario Praz writes: “a diffondere la conoscenza dell’italiano e delle maniere italiane in Inghilterra s’adoperò molto appunto Giovanni Florio, che divenne popolare come insegnante della nostra lingua a Oxford e a Londra. Delle lingue moderne l’italiano fu, in ordine di tempo, la seconda a dar luogo a una fioritura di manuali d’insegnamento; la prima era francese nel 1521. È del 1550, la grammatica di William Thomas, compilazione di manuali italiani seguita da un dizionario per la lettura dei nostri classici” (374).

<sup>35</sup> We must remember that Thomas’s flight to Italy was precipitated by his having stolen monies after a gambling loss.

<sup>36</sup> He singles out questions 6, 8, 61, 71 and 72.

<sup>37</sup> In his essay Rossi indicates that this too is taken from the *Discourses* I, xxi “quanto biasimo meriti quel principe e quella repubblica che manca d’armi proprie” (310).

<sup>38</sup> John Gough Nichol makes the interesting assertion in *Literary Remains of Edward VI*. New York: Franklin, 1963, that *The Commonplaces* are not different in character from those which formed the subjects of the King’s declamations (vol. 1, p. clxiii).

<sup>39</sup> In *The Medici in Florence*. Firenze: Olschki, 1992, Alison Brown argues that the use of Machiavelli’s *Prince* became, in the hands of Thomas and Gardiner, not evidence of the anti-Christ at work, but an attempt to glean practical advice (p. 345).

<sup>40</sup> In *King Edward VI*. London: Smith and Elder Co., 1907, Sir Clements R. Markham, writes that “Thomas was the most valuable as regards guidance in a king’s duties, and not the least faithful of Edward’s servants” (138). He adds that Thomas had also “undertaken to be Edward’s political instructor” (139).

<sup>41</sup> Donaldson, 41.

<sup>42</sup> John Strype. *The Ecclesiastical Memorials*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1822, Vol. II, i, p. 160.

<sup>43</sup> Donaldson in fact makes the point as follows: “This does not put the matter strongly enough. Most of them in fact are chapter headings from the *Discorsi* and all of them treat of matters discussed there or in the *Principe*” (41).

<sup>44</sup> This position is shared by W. K. Jordan who, in a study entitled *Edward VI: Threshold of Power* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970), includes a four-page discussion (415-419) of the king’s relationship with Thomas concluding that the *Discourses* were thin, conventional, and in structure little more than self-evident jottings from which helpful determinations of policy could scarcely be found. He further states that Thomas’s writing in general was plagued by conventional superficiality and a certain glibness of

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presentation. It seems, if this is true and it may well be, that this very fact accounted for the popularity of his essays with a twelve-year old boy.

<sup>45</sup> Adair, 155, indicates that, importantly, Thomas was the first Englishman to show in his writings some knowledge and appreciation of Machiavelli and his political philosophy.

<sup>46</sup> Lynn Thorndike. *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> “La versione è tuttora manoscritta e non si distingue per pregi letterari particolari”, Rossi, 308.

<sup>48</sup> In a note to his essay Rossi claims that it was likely the Wittenberg 1538 or Paris 1545 because they included a lengthy introduction by Melanchthon that “non poteva che essere un altro elemento di preferenza” (308).

<sup>49</sup> In a note appended to the manuscript Thomas writes “My good Lorde I coveted to have had this booke better written than it is, and for that purpose com[m]itted it to a Scrivener in London, who in steede of doing it himself hath made one of his boies copie it: and hath in divers places erred in the figures” (1v).

<sup>50</sup> “Ffor as much as this litle booke conteigneth a science that heretofore hath not been fullie written in our Englishe tongue, the utterance wherof requireth many termes [...] I therefore have made a small alphabete” (A2r).

<sup>51</sup> *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini translated from the Italian by W. Thomas Clerk of the Council to Edward VI*. Ed. Lord Stanley of Alderbury. Printed for the Hakluyt Society by Thomas Richards in London, 1873. The translation is described favourably as “quaint” (vi).

<sup>52</sup> The title was included in the A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*. 2d ed. revised and enlarged by W.A. Jackson and S. Ferguson, completed by K.R. Pantzer. London: Bibliographic Society, 1976-1991.

<sup>53</sup> The gentlewoman which hath caused this matter to be printed, happened a litle before Shroftetide, to be at a bidden feast in London, in companie of dyvers gentle men and gentlewomen: where emongest other talke, first of the basenesse of our coyne, and afterwarde of excesse of apparayle (which are the common talkes of these daies:) one of the companie beganne to make such adoee against women (A2r).

## Chapter 2

### ***The Pilgrim: Context, History and Editorial Tradition***

*The Pilgrim*, Thomas's most well known work,<sup>1</sup> has come down to us in five English manuscripts, two English editions and an edition in Italian entitled *Il pellegrino Inglese ne'l quale si difende l'innocente e sincera vita del pio e Religioso Re d'Inghilterra Henrico ottavo, buggiardamente caloniato da Clemente VII e da gl'altri adulatori della Sedia Antichristiana*, issued outside Italy presumably in 1552. The presence in the manuscript tradition of this Italian edition has to date been curiously ignored by historians and philologists alike. Whether discouraged by Sergio Rossi's contention that it was a work of little consequence with scant historical or literary merit, and that, on the whole, the Italian and English texts differed only slightly from one another<sup>2</sup> or, simply unaware of its existence, scholars have shed little light on this text described variously as a dialogue, diatribe, defence, apology and "un libello antipapale" (Rossi, 303).

Any analysis of *The Pilgrim* must first attempt to fit it within the taxonomy of established literary genres since, as is noted above, there remains considerable distance among the various definitions. That it is a defence, a diatribe and something of an apology seems fairly obvious. The more interesting question, given the resurgence of dialogue as genre during the Humanist and Renaissance periods, is in what manner can *The Pilgrim*, strictly speaking, be considered a dialogue?

In the preface to her book, *The Renaissance Dialogue*, Virginia Cox cautions that when discussing dialogue one should be mindful to distinguish between 'true' and 'false'

ones. That is, dialogues that are on the one hand, polyphonic and inclusive, where a condition of the group dynamic is a resolution, or at the very least, a clarification of the question placed between the disputants, or on the other, dialogues that are exclusive and monologic. A ‘true’ dialogue then, is one in which two or more semantic registers are juxtaposed complementarily in order to facilitate a mutually satisfactory exposition of the matter at issue. A ‘false’ one, instead, would feature the subordination of competing disparate registers, reciprocity and play. Given this characterization *The Pilgrim* presents an interesting set of problems because while largely monologic, exclusive and perfunctory in its treatment of the Other, Thomas also employs some of the topoi and conventions that mark the Renaissance dialogue.

Set in 1547, *The Pilgrim* purports to be the record of an evening’s discussion between a number of Italian merchants and an Englishman who happens in their midst. It is a fortuitous meeting that the Italians gracefully welcome as an opportunity with which to better acquaint themselves with England and its intricate political vicissitudes in the latter part of Henry’s reign. Thomas speaks of being “earnestlie appoased of the nature, qualitie and customes of my cuntry” [2r] and, of his willingness, “to comon with them [...] being as they were men of singler reputation and iudgement” [2r]. Eager to enter into their discussion they gather in the home of a wealthy merchant where, seated around the fireplace, they begin to speak. In this respect we are immediately introduced to a *locus amoenus*, one of the fundamental framing features of Renaissance dialogue borrowed from the greatly admired and studied Ciceronean model. However, unlike his Italian and English contemporaries, Thomas fails to paint the setting in the accepted fashion. Compared with the elaborate descriptions of his counterparts, for example Castiglione’s



*Libro del cortegiano*, Thomas's simple reference to the setting, "in a riche merchant mannes howse", indicates either a disregard for the convention--considered perhaps contrived or superfluous for what amounts to a highly politicized project--or simply a lack of literary sophistication as a writer of dialogue. Judging from the immediacy of the argument and the urgency with which he levels his first criticisms at the Church and the Pope it seems fair to conclude that Thomas's regard for literary convention, indeed for any stylistic niceties, was of secondary importance. Cox has identified the *locus amoenus* as having consequential early importance in establishing the legitimacy of the events and proceedings:

[T]he choice of an individual of great intellectual or social prestige is only the most obvious way in which the dialogue can be used to reinforce the authority of an argument. More subtly, the choice of the format of a civil conversation can in itself be used to confer a certain social authority on the argument, by establishing the author's right to a hearing in polite society.<sup>3</sup>

Now, while it may be argued that Thomas was not a man of great intellectual power, nor was the merchant class in Bologna particularly distinguished in the strict sense that Cox implies in this examination, I think it reasonable, within the economy of the text, to accept them as fair substitutes for the courtly norm. More to the point, Thomas, by virtue of his Englishness, may well be considered an authoritative voice on the subject that the Italians wish to broach. Furthermore, at least initially, the tenor of the discussion is characterized by the requisite politeness and civility to which Cox alludes in the passage above. Thomas first refers deferentially to the Italians "as those curtyse gentlemen that so curtyslie provoked me" (2r) and then later, and for the remainder of the discussion, he replaces this designation with the menacing "the gentleman my contrarie" (7v). Until that

point the spirit of the early exchanges is decidedly convivial.

In his study of Castiglione's *Il cortegiano*, Wayne Rebhorn cites the presence of 'deference rituals' as important features of Renaissance dialogue. By these he intends the attempts by the interlocutors to defer, or if successful, to avoid outright the responsibility of expounding on a given topic. He explains that the seemingly unwilling speaker, for the sake of naturalness, "frames his statements with elaborate protestations taking the floor as a *fatica* rather than an *onore*-- a task for which the speaker feels patently unqualified and which he is undertaking out of politeness and duty".<sup>4</sup> By couching significant passages, the author manages to focus the reader's attention while at the same time encouraging the reader to sympathize with the speaker's unenviable position. More importantly, it allows the writer/speaker to distance himself from his statements at a later point, when his position is scrutinized and censured by his companions. Thomas's text is replete with examples of these parenthetical comments.

In the opening pages of the text he tells of reluctantly acceding to the Italian gentlemen's request to tarry on matters of politics and state "albeit that my grosse intelligence extended not so unto the sufficient satisfaction of those important questions [...] yet to advoide occasion of discourtesie [...] I enterprised liberally to comon with them" (2r). Later, he indicates that he was moved to engage them as much out of a responsibility to the crown as out of decorum. We are immediately apprised of his patriotism, a fact that is not lost on the Italians who provokingly inquire during the early exchanges "Yea, but what meaneth it that your nation supporteth no stranngier, [...] when an outlandysh man passeth by you call him horeson, dogge, knave and other like?" (4r). Thomas's reply is measured and composed and in no way presages the dramatic turn in the evening. He

speaks of England's commercial and political maturation and concludes stating that "stranngiers that nowe repaire into Englande arr as well received and seen, and as much made of, as in any other region of all Europe" (4v). The Italians immediately return to the earlier line of questioning until one of them presses Thomas on the question of monetary reform under Henry. Surprised by this sudden shift from talk of beer and wool exports to matters of state, Thomas's more aggressive response leads his Italian counterpart to conclude "what you are earnest in yor Kinges favor" (6v), thus setting the theme of defence at the centre of the ensuing discussion. The Italian proceeds to call Henry the "greatest tyrannt that ever was in Englande" (6v) and requires that Thomas provide a thorough account of his position if he opposes such a designation. From this point forward the niceties and cordial atmosphere of the early exchanges are replaced by a determined attempt on Thomas's part to champion Henry's legacy in the company of those who had unfairly maligned his many achievements. Thomas states that he accepted "not only for the private defence of that noble prince whose honour hath been wrongefully tooched, but also for the generall satisfaction of them whose eares may happen to be occupied with uniust and false rumors" (2v). Striking an uncharacteristic humble note he assures the company that his arguments will, however they be received, pale in the face of Henry's own ability to defend himself: "the aforesaid king by his life time would have been more hable in dede to iustifie himself ageinst all the worlde, then I nowe after his death am hable to defende him with my penne" (2v). This deferential statement is immediately followed by another with which Thomas intends to underscore his ill-preparedness for such a challenge. After the Italian's fourteen-point indictment of Henry's reign, Thomas states "and thus having fynished his heavie and fervent tale, he

gave me place of speache. But I, who in this soddayn cace, was not so promptly prepared with distincte answeres to satisfie the companie, as he thus roundely had chardged me, rested in manner amased” (10r).

As is typical of these rhetorical strategies, the disclaimers are followed by passages of solid argument. Indeed, the speaker is often obliged to interrupt his monologue in order to restate these concerns. For example, in *Il cortegiano* the speaker often requests a pause, an evening or night to reflect and prepare, or simply suggests that someone better versed among the company replace him. Thomas, as mentioned, complies in this respect and at roughly the halfway point introduces another such statement in order to restate his misgivings about properly serving his king. It reads as follows: “Helas, Helas I am alreadie tyred, but bicause he that goeth to the battaill looseth by his bloudde sheadinge if he feight it not out, I woll see howe I can overcome this litle rest with a fewे woordes as I maye possible“ (56r).

The verbal exchanges that take place in the opening folios are mere artifice. There are ten exchanges between Thomas and the group in the first twelve folios after which the remaining fifty-two are set aside exclusively for Thomas’s rebuttal. At the first charges of tyranny, Thomas informs the reader that he was so taken aback by the turn in the evening’s discussion that he sought occasion to leave. He was dissuaded from doing so in the hope that the matter “be reasonable disputed [...] to thentent it might appeare who had the wronge” (7r). The promise of an animated and democratic discussion appears imminent, particularly given Thomas’s willingness to accept some of the assertions levelled by his opponent in his comprehensive and well-informed charge against Henry. Prior to commencing his defence Thomas remarks that part of the charges “arr surely

true” (11r). Furthermore, he successfully manages to secure the freedom of expression necessary to conduct an exhaustive defence. He summarizes these concerns admitting, in an observation that contributes to the verisimilitude of the piece, that his reservations were a consequence of being in a papal city “ffor Bononye (though well with wronge) is of the Popes territorie, and he that speaketh there ageinst the Pope encurreth no lesse dangier then he that in Englande wolde offende the kinges maiestie” (10v). Assured that he could undertake the defence with impunity and buoyed by a sense of confidence, he begins. From this point on the discussion becomes nothing short of a monologue. In fact, Thomas demands that the group remain silent until he has dealt fully with the accusations. The Italians oblige and, with the exception of the attempt by one of them to stab Thomas for his likening of the Roman Catholic Church to “an arrannt whoore, a ffornicatrix and adulteresse with the princes of the earthe” (21r), they limit themselves to a dozen-or-so perfunctory interjections of few words and of no dialogic consequence.

So, if *The Pilgrim* is to be classified as a Renaissance dialogue it would have to be placed among those dialogues identified by Cox as ‘irregular’. But Thomas’s rejection of the canonical conventions of the dominant Ciceronian model with its attention to decorum, balanced discussion and a reasonably disputed question, suggests that he had no intention of writing a dialogue along these lines. *The Pilgrim* is more like a defence, along juridical lines, wherein a handful of disjointed questions set the tone for a review of the prosecution’s case, which is followed in turn by a lengthy rebuttal to which there is no counter. What is more, this defence, as we shall argue further on, is a hastily contrived pretext for Thomas to underscore the spiritual poverty of the Roman Catholic Church. In this respect his piece falls into a category of Renaissance invective that had at its heart the

systematic dismantling of the argument for papal supremacy.

Before discussing the manuscripts and editions in question, some general observations on the treatise are in order. *The Pilgrim* relates a discussion had between William Thomas and a number of Italian gentlemen one evening in February 1546 at the Bologna home of a certain merchant. The initially genial conversation sees Thomas satisfy the curiosity of his interlocutors as to the “nature, qualitie and customes” (2r) of his country.<sup>5</sup> However it is not long before the tenor swings from a harmless commentary on “pomegrantes”, “fyne butter” (3v), “coal”, and “*panni di fiandra*” (5r) to a strong denunciation, by one of the Italians present, of Henrician currency reform. Thomas’s objection and earnest repudiation of the charge elicits the following from his Italian counterpart: “But you consider not that Cicero his eloquence shulde not suffice to defende him of his tirannie, syns he hath been knowen and nooted over all to be the greatest tyrannt that ever was in Englande” (6v). An indignant Thomas exclaims that “thanswere of so outrageouse a reaporte requireth a more force then reason or writing, but bicause the place alloweth me not to speak and much lesse to fight, I therefore woll forbear” (6v). The others present encourage Thomas not to abandon their company but rather anxiously request that he “reasonablye dispute” (7r) the matter in question. Thomas’s adversary is then challenged to speak against Henry and “to alledge ageinst the Kinges Maiestie what he coulde saye” (7r). There follow fourteen specific charges of which the first three read as follows:

(I) Your king, his first wief (I pray you) being themperors annte, did he not cast her of after that he had lyved in lafull matrymonie with her xviii years?

(II) And to accomplish his wyll in the newe mariage of his seconde wief, bicause Pope Clement wolde not consent unto him, did he not adnullie the

authoritie of the holy Romayn Churche, which so longe tyme hath been honored and obeyed of all Christian Princes?

(III) Thriddely bicause the Cardinal of Rochester and Thomas Moore High Chancellor of Englande wolde not allowe those his abhominable errors, did he not cause them to be beheaded? Men whose famouse doctrine hath mearited eternall memorie (7v).

Subsequent charges relate to the dissolution of the monasteries, Edward's legitimacy, the Aske Rebellion and the wars with France, Ireland and Scotland. With parameters established and a guarantee of absolute freedom to speak "without danngier of displeasor", (10v) the defence that Thomas delivers rests on two main thematic considerations: that in all matters Henry always acted in concert with the advice of his council and the consent of Parliament and that, with regard to spiritual questions, he proceeded in accordance with Divine Law and Holy Scripture.

*The Pilgrim* is prefaced, in this edition, with a dedicatory letter to Mr. Peter Aretine. To date, any study of *The Pilgrim* has wrongly relegated the question of the dedicatory letter addressed to Pietro Aretino to a footnote. On the one hand this omission is symptomatic of the neglect for detail and precision associated with the studies on William Thomas to date, and on the other, it trivializes Thomas's choice of address which, far from being gratuitous, bears stylistic, historical and, most interestingly, practical consequences within the text. The letter does not appear in the autograph manuscript nor interestingly in the Italian edition. The text included in my edition is taken from the Bodleian manuscript where it appears intact at the beginning of the dialogue. The dedication in the Harley manuscript is included on a separate page at the end of the dialogue. The Cotton text presents a damaged letter (two pages pasted together) at the beginning, and the Lambeth, a 19th-century copy of the Bodleian, also places it at the

beginning. I have chosen the Bodleian version as the base text for the collation of the dedicatory epistle for two simple reasons. As I shall argue further on, first it belongs genealogically to the same line as the Additional, the autograph manuscript. And secondly, it appears intact and in the appropriate position in relation to the rest of the text. Questions as to why the letter does not appear in the Additional manuscript remain the subject of speculation. Nothing in the material reviewed for this study, nor indeed in the work of previous scholars, has helped to clarify this matter.

As was customary, Thomas dedicated each of his works to a distinguished personality of his day. John Tamworth, Sir Walter Mildmay, the Earl of Warwick, Lady Anne Herbert and the young King Edward VI were all recipients of Thomas's humble literary gifts. These were not haphazard choices. In their own way each of these individuals could, if so inclined, expedite Thomas's rehabilitation into active public life after a lengthy absence. In dedicating *The Pilgrim* to Pietro Aretino, Thomas departed somewhat from this pattern. It is unlikely that this gesture was contrived in any way to further the Englishman's interests; rather, it is my impression that the dedicatory letter, like the dialogue itself, reveals the genuine reverence that he had for both Henry and Aretino. It was nonetheless a delicate decision. Aretino was already an established and indeed notorious figure familiar to learned Englishmen. His comedies *Il Marescalco*, *La Talanta*, *La Cortegiana* and *Lo Hipocrito* were later to be appropriated by writers including Shakespeare, Nashe and Jonson, and, by the end of the century the term Aretinist was to be joined with Machiavellian as a moniker conjuring depravity and evil. Aretino was certainly a controversial figure with legions of detractors and no shortage of admirers. Perhaps the best known of all of the commentaries on Aretino is the epitaph penned by



Paolo Giovio that states “qui giace l’Aretin poeta toscò/ di tutti disse mal fuor di Cristo/ scusandosi col dir non lo conosco”.<sup>6</sup> In Italy, such was the notoriety of his lascivious verse and epistolary compositions that Francesco Berni, a contemporary poet in the service of the pope, composed the following unforgiving verse shortly after a botched assassination attempt in 1525:

Il papa è il papa, e tu sei un furfante,  
nodrito del pan d’altri, e del dir male;  
hai un piè in bordello e l’altro in ospitale,  
storpiataccio, ignorante e arrogante.  
Giovan Matteo, e gli altri ch’egli ha presso  
che per grazia di Dio son vivi e sani  
t’affogheranno ancor un dì in un cesso.<sup>7</sup>

Aretino was simply a mercenary sycophant who, when appropriately remunerated, or, when sensing the blossoming of a profitable circumstance, stayed the venom of his pen. He managed, on the one hand, to reconcile Clement VII and Charles V with a single letter and later, that same Charles, fearing that Aretino would publish an account of his infidelities with his sister-in-law Beatrice of Portugal, volunteered a healthy stipend in exchange for his reticence.

Henry did not escape the sights of Aretino. He too surrendered large amounts of money to the unpredictable Aretino in exchange for favourable verse. Thomas Chubb indicates that the first of these two hundred was forwarded in 1538. However, contrary to Giovio’s contention, Henry seems to have been inexplicably spared the extravagant fury characteristic of Aretino’s pen. In fact, of the six volumes of correspondence attributed to Aretino--the *Lettere*--the second, published in 1542, is dedicated to the *Sacratissimo Re d’Inghilterra*. The first letter in this volume also addressed to the *Magnanimo Enrico*

*Ottimo Massimo* is nothing short of an encomium that begins:

Da che voi, re inclito, per simigliare ne la eccellenza di tutte le virtù a l'aquila signoreggiante ogni uccello, meritate onore e gloria, ecco ch'io vengo a onorarvi e a glorificarvi con l'offerta di questo mio piccolo parto. (441-445)

Later, in the same missive, he writes approvingly of Henry's reform and character:

Certo che noi vi vediam procedere con una sorte di giustizia e con una spezie di misericordia più tosto consimile a la misericordia e a la giustizia divina che a l'umana. La pietà, la mansuetudine, la servitude e la cortesia con cui premiate, punite, accogliete e perdonate, variano tanto da le condizioni di cotali virtù, usandole altri, quanto la cristianità, la degnità, la generosità e la venustà, che vi fa venutissimo, generosissimo, degnissimo e cristianissimo, e differente da le circostanzie de i pregi altrui.

The letter is dated August 1, 1542. The volume includes ten other letters in which Henry is cited<sup>8</sup>. The letter addressed to Harvel (Haruelo), Henry's ambassador in Venice and the English agent responsible for Thomas's arrest in 1546, contains a possible answer to the question of Thomas's motivation in addressing the dialogue to him. In it, after a characteristically obsequious prelude, Aretino writes:

E però io, che bramo di spendere l'avanzo del vivere concessomi da Dio in gloria di lui, vengo a supplicar quella benigna mansuetudine che vi fa caro al mondo, che se degni prendere in protezione il mio animo; avenga ch'egli, che se dedica con voto di perpetua divozione a i servigi de gli onori di sua maestade, delibera che la sacra fama de le sante opere di lei voli per il cielo d'Italia, senza temere che altrui nequizia se gli attaversi intorno a le sue verità con gli artigli de la nota menzogna. (466)

In this passage Aretino proposes to champion Henry in exchange for a humble gift--a perpetual one. In the dedicatory letter in *The Pilgrim*, Thomas informs Aretino that his "litle book" contains:

the most parte of such successes as have happenid unto him in his liffe

daies, with the occasion that thereunto moved me and have thought good to participat the same unto thee, to thentent that if anie person shuld repugne against it, thou, with the mountaigne of thi naturall reasons, shuldest have matter sufficient accordingly to defende it, in which doing thou shalt partly satisfie bothe unto the very truthe and also unto the good memorie that so noble a kinge hathe deservid of the[e].

In short, Thomas proposes to provide Aretino with first-hand information upon which to base subsequent letters and defences of the king. In the note, Thomas also indicates that, as far as he knew, Henry had fulfilled his part of the contract bequeathing the poet “an honorable legacie by his testament”. Thomas was however misinformed. There is no record in Henry’s will of a stipend for Aretino. We know from Aretino’s correspondence that in 1540 he had received a gift, presumably money, from among others “il re d’Inghilterra, il re dei romani e de la regina di Polonia”<sup>9</sup> and that later, having received a copy of Aretino’s second volume from Piero Vanni during the summer of 1542, Henry made a gift of three hundred *scudi* to Aretino.<sup>10</sup> Thomas may well have thought that this was to be an annual concession. In fact that money arrived much later and under unusual circumstances. Chubb relates that upon presentation of the *Lettere* a flattered Henry promptly earmarked three hundred crowns in return for Aretino’s unexpected benevolence. The monies, entrusted to Harvel, were not however delivered to Aretino. Understandably confounded by the King’s slight Aretino grew impatient. Five years passed, Henry died, and Aretino was almost immediately apprised of the gift by a contact in Henry’s court (404).<sup>11</sup> Suspecting Harvel’s duplicity, Aretino addressed a devastating letter impugning his character to the Mantuan envoy. Shortly thereafter Harvel, whom Aretino once described as “grave e saputo,”<sup>12</sup> confronted the poet in a Venice street and with the assistance of six other Englishmen cudgelled him senseless. Weeks later amidst

widespread public indignation, Harvel apologized and restored the monies to a gracious Aretino who had parlayed the incident into a marvelous public relations coup.

Since it is likely that Thomas was in Italy, if not Venice, during this period he would no doubt have been aware of this cowardly attack on one of the few Italians publicly sympathetic to his beloved king. The dedication may have been partly motivated by a wish on Thomas's part to reassert his appreciation, in the aftermath of the attack, for Pietro's conciliatory and supportive position on Henry and the reform of the Church. After all, in spite of pillorying the Church and its clerics, Aretino was a confirmed Catholic. Cesare Marchi remarks that Aretino, "detestava gli eretici non meno degli infedeli" (219) and, like Thomas--who considered Henry's church reform to be more a question of national consequence than a strictly theological one, Aretino "difese la religione di Roma come un patrimonio culturale italiano" (223).<sup>13</sup> His characterization of Luther as "pedantissimo"<sup>14</sup>, and "diabolico"<sup>15</sup>, coupled with his frequent references to the "false dottrine"<sup>16</sup> and "velenose intenzioni"<sup>17</sup> of Luther's teachings, make clear his position on the reform of the Church while further complicating his peculiar connection with Henry. In any event, Thomas reveals a surprising familiarity with the politics and literature of his day and an earnest desire to stay the hand of what during the 16th-century must be considered the equivalent of today's devastating tabloid press.

### ***The Autograph Manuscript of The Pilgrim***

To date scholars and editors who have commented on *The Pilgrim* have, as a rule, agreed with Adair's assertion that none of the extant manuscripts containing the text was

autograph. Levin, dissenting slightly, in his conclusions on the matter concedes suggestively:

it is just possible that the Additional manuscript is in Thomas's hand. There are slight differences in the hands of this and examples of the 'Discourses' possibly attributable to the smaller writing in the manuscript. It is the closest to the Italian version and like it addresses the first folio "to the reader". (75)

Beyond this there is nothing in the previous research to suggest a careful examination of the materials. Curious as to the paucity of analysis and general indifference, I decided to review the manuscripts, editions and a number of extant manuscripts accepted as being in Thomas's hand--most notably Thomas's manuscript translation of Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera* prefaced with an autograph dedicatory letter and Thomas's signature.<sup>18</sup> It was immediately apparent that the conventional view was at the very least problematic. An examination of the handwriting revealed certain affinities between the autograph letter and the Additional manuscript (see facsimiles in Appendix 1). This cosmetic likeness was confirmed when at the next stage I compared specific words from the letter with the same words in the Additional manuscript; e.g. *coveted* (line 1; 14r), *deceaved* (line 9; 47r), *shulde* (line 10; 2v), *you* (line 10; 3r) and *divers* (line 7; fol. 2r) and discovered that the handwriting was strikingly similar. At this point I compared two further documents, known to be in Thomas's hand, to confirm my suspicion (see facsimiles 3 and 4). On the basis of this preliminary analysis it seemed reasonable to pursue the possibility that the Additional manuscript was autograph and as such likely to represent the most authoritative of the extant English manuscripts. The attraction of this possibility was of philological and historical consequence, because neither of the English editions published

in the last two centuries used the Additional manuscript as its base text.

Before examining the relationship between the Additional manuscript and the Italian edition, it was first necessary to compare the Additional against the other English manuscripts in order to verify whether there were notable variants in the English language tradition and to determine whether such variants appeared in the Italian version.

First, in the opening line of the treatise, where the frame for the dialogue is established, the Additional manuscript reads “**Before** dinner” (3r)<sup>19</sup> (the emphasis added here and in subsequent quotations is mine). The other English versions read “**After** dinner”. The Italian edition reads “**Innanzi** a cena” (before dinner) (A3v). This first important variant within the English tradition, and the lexical consistency between the Additional manuscript and the Italian edition, are not only semantically fascinating but more importantly, logically consistent with Thomas’s framing intentions. In the English manuscripts, excepting the Additional, we read the following in the concluding paragraph of the dialogue: “and passing from one matter to an other **whilst the tyme of supper approached** we fell into diverse talke of things too long now to rehearse”.<sup>20</sup> In the Additional manuscript and the Italian edition there is in closing no mention of dinner since, as we must assume from the opening statement, the participants in the discussion had already enjoyed their dinner. The two texts read “and so passeng from oon matter to an other we fell into diverse talke of thinges” (64v) and “et cosi passando da q[ue]sta materia in un’altra, convertimo il nostro ragionamento in diverse altre cose” (and so passing from this subject into another we turned our conversation to various other matters) (I 7r).

The second variant occurs during Thomas’s indictment of both the Bishop of

Rochester and Sir Thomas More. Thomas first indicates that it would be foolhardy for anyone to deny that both men possessed distinguished and capable minds, but he adds, in the Additional manuscript, that their learning was unfortunately “grounded much more in the Thomisticall, Aristotelicall and **Scotisticall** philososophie then in the Gospell of Christ” (23r). The other English manuscript versions read that their learning was grounded in “Tomistical, Aristotical and **Scholasticall**”<sup>21</sup> philosophy. The Italian edition again agrees with the Additional manuscript and reads “Tomistica, Aristotetica e **Scotistica**” (D2v)<sup>22</sup>. This subtle distinction between a school of philosophy and one of its foremost proponents, Duns Scotus, may at first seem trivial, but if we consider that Thomas’s dialogue is ultimately representative of a vitriolic and exaggerated vein of Reformation anti-papal literature, then it is important to recognize that, for all of the hyperbolic language and caustic argument, it also contains some of the hallmarks of Lutheran theological and political criticism of the Church and its history. In this instance Thomas evokes Luther’s opposition, within the medieval philosophical tradition, to Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus.

A third variant is equally significant. At the foot of folio 4v in the right-hand corner of the Additional manuscript, framed by a small box, in the same hand as the rest of the text, we find the following words “principallie towardes Italians”. This is included presumably to complement the sentence “that I warannt you those stranngiers that nowe repaire into Englande arr as well receaved and seen, and as much made of, as in any other region of all Europe, spetially in the Prince his courte, and emongest the nobles, where surelie hath evermore been all honor and curtesie **principallie towardes Italians**”. This afterthought, presumably added to underscore the singular position and privilege of

Italians at the king's court, does not appear in the other English manuscripts or editions. In the Italian, however, we read the following in the body of the text: "adesso voi vedrete li forestieri in Inghilterra ta[n] ben veduti, & accarezzati [...] massimamente ne la corte del Re. Et fra gl'altri nobili, dove è stato sempre usato ogni honore, & cortesia. principalme[n]te a gl'Italiani" (now you shall see that foreigners in England are well esteemed and welcomed [...] especially in the King's court and among the other nobles, where every honour and courtesy had always been extended principally toward the Italians) (A5v). Obviously, the fact that this statement occurs in the body of the text suggests strongly that it was based either on the Additional manuscript itself or a version that has not survived and is unlike the other English versions .

The suggestive lexical affinities between the Additional manuscript and the Italian edition are further substantiated by two significant omissions. Interestingly, in the first example, Thomas's oversight compromises the meaning of the passage. In arguing Henry's limitless choice of women the Additional reads, "I thinke no man so ignorant but that he may consider howe his pleasure nombres of faire women; England being as it is replenysshed with the fairest creatures of all the worlde" (14r). In the other English manuscripts the meaning of this sentence is completed by the phrase, "maiestie alwayes might have had secretly at", as follows: "but that he might consider howe his **maiestie alwayes might have had secretly at** his pleasure numbers of faire women. England being as it is replenysshed with the fairest creatures of all the worlde".<sup>23</sup> In the Italian edition there is evidence of this omission; however, the integrity of the sentence has been retained suggesting the linguistic competence and attentiveness of the translator. The sentence reads "che non possa considerare qua[n]te & quante belle donne, sua Maiestà



poteva sempre havere al suo commando” (B8r).

In the second instance the Additional manuscript reads:

This, said they, proceadeth not of the divine law, but rather contrarie, fforasmuch as the spirituall office of the Christian religion proceadeth altogither by charitable counsaill **of the humble breatherne quietlie emongest themselves and not by prowde iudgement specially over the kinges of the earth. And having thus informed the Kinges Matie and his Counsaill** of their iust and Evangelicall conclusion his highnes resolved. (16v)

In the other manuscripts and the two English editions this passage appears without the lines reproduced here in bold.<sup>24</sup> Again, the Italian edition conforms to the Additional text:

Questo giudicio Papeo (diceano) non procede da divina legge, anzi ella è tutt'al contrario. Perche l'officio spirituale della religion Christiana procede co[n] le fraternevole amonitioni, con sante riprensioni, & con altri humili modi, & non con giuditio superbo, spetialmente sopra gli Re della terra. Et cosi havendo informato il Re di questa loro Evangelica conclusione, sua Maiestà si risolse. (C3r)

Further evidence confirming the relationship between the two versions can be adduced from the following examples. In the Additional we read, “Liek as Thomas Acquyne hath placed the offices of Angelles thus to the Cherubymes” (32v), where the other English texts contain the following curious addition: “Like as the first one Demius and after him Thomas of Aquine”.<sup>25</sup> The Italian edition mirrors the Additional presenting “come Thomaso d’Acquino ha dato gl’officii à gl’angeli” (E1v). Again in the Additional we find “And yet for all this wolde not the King put hande unto it untill he hade made his Learned Doctors to searche out the grounde” (36v). Correspondingly in the Italian we have “Benche per questa determinatione il Re non volse impatronirse de questi beni, fino à tanto, che gli suoi dottori havesseno cercato il fondamento” (F1r). In the other English

manuscripts the phrase, “And yet for all this wolde not the Kinge put hande unto it untill”, is omitted.<sup>26</sup> Finally it is also noteworthy that neither the Additional nor the Italian edition reproduce the dedicatory letter to Peter Aretine.

While it is apparent from this discussion that there is an affinity between the Additional manuscript and the Italian edition at a macro level, the analysis points to a definite likeness at the micro level. The following examples indicate that throughout the text these two versions share lexical and syntactic affinities that do not occur in the other versions. The examples are arranged in three groups that will be discussed following the examples :

- 1) **agein** to learne (2r)  
**altresi** per imparare (A2r)  
 other mss. omit **agein**
- 2) practised **as** litle abroade as in strannge cuntrys (4v)  
 praticava **tanto** puoco fuor di casa, quanta niun'altra nation (A4v)  
 other mss. omit **as**
- 3) **for** necessitie (4v)  
**per** necessità (A4v)  
 other mss. read **of** necessity
- 4) to longe **or rather to lamentable** to rehearse (9r)  
 troppo lungo **ò per meglio dire piu tosto doloroso** à raccontare (B5r)  
 other mss. omit **or rather to lamentable**
- 5) the argument that this gentleman here **hath made** (11r)  
 l'argomento che **ha fatto** questo presente gentilhuomo (B4v)  
 other mss. omit **made**
- 6) that finally not only by the civile and morall lawes (13v)  
 al fine non solamente **per** leggi civili et morali (B7v)  
 other mss. omit **by**
- 7) eche creature **principallie** is bounde to obey (14r)  
 ogni creatura **senza ecettione** è obligata à ubidire (B7r)  
 other mss. omit **principallie**

- 8) nor none cometh to the Sonne but **he** whom the Father draweth. **And** more over,  
Christ saieth (17v)  
Ne manco nissuno vien al figliolo, se non non **quello** il qual è tirato dal padre. **Et** piu  
oltre Christo afferma (C4r)  
other mss. omit **he** and **And**
- 9) ffor the Cardinall hatt was alreadie upon the waye **from Rome** (24v)  
perche il Capello Cardinalesco fu già insule poste mandato **da Roma** (D3v)  
other mss. omit **from Rome**
- 10) after seven yeres excommunication he was **per force** constrayned (25r)  
doppo la scomunication di sett'anni, egli **per forza** fu costretto (D4r)  
other mss. omit **per force**
- 11) carieth unto heaven who pleaseth him, **so they pay well ffor it** (26r)  
porta in cielo tutti quegli che gli piace, **cioè che gli dan danari** (D1v)  
other mss. omit **so they pay well for it**
- 12) the saint was reconciled **unto his saied busshopricke, the kinge and realme**  
**assoiled** the priestes licenced to consecrate (28r)  
il santo fu ridotto **al suo Archivescovato, il Re, et il Reame assolti**, gli preti licentiati  
à consecrare (D7v)  
other mss. omit **unto his saied Busshopricke the Kinge and realme assoiled**
- 13) without **some great** myracle they woll never be founde agein (29v)  
**senza qualche gran** miracolo non si possono mai piu trovare (D8r)  
other mss. omit **some great**
- 14) In **tyme** passed (29r)  
Nel **tempo** passato (E1r)  
other mss. treas **times** passed
- 15) this **blessed** bloudde shulde be shewed him (30v)  
di mostrare questo **pretioso** sangue (E2v)  
other mss. omit **blessed**
- 16) these **develish canonistes** (32v)  
questi **diabolici canonisti** (E4v)  
other mss. read **sophistical theologians**
- 17) **devoute** and famyliar advocate (33r)  
**divoto** et familiare avocato (E1v)  
other mss. omit **devout**

- 18) these foolish saintes and **pilgrimages** (33v)  
 queste gofferie de santi et **pellegrinaggi** (E6r)  
 other mss. read these foolish saints and **pilgrims**
- 19) by the **self** religiose personnes (35v)  
 per gl' **istessi** religiosi (E8r)  
 other mss. read by the **false** religious persons
- 20) with their superstitious **holy** woorkes (37r)  
 con le loro superstitiose **sante** opere (F1v)  
 other mss. omit **holy**
- 21) and not according unto his divine determination and pleasure (37r)  
 et non secondo il beneplacito d'Iddio (F2r)  
 other mss. omit this passage
- 22) to the **iust** destruction of those sinagoges (39r)  
 alla **giusta** roina di quelle sinagoghe (F4r)  
 other mss. omit **iust**
- 23) I wote **not** howe your ffreeres here in Italie (39v)  
**Non** so come li vostri frati qui in Italia (F4v)  
 other mss. omit **not** therby changing the meaning entirely
- 24) in less then **iiii** daies (40r)  
 in manco di **quattro** giorni (F5r)  
 other mss. read in less than **three** days
- 25) And marke **well** here the iudgement (41v)  
 Et notate **ben** qui il giuditio (sig. Fviv)  
 other mss. omit **well**
- 26) in peryll of destruction of his **hole** bodie (43r)  
 in pericolo di perdere **tutto** 'l corpo (F8v)  
 other mss. omit **hole**
- 27) praise of his contynent, **temperate**, patient (48v)  
 laude della sua continente, **temperata**, paziente (G6r)  
 other mss. omit **temperate**
- 28) unto his moother and **elder** broather (50v)  
 alla sua madre et al suo fratello **maggiore** (G8r)  
 other mss. read to his mother and his **eldest** brother
- 29) he is **the first** of the kinges bloudde (51v)

- gl'è **il primo** del sangue reale (H1r)  
other mss. omit **the first**
- 30) from the **deade** anncient Emperor Iustinian (51v)  
dall'antico Iustiniano Imperatore (H1v)  
other mss. omit from the ancient Emperor Justinian
- 31) his people **out** of the desert (r)  
il popolo **fuora** del deserto (H4r)  
other mss. omit **out**
- 32) the restitution **of the cities** of Tournaye and Tirwane (54v)  
la restititione **delle città** di Tirouano et Tournaio (H4v)  
other mss. omit **of the cities**
- 33) And thus came they both to unto their mischevouise ende, how well as I here saye  
(58r)  
la quale cosa è stata la causa della rovina loro. Benche m'è stato detto (H8r)  
other mss. omit this phrase
- 34) so may **you saye** the devilles (61v)  
così **potrei dire** che li diavoli (I4r)  
other mss. read so may **we say** the devils
- 35) rewarding his faithfull servantes, and **severe** unto his enemies (62r)  
in remunerare li suoi fedeli servitori et **severo** verso de ribaldi (I4v)  
other mss. read rewarding his faithful servants and **ever** unto his enemies
- 36) inutiles facti **sunt** (62v)  
inutiles facti **sunt** (I5r)  
other mss. read inutiles facti **sumus**
- 37) not only hath lyved **alwaies** most happielie (63r)  
non solamente è **sempre** vivuto felicemente (I5v)  
other mss. omit **alwaies**
- 38) not permitted **of God** by his saied father to be finisshed (63v)  
non permessa **da Dio** di essere riformata à pieno dal suo padre (I5v)  
other mss. omit **of God**.

There are interestingly four instances where the Italian edition corresponds with the other English manuscript versions and not with the Additional:

- 1) he did better to gayne upon his owne mooney (6v)  
 fece molto meglio à guadagnare in **tal** modo sopra gli suoi proprii danari (A7r)  
 other mss. read he did better to gain **so** upon his own money
  - 2) that he wolde have **vouched** ageinst my trouthe (22v)  
 ch'egli cercava di **vomitare** contra la mia verità (D1r)  
 other mss. read that he would have **vomited** against my truth
  - 3) used the meanes possible (24v)  
 usando **ogni** diligenza possibile (D4r)  
 other mss. read used **all the** means possible
  - 4) had given **finall** audience unto any treatie (42r)  
 harebbono dato **poca** audienza à qualunque accordo (F7r)  
 other mss. read had given **small** audience to any treaty.
- In this final, and only example, we note that the Additional manuscript initially corresponds with the Italian version, but then neither the Italian nor the extant English versions include the phrase “unto this howre”:
- 1) **as these** be diverse alyve **unto this howre** in Parys (23r)  
**De quali** ancora molti vivono in Parigi (D2r)  
 other mss. **as there** be diverse alive in Paris

At this point it is important to note that, while the Additional manuscript and the Italian edition distinguish themselves from the other English editions, the collation reveals that within the English tradition there are two distinct families. On the one hand we have the Additional, Bodleian and Lambeth manuscripts, and on the other, the Harley and Cotton manuscripts. Curiously, the feature that distinguishes the two groups is to be found in the glossing of the text rather than in the body itself.

One of the stylistic conventions of this period required that writers, determined to illustrate the consonance of their ecclesiological position with the will of God, substantiated their argument with suitable biblical and scriptural marginal glosses. Thomas was no exception to this rule. Accordingly, all of the manuscript versions of *The*

*Pilgrim* bear legitimizing marginal references in the manner of Rom:13, Sapien:6, Math:17 (see fol. 6r for an example of this). However, the Additional and the Bodleian manuscripts share four additional glosses not found in the others. The first appears in the exordium where, after withstanding the “fervent tale” (10r) of his opponent, Thomas sets about framing his argument on the principle that men incline more often toward appearance than to truth. At the point where he states, “Universally in all thinges do I finde oon singler and perfect rule, which is that the outwarde apparence is alwaies preferred before the inwarde existence” (10v), he includes the marginal gloss “apparence that seemeth to be, existence that is in dede” . The second appears alongside the phrase, “According unto whose comandement these doctors reasorting together into an appointed place disputed this matter *large et stricte*”, used in connection with the discussion among Henry’s advisers regarding the Pope’s temporal right over the King’s of the earth, “According unto whose comandement these doctors resorteng togethers into an appointed place disputed the matter *large et stricte*”, and simply indicates “theologicall termes” for the italicized Latin words (15v). Later when discussing the difference between the Pope and Christ, Thomas writes “and the Pope unto Christ is so contrarie by diameter that the mater was *to to* evident” (19v). In this instance the term “diameter” is glossed with the phrase “diameter is the iust extremities”, and is included on the following page at the end of the sentence (20r). The final gloss appears alongside the sentence “no doubt of it there shulde have folowed such effusion of bloudde, such roberies and flambe as an hundreth thousande flatering freeres with their cataloge” (40v) where “cataloge” is defined as “the legend of Saint’s lives”. Interestingly, these four glosses do not appear in the Italian edition; the biblical and scriptural ones do. In and of

itself, this conventional glossing may seem unimportant, but in Thomas's case it evinces an important didactic component present throughout his work. The failure to include mention of the glosses in the English editions is particularly egregious because it fails to communicate this defining feature of Thomas's literary project. It must be remembered that he compiled the first bilingual Italian-English dictionary for the "better understanding of Boccace Petrarch and Dante" and in a later work decided to preface the translation of "De Sphaera" with a "litle alphabet" comprising 150 words. In the introduction he explains that a glossary seems appropriate since "this litle booke conteigneth a science that heretofore hath not been fullie written in our englishe tongue" (A1r). The 'extra' marginal glosses in the Additional manuscript provide further evidence of this explanatory inclination.

In light of these encouraging findings it is important to establish the provenance of the Additional manuscript. A note in the manuscript indicates that it was purchased by the British Museum at Sotheby's during the summer sale of 1888. The introduction to the *Catalogue of the First Portion of The Library of the late Robert Samuel Turner, Esq.*<sup>27</sup> (the estate auctioned on that occasion) includes among the exhaustive list of "excessively rare books" some valuable illuminated manuscripts and a "very important Defence of Henry VIII in the autograph of **W. Turner**, a contemporary of Thomas, who was executed in 1554 for high treason, having drawn upon himself the vengeance of Queen Mary".<sup>28</sup> This oversight on the part of the editors who substituted the name W. Turner for that of W. Thomas was corrected in the body of the catalogue where *Item 1495 Henry VIII* is followed by the entry:

Pelegrine's Defence of Henry VIII written shortly after his Death, proving



him to have been a pious and religious king, notwithstanding the wicked calumnies of Clement VII and the various flatterers of his Anti-Christian See. The Author in his address to the Reader commences with “Constrained by misfortune to habandon the place of my nativitie and to walke at the randome of the wyde worlde. In the moneth of Februarie in 1546, &c.”

The opening lines from *The Pilgrim* cited in the catalogue description are followed by this description of the manuscript in question: “MANUSCRIPT, apparently in the autograph of the Author who on the last leaf has written *Castigans castigavit me Dominus Morti non tradidit me.*--W. Thomas, calf extra, gilt edges, by F. Bedford”-- features that again correspond to those of the Additional manuscript, as a physical examination of the manuscript proves.<sup>29</sup> One must assume that the individuals responsible for the preceding summary based their characterization of the manuscript as “apparently in the autograph” on documentation found in the records of Samuel Turner’s library, which unfortunately are no longer traceable. If one accepts the analysis and observations cited above, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Additional manuscript is indeed autograph.

### ***The English Editions***

There are two English editions of Thomas’s *The Pilgrim*, an 18th-century one prepared by Abraham D’Aubant based on the Cotton manuscript and J.A. Froude’s 19th-century edition based on the Harley manuscript. Both evince the currency of Thomas’s text in their respective centuries and represent interesting examples of the editorial conventions of their day. However, as faithful records of Thomas’s work they appear

limited, particularly in light of the argument presented above regarding the preeminence of the Additional manuscript. The ensuing analysis of these most accessible versions of *The Pilgrim* should make a convincing case for a 20th-century edition based on the Additional manuscript. The 18th-century version presents few editorial problems of consequence. On the other hand, the 19th-century edition is overwhelmingly problematic. And since the latter enjoys a privileged position within the tradition--first, because it was prepared for publication by one of the senior social scientists of the 19th-century, James Anthony Froude, and secondly, because students and scholars alike tend to embrace the most recent work on a given subject as the most authoritative--the focus of this section will be on that edition.

A comparison between Abraham D'Aubant's 18th-century edition and the Cotton manuscript presents little of interest in the way of variants and anomalies. In addition to the editorial conventions and orthographic developments of that century, there are a handful of semantic editorial preferences that tend to modernize but in no way compromise the text<sup>30</sup>. The edition is a faithful reflection of the manuscript, a fact confirmed on the title page, where the editor includes the following below the title '[T]he whole literally transcribed from the valuable and original Manuscript in the Cotton Library', and by Laven whose analysis of the edition and manuscript led him to conclude as follows: "[s]ince I have compared D'Aubant's transcription with *Il pellegrino inglese* and found only minor discrepancies [...] it is indeed certain that he (D'Aubant) has reproduced a manuscript which is reliable as a true reproduction of Thomas's original work" (11).

Now, while I agree that D'Aubant's version is an acceptable reproduction of an

original work, the problematic use of “minor discrepancies” by Laven, which as have been illustrated are far from minor, should have moved him, at the very least, to address the obvious variants, and consequently posit the possibility of a more authoritative version. His failure to fully investigate discrepancies that appear in the first line of the Cotton manuscript and the Italian edition (After supper and *Una sera innanzi cena*) suggest that Laven was less interested in philological inquiry than in presenting a general historical study of Thomas and his work. This has indeed been true of all of the studies produced to date.

The preface to Aubant’s edition provides us with some valuable insight into the decision to reproduce Thomas’s manuscript. That it begins with the statement “It is an indelible reproach to the Romish Religion, that it permits the practice of immorality and crime” (A1r) evidences the religious sentiment of its editor.<sup>31</sup> The arguments that Aubant presents by way of repudiating the authority and integrity of the Catholic Church are tabled with the same vehemence and partisan interpretation as those debated by Thomas in *The Pilgrim*. It is clear that D’Aubant’s sympathy for Henry and his patriotic reform of the Church is similar to that held by the zealous supporters of the 16th-century Protestant intelligentsia. His position on papal Indulgences is expressed early and unequivocally, and occupies, as it did for 16th-century reformers, a position of central importance in his argument.<sup>32</sup> That an 18th-century Protestant should champion the ideology and historical dogmatism of the reformed church is in itself not surprising. What is curious however, is the manner in which D’Aubant highlights many of the anecdotal arguments raised by Thomas. Evoking Thomas’s “canonistes who have made them a God of glasse” (32v) D’Aubant writes of “[an] omnipresent God being confined within a glass”. Concluding

his indictment of the clergy, D'Aubant writes: "they were conceited, vain, ungrateful, idle, mercenary, selfish, false, luxurious, lustful, proud, prevaricating and perfidious" (A3v). Thomas's work too is cluttered with denigratory characterizations of those who hold ecclesiastical office. Further, in the manner of Protestant historians, D'Aubant viewed Henry's decision to reform the Church not simply as an English phenomenon, but he placed the King at the vanguard of a movement designed to restore Christianity in Europe.<sup>33</sup> D'Aubant also speaks to the attempt by the clergy to undermine the authority of the King, politically and militarily, in the aftermath of the reform. He notes:

unmindful according to custom of sacred scripture, which enjoins respect for Kings; they laboured with all the activity inspired by revenge, to deprive the noble Henry of the affection of his subjects. Concealing the worst motives under the venerable pretence of sanctity; they strove to spread the seeds of discontent throughout the land. (ix)

Thomas in turn wrote:

[t]hose our religioise men [...] disposed themselves of newe to prove their fortune [...] and therefore in the furthest parte of the Northe beganne another rebellyon, [W]herof there were certein noble personnes and many men of reputation, spetially of the prelates of your Moother Church, ffor whose whoorish defence all this seadition was moaved. (41r).

In the closing pages of the preface D'Aubant provides us with some clues as to why his position reflects that of William Thomas. He characterizes Thomas's work as "valuable" and as "an authentic account of a most memorable and capital event" (xii). He concludes, in the ensuing paragraph, with the following "[t]hat the narrative is founded in the strictest veracity and will not be disputed; when it is recollected that our author was engaging in the arduous task, of convincing a prejudiced, malevolent, and acute enemy". This task has in fact been one of the principal activities among supporters of the

Henrician reforms and Thomas represents one of the first to take up this mantle. D'Aubant is also convinced that the Cotton manuscript is autograph, claiming that it exists "unmutilated in the original hand writing of its author" and that its originality is confirmed by the consistency of its diction, orthography and character with other extant 16th-century manuscripts (xii). While this statement accounts for D'Aubant's faithful representation of the manuscript it is also puzzling. Not only because the hand of the Cotton manuscript is at variance with Thomas's hand, as it appears in the Additional ms. and the other extant examples of his handwriting, but also because the Cotton ms. is damaged. It is in fact the only damaged manuscript version. The folio bearing the dedicatory letter is torn and more than half of it is written on paper of double thickness. More precisely, the folios are 203x105mm in size and the first of these, where the dedicatory letter to Peter Aretine is preserved, is weathered and apparently torn. As a result a cosmetic and practical solution has been adopted that sees the upper 130mm attached (glued) to a second piece of paper, giving that part a thicker character.<sup>34</sup> The tear divides the phrase "in his life daies" where the word "life" appears both on the thick and the thinner, lower part of the page. It is inconceivable that D'Aubant, who reproduced the letter in his edition, would have overlooked this flaw in the manuscript. It may be argued that he was concerned with the dialogue itself and did not consider the letter as part of the work. Or, he may simply have felt that the cosmetic work on the letter preserved its integrity, and was as a result not worthy of note. Both of these hypotheses are, however, untenable since in the preface D'Aubant refers approvingly to the letter and states that Thomas availed himself admirably in defence of his king and in so doing shielded him from the possible invective of Aretino. With regard to the first possible reading, he makes

no distinction between the letter and the dialogue so as to justify an argument for the two being independent of one another. What is possible however is that the letter was added to the Cotton manuscript at a later date by the librarians at the British Museum. There is sadly no documentation of this so we are left with D'Aubant's puzzling conclusion.

The 19th-century edition published in 1861 by the eminent historian J.A. Froude poses a number of similar problems that warrant attention. In his brief introduction, the editor claims to have encountered this manuscript defence of Henry VIII "quite by accident among the Harleian MSS" in the British Museum (iii). In addition, he claims to have met with a second copy among the Lansdowne manuscripts as well as an edition prepared the previous century. The existence of the Harleian manuscript and of D'Aubant's edition are not at issue. What is, however, is the curious reference to a manuscript among the Lansdowne collection. Froude's claim was subsequently challenged by Daniel Lleufer Thomas who, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, states that "Froude erroneously states that there is also a copy among the Lansdowne MSS".<sup>35</sup> Indeed, the British Library has no record of such a title in its Lansdowne collection (this fact was verified during a visit to the British Museum in 1996)--a fact that leads to two possible conclusions in light of the textual evidence that will follow. The first is that Froude was simply mistaken and recorded the Cotton as the Lansdowne or, secondly, that a manuscript has either been misplaced or lifted from the collection since then. My study of the Cotton and the evidence in the collation indicate that the first hypothesis is unfounded, given that the Cotton reflects none of the anomalies that will be presented below. Furthermore, the fact that the Additional was not purchased until 1888, 27 years after the publication of Froude's edition, means that the only manuscript that

would have been in the library at that time was the Cotton. The manuscript housed in the Bodleian at Oxford and its twin at Lambeth Palace, incidentally also copied in 1861, were clearly not possibilities. The second scenario, while possible, seems untenable. This said, we are left with an edition that reveals hundreds of lexical and syntactic differences when collated against the manuscript upon which it is supposedly based. Here is a sampling of the variants, where the first version corresponds to Froude's edition and the second to the Harley manuscript:<sup>36</sup>

- 1) Our King's Majesty Henry the 8th who then was **nearlie** departed out of this present life (3)  
Our King's Majestie Henry the viiith who then was **newlie** departed out of this present life (8r);
- 2) At the which words, somewhat troubled in my **mind**, I sought **leave** to depart (9)  
Att the which wordes somewhat troubled in my **spirites**, I sought **license** to departe (10r);
- 3) But Clement smiling in his heart at so **meet** an occasion (17)  
But Clement **smilinge** in his hearte at soe **sweete** an occasion (13r);
- 4) How Christ ordained any vicar or **subject** here in earth to be his broker (22)  
How Christ ordained any vicker or **substitute** here in earth to be his broker (15r)];
- 5) And the Pope is so contrary unto Christ **by Daniel** that the matter was toto evident (25)  
And the Pope is soe contrary unto Christ **by dyiameter** that the matter was to too evident (16r);
- 6) For though the Popes have been **diverse** in outward customs (26)  
For though the Popes have bene **divelles** in outward customes (16v);
- 7) Yet in their inward hypocrisy they have all followed the devil's **dam** (27)  
Yet in their inward hipocrisie they have all followed the divelles **dance** (16v);

- 8) I find the will of man in the **bosom** of his appetite, notwithstanding that the **wise** philosophers have ever coveted to place the will (28)  
I fynde the will of man in the **reason** of his appetite, notwithstandinge that the wise **beastlye** philosophers have ever coveted to place the will (17r);
- 9) I should tell you of **thousands as true as this, or rather better**; for we had (39)  
I should tell you **thousandes as good, nay better tryckes than these**; for we had (21r);
- 10) I will nowe **despite** me to speake of the monasteries which his majesty suppressed to the intent you may understand what was the **first** occassion thereof (43)  
I will now **dispose** me to speake of the monasteryes which his majestie suppressed to the intent you may understand what was the **iust** occassion thereof (22v);
- 11) There was working of wonders, the friars and nuns were as whores and thieves in the open **street**, and there were saints that made the barren **woman** bring forth children (44)  
There was working of wonders, the ffryars and nunnes were as whore and theefe in the open **stewes** and there were saintes that made the barren **woumbe** bring forth children (23);
- 12) And yet this is well true that his majesty in divers **provinces** of the realm hath converted divers of these monasteries towards the bringing up of orphans and **instruction** of the poor (50)  
And yet this is well true that his majestie in divers **places** of the Realme hath converted divers of these monasteryes towards the bringinge up of orphants and **sustenacion** of the poore (25r);
- 13) Usurpeth the monarchy over the princes of the world, but also **seeketh** the blood of the poor labourers (77)  
Usurpeth the monarchie over the princes of the worlde, but also **sucketh** the blood of the poor laborers (34v).

Now while these discrepancies are clearly problematic Laven had the following to say of Froude's work:

except for certain modernizations Froude has also used a reliable manuscript, which differs from D'Aubant's in only an occasional word. Thus the limitations dictated by time of not going back to the original



manuscript have not had any material effect on my conclusions. (12)

This statement is both flawed and misleading. On the one hand, it distorts the relationship between the edition and the Harley manuscript, and more to the point it misrepresents the relationship between the 19th-century edition and D'Aubant's earlier one. The variants above were selected for inclusion in the body of this study because they offer a representative cross section of the stylistic, semantic and structural impositions adopted by Froude. It is fair to conclude that, had Laven carefully consulted the documents, he would have both revised his comments on the materials and questioned the validity of the edition.

The examples included here and those collected in the appendix suggest that either Froude took an astonishing liberty with the text--a license that in many instances clearly compromises the sense of Thomas's narrative--or there is the spectre of a lost manuscript previously catalogued among the Lansdowne collection of manuscripts. This text would have been at odds with the Additional manuscript, the Italian edition and the remaining English exemplars of the defence. The likelihood that either of these theories is correct is slight. If we accept Froude's comments in the introduction to his edition at face value-- "I believe myself to be doing useful service in bringing it (*The Pilgrim*) again before the world"--then how can we justify the version that he presented to posterity with the authority of his scholarship and reputation? Why does the most accessible version of Thomas's *The Pilgrim* eliminate much of the biting charm, roughshod elegance and amateur style, in short, the character of this idiosyncratic literary foray of William Thomas? In order to understand this puzzle fully, one must take a closer look at Froude

and his historiographical project might be revealing.

James Anthony Froude was one of the principal social scientists in England during the nineteenth century. Waldo Hilary Dunn, his most recent biographer, summarized his achievements as follows:

by hard work Froude acquired an extraordinary command of the English language, which, combined with a powerful imagination, a tenacious memory, keen powers of observation, a musical ear, a judicious appreciation of the value of evidence, and a vast knowledge of English and foreign literatures enabled him to write critical articles, biographies, romances, histories and letters of the highest quality.<sup>37</sup>

A scholar of prodigious capabilities, Froude handsomely enriched British letters and historiography combining the virtues listed above with unflinching religious conviction and a taste for controversy. All of which conspired to make his career and work in the words of his other biographer Herbert Paul “one of the stormiest of the 19th century, almost every one of his principal works arousing dispute, and bringing obloquy and recriminations on the author’s head. Indeed, his twelve-volume *History of England* (1856) was championed by his admirers as the “most brilliantly written and complete for the epoch it covers” and pilloried by its detractors as a “most monstrous history”.<sup>38</sup>

Froude was a fierce proponent of the whig interpretation of history--an orientation that Butterfield summarized in his eponymous book as

the tendency in many historians to write on the side of Protestants and whigs, to praise revolutions provided they have been successful, to emphasize certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present.<sup>39</sup>

The underlying theme of this school of thought can be best understood as an attempt to connect selected historical moments with progressive present conditions, the fruit of

which imposes in Butterfield's estimation

a certain form upon the whole historical story to produce a scheme of general history which is bound to converge beautifully upon the present all demonstrating throughout the ages the workings of an obvious principle of progress, of which the Protestants and whigs have been perennial allies while Catholics and tories have perpetually formed obstruction. (12)

The Reformation is central to this chain of causation. In *The Lectures on the Council of Trent*, Froude described the Reformation as “the hinge on which all modern history turned” claiming further that, had it not occurred, “everything that has happened since would be different”.<sup>40</sup> Froude, like others of this school, considered the Henrician reform as a political rather than a doctrinal matter. That is to say, a substantive repudiation of ecclesiastical hegemony in the name of statehood. Froude's work in large part sought to safeguard the integrity of the Church and its reformers who, during the nineteenth century, became increasingly subject to the criticism and scorn of revisionist historians. On this matter Herbert Paul writes that “Froude felt reformers had been calumniated, that their services were in danger of being forgotten, and that the modern attempt to ignore the Reformation was not only unhistorical, but disingenuous” (74).

This allusion to modern scholarship speaks particularly to Froude's criticism of the Catholic historiographers, namely John Newman and John Lingard. In the mid-nineteenth century Catholicism in Britain witnessed something of a renaissance with the passage in 1821 of The Relief Act and later, in 1850, when Pope Pius IX restored the national hierarchy appointing Nicholas Wiseman as cardinal-archbishop of Westminster. In *The English Ranke: John Lingard*, Donald Shea observes that these institutional changes were accompanied by two extrinsic factors: an increase in the Catholic

population from 200,000 to 500,000, and the success of the Oxford movement, which saw many notable intellectuals convert to the Catholic faith giving the Church a broader and more legitimate intellectual base.<sup>41</sup>

Given these considerations, it is understandable that Froude should have found a suitable ally in Thomas. But for the excesses of Thomas's ethics, he must certainly have approved of Thomas's creative work, political earnest and patriotism. In Dunn's biography of Froude there is a passage that addresses the affinities between the two on political-religious matters, and a compatibility on a more personal level:

Froude was not only a man of letters, an editor and a professor of history. He was a man of affairs, who played an active part in the events of his time. He once wrote, work after all, is the only real education, for work alone forces you into contact with outer things as they really are. Nature allows no illusions, you must know the actual properties of what you have in your hands before you can make use of it. I distrust all mere intellectual culture: I distrust men who spend their time in reading and talking and what they are pleased to call thinking. (5)

As was the case with Thomas, Froude's admiration for Henry VIII was boundless. In *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Pollard, commenting on Froude's *History*, writes "he set out with a definite view--the outcome on the one side of antipathy to Catholicism and, on the other, of sympathy with Carlyle's doctrine of hero-worship".<sup>42</sup> Beatrice Reynolds recalls in her article entitled, "James Anthony Froude", that the editors at the *Edinburgh Review* labeled his controversial presentation of Henry's life in the *History* as "a paradox of the most extravagant kind".<sup>43</sup> It was while preparing the volume on Henry that Froude uncovered Thomas's dialogue among the Harleian mss. in the British Museum. In the introduction to the edition Froude suggests that the appeal of the dialogue lies in the fact that it reflects the position on the complex questions of the day of an ordinary gentleman

who, he naively asserts, “had no object to gain by dishonest advocacy” (iiii). In the *History*, Froude repeatedly employs this facile conclusion to substantiate the claims of many contemporary witnesses to Henry’s reign. A close reading of Froude’s *History* reveals that he, like D’Aubant, sympathized with almost all of the arguments and conclusions that Thomas tables among his Italian companions. The complementary nature of their positions is evinced by the following examples. Of Henry’s suppression of the monasteries Froude writes:

Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living, is daily used and committed among the little and small abbeyes, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns.... (vol. ii, 133)

But the truth had now arrived when the results of the investigation were to be submitted to the nation [...] It appeared, then, on this authority, that two-thirds of the monks in England were living in habits which may not be described. The facts were related in great detail. The confessions of parties implicated were produced, signed by their own hands [...] The case against the monasteries was complete. (vol. ii, 129-130)

At each successive step, Henry had never moved without reluctance. He hated anarchy, he hated change. In the spirit of an Englishman, he never surrendered an institution or a doctrine till every means had been exhausted. (vol. ii, 133)

This is the history of the first suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII. We regret the depravity by which it was occasioned but the measure itself, in the absence of any preferable alternative, was bravely and wisely resolved. (vol. ii, 135)

Thomas’s version follows:

His Maiestie, ffor the better discovering of these hipocrites, sent foorthe comissioners unto all the provinces of his realme to examyn particulerlie the maner of lyving that these rybauldes used. And here came the matter fully to light. Ffor whan the comissioners had taken upon them [34v] the chardge of this examination, and beganne by oon and oon to examyn these ffreeres, moonkes, and nonnes, upon their oathes swoaren by the Evangelistes, there were discovered hipocrisies, murders, ydolatries, myracles, sodomies, adulteries, fomycations, pryde, envye, and not seven

but more then seaven hundred thousande deadely synnes.[...] In their derke and sharpe prysonnes there were founde deade so many of their breathern that it was a wonder; some crucified with moo tormentes then ever were herde of and some famisshed unto the death only for breaking of their superstitious silence, or for some like tryfle, and specially [35r] in some children there was used a creweltie not to be spoaken with humaine tonge. There was of the heremytes some oon that, under colour of confession, had used carnally with moo then twoo or three hundreth gentlewomen and women of reputation, whose names, enrolled by commanndement, they shewed unto the saied commissioners.

In conclusion, upon the retorne of these comissioners, whan [35v] the King was fully enformed of the cace, incontientlie he called his parliament; but or ever the counsaillors of the same coulde assemble togethers here came that abbott, and there came that prior, nowe came that abbesse, and than came that ffreere, from all partes of the realme unto the King offering their monasteries into his handes, beseching him to pardon them their synnes, *de pena* only, and not *de culpa*, insomuch that his Maiestie accepted many of them and pardoned them all except a fewe only of the most notable rybauldes, whom for the others example he caused to suffer death in divers wise as their horrible caces diversly mearited. And thereupon folowing the saied parliament (in the which all these matters were not only publissed but also confessed by the self religieuse personnes brought oopenlye in iudgement), it was concluded both by the Barons and also by the Commons of the same Parliament that these monasteries shulde be extirped, and the goodes and reveniewes thereof disposed as the King and his counsaill shulde thinke [36r] it expedient. And yet for all this wolde not the King put hande unto it untill he hade made his learned doctors to searche out the gronde of these many sortes of religion.

Wherefore, the King being cleerelie persuaded of all handes, that this onhappie, ydle and develish generation was necessarie to be rooted out of the worlde, proceded then to the iust destruction of those sinagoges, with the self same diligence that Titus and Vaspasian used towards the destruction of Ierusalem [39r].

In the chapter entitled “Trial and Death of Anne Boleyn”, Froude carefully charts the course of the investigation into the myriad allegations leveled against the queen before presenting his conclusions. Commenting on her trial and execution he quotes Anne’s final words recorded at the scaffold. Her reluctance to declare her innocence at this point is

interpreted by Froude, as it has been by other similar minded historians, as an admission of her culpability.

Christian people, I am come to die. And according to law, and by law, I am judged to death; and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die. But I pray God save the King, and send him to reign over you; for a gentler and more merciful prince was there never; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and sovereign lord. (vol. ii, 170-171)

Continuing on this theme, Froude claims that in the cases against Henry Norris, George Boleyn, William Brereton, Francis Weston and Mark Smeton--Anne's alleged accomplices in a plot to murder the king--none denied the charges; indeed, some confessed their guilt at the scaffold. His conclusion follows:

The charges against Anne Boleyn were presented by two grand juries before the highest judicial tribunals in the realm. There was nothing vague or conjectural. The detail was given of acts and conversations stretching over a two-year period and more; and either there was evidence for these things, or there was none. If there was evidence, it must have been close, elaborate, and minute; if there was none, these judges, these juries and noblemen, were the accomplices of the king in a murder perhaps the most revolting which was ever committed. (vol. ii, 161)

On this question Thomas similarly records:

Ones she was as wise a woman, endewed with as many outwarde qualities in plaieng on instrumentes, singeng and such other courtelie graces as fewe women were of her tyme, with such a certein outwarde profession of gravitie as was to be mervailed at. But inwardelie she was all an other dame then she seemed to be. Ffor in satisfieng of her carnall appetite, she fledde not so much as the companie of her owne naturall broather, besides the companie of three or foure others of the galanntest gentlemen that were nere aboutes the Kinges proper person, who were all so famyliallie drawn into her trayne by her owne develish devises that it shulde seeme [44v] she was alwaies well occupied. The busie doing whereof gave the King great cause of suspition. So that findeng by searche the ymaged mischief to have effect he was enforced to proceade therin by waye of

oopen iustice, wheare the mater was manifested unto the hole worlde, and the sentence given ageinst them. Insomuch that both she and her broather with the other foure gentlemen were beheaded. Ffor adulterie in a Kinges wief waieth no lesse then the wronge raigne of a bastarde prince, which thinge for a comon wealth ought spetiallie to be regarded. And besides this, it was laied unto her chardge that she, with some of the rest, had conspired the Kinges death to advoide the danngier of their wickednesse which they perceaved coulde not longe be kept secret.

In the final chapter of his *History*, Froude includes a passage from Ulpian Falwell who, writing shortly after Mary's death, characterized Henry's reign in splendid fashion. Froude cites Falwell, claiming that his view was representative of the popular attitude prevalent during Henry's reign. In the introduction to his edition of *The Pilgrim* Froude claims the same of Thomas's opinion. Similarly when Froude cites Thomas in the *History* he notes that his impressions were significant because "he must certainly have seen Henry" (vol. i, 108). Falwell's encomium reads as follows:

But he was a prince of singular prudence, of passing stout courage, of invincible fortitude, of dexterity wonderful. He was a springing well of eloquence, a rare spectacle of humanity; of civility and good nature an absolute precedent, a special pattern of clemency and moderation, a worthy example of legal justice, a bottomless spring of largess and benignity. He was in all the honest arts and faculties profoundly seen, in all liberal disciplines equal with the best, in no kind of literature inexpert. He was to the world an ornament, to England a treasure, to his friends a comfort, to his foes a terrour, to his faithful and loving subjects a tender father, to innocents a sure protector, to wilful malefactors a sharp scourge, to his common weal and good people a quiet haven and anchor of safeguard, to the disturbers of the same a rock of extermination. (vol. iii, 423)

Thomas's conclusion reads:

But let we these tryfles passe to come unto a [62r] conclusion of our King, whose wisdom, vertue, and bountie my wittes suffise not to declare. Ones of personnaige he was oon of the goodliest men that lyved in his tyme, veray high of stature, in maner more then a man and proportionate



in all his members unto that height. Of countenance he was most amiable, curteyse and benigne in iesture unto all persons, and spetiallie unto strangers, seldome or never offended with any thinge, and of so constant a nature in himself that I believe there be fewe can saye that ever he changed his cheare for any neweltie, howe contrarie or soddaine so ever it were. Prudent he was in Counsaill and ferre casteng, most liberall in rewardeng his faithfull servantes, and severe unto his ennemies as it behoveth a Prince to be. He was learned in all sciences, and had the gifte of many tonges; he was a perfect theologien, a good philosopher, and a stronge man of armes; a jeweller, A perfect buylder aswell of forteresses, as of [62v] pleasannt palaises. And so, from oon to an other there was no kinde of necessarie knowledge from a Kinges degree to a carters, but that he had an honest sight in it. What wolde yow I shulde saie of him? He was ondoubtedlie the rarest man that lyved in his time.

Of Falwell's panegyric, Froude first acknowledges its effusive and melodramatic tone, and then adds that it is, however, "a portrait drawn without shadows; yet the features described in the language of admiring exaggeration resemble the true features far more closely than the extravagant conception which floats in the modern belief"(vol. iii, 423). If Froude believed that this was true of Falwell's report then his notion that Thomas's history represented the conventional view of his generation goes a long way to explaining why, coupled with the ideological sentiments that he shared with Thomas, he chose to publish the text.

We are told that as an editor Froude was excellent, appreciative, discriminating and alert (Dunn, 130). Herbert Paul adds that on historical questions "he employed no assistants, he himself read and copied thousands of manuscripts, many of them illegible" (4). However, the controversies that surrounded Froude had as much to do with his methodology as they did with his politics. His critics have meticulously documented his shortcomings. Indeed, so integral have such aberrations been to the reception of Froude's work and character, that only the most loyal of his disciples has been capable of writing

of him without openly questioning this facet of his work. In the introduction to the three-volume *Henry the VIII*, W. Llewelyn Williams includes this passage that seems to encompass the general spirit of his many critics:

This does not mean that Froude's work is free of minor inaccuracies or that he is innocent of graver faults which flowed from his abundant quality of imagination...He is careless in matters which are important to students of Debrett, as for instance, he indiscriminately describes Lord Howard as Lord William Howard and Lord Howard. But Froude was sometimes guilty of something worse than these trivial "howlers". Lecky exposed, with calm ruthfulness, some of Froude's exaggerations--to call them by no worse a name--in his *Story of the English in Ireland*. When his Erasmus was translated into Dutch, the countrymen of Erasmus accused him of constant if not deliberate, inaccuracy. Lord Carnarvon once sent Froude to South Africa as an informal special commissioner. When he returned to this country he wrote an article on the South African problem in the *Quarterly Review*. Sir Bartle Frere, who knew South Africa as few men did, said of it that it was an essay in which "for whole pages a truth expressed in brilliant epigrams alternates with mistakes and misstatements which would scarcely be pardoned in a special war correspondent hurriedly writing against time".(xvi)

In an otherwise favorable assessment of Froude in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Pollard is however constrained to cite a number of scholars who took exception to his problematic *History of Carlyle*. And of Froude's editing of Carlyle's papers, Prof. Masson wrote "almost every letter in the *Life* which I have collated with the original is incorrectly printed, some of them grossly so!" (685).

Bearing in mind this perspective, it is now appropriate to address the question of the discrepancies that exist between Froude's edition and the Harley manuscript. Given the political affinities established between Thomas and Froude, the overwhelming number of changes made by Froude in Thomas's text seems to indicate that the only reasonable objection that Froude may have harbored was stylistic. In the introduction,

Froude concedes that Thomas was a gentleman of “more than common ability” (xiii); however, judging from the ubiquitous presence of Froude’s hand in altering the dialogue, he must have found Thomas’s awkward phrasing and unsophisticated diction to cheapen the text. It is also possible that in purging the text of certain unsavory elements, Froude hoped to legitimize the interpretation of an author whose questionable character and personal history might compromise the work. It is important to remember that Froude’s edition was intended for a 19th-century readership, both literate and educated, at a time when, as was mentioned earlier, Catholic historiography was enjoying an intellectual revival. Moreover, it is reasonable to suspect that by substantially rewriting the dialogue, Froude intended to present the views of this 16th-century advocate with whig sympathies as not only politically astute, but also literate.

Of the 80 variants included here the first group, comprising examples 7, 9, 10, 14, 17, 19, 26, 28, 35, 37, 42, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 58, 61, 64, 66, 70, 73, 74, 75, 78 and 80 illustrate straightforward linguistic choices that enhance the accessibility of the text by eliminating obscure words or those fallen into disuse. In examples 32, 47, 48, 69 and 77, on the other hand, Froude eliminates unsavory or excessive terms, in the spirit of Victorian sensibilities, that might unnecessarily offend the reader. In examples 2, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27 and 34 there appears to be no clear reason other than the editor’s arbitrary predilection for the word selected. Examples 37, 43, 59, 67 and 79 speak to factual errors that Thomas relates and recall Froude’s caveat in the introduction where he writes that, while admirable, the dialogue contains “the accuracies and inaccuracies which we might naturally look for in an account of a series of intricate events given by memory without the assistance of documents” (ix). Finally, it must also

be noted that a number of changes effected by Froude alter the meaning of Thomas's sentences and do nothing but a disservice to Thomas, and often leave the sentences grammatically flawed. Examples 8, 16, 29, 30, 31, 44, 45, 49, 57 and 76 are representative in this respect. The remaining examples 4, 20, 22, 24, 33, 41, 52, 62, 69 and 75 illustrate purely editorial decisions such as the elimination of repeated words, and occasionally the addition of some information that better fleshes out a statement or idea.

- 1) so hath it now pleased me rather to direct this my little book (1)  
soo hath it nowe pleased me to directe this my litle booke (36r)
- 2) whereof, if thou wilt, thou mayst fully speak unto his great honour, I have in this little book briefly declared (1)  
wherof if thou will thou mayest iustly speake unto his great honour, I have in this litle worke breefly declared (36r)
- 3) our kinges ma[jes]tie Henry the viiith who then newlie was departed out of this present life (3)  
our King's Majesty Henry the 8th, who then nearly was departed out of this present life (8r)
- 4) to say mine opinion touching the things in question. The discourse whereof (4)  
to say my opinion touchinge the things in question as farre forthe as I knewe. The discourse whereof (8r)
- 5) we exceed you both in the abundance, and also in the goodness (5)  
we exceede you both in the abundance and goodnes (8v)
- 6) whereof continually goeth out of the realm a marvellous quantity (7)  
whereof there goeth out of the Realme a marvelous quantitie (9v)
- 7) though your Island be rich and wealthy (as it is reported) (8)  
thoughe yo[u]r Island be riche and welthie as it is reputed (9v)
- 8) 'so that it is to marvel' said he (8)  
so that it is no wonder said he (9v)
- 9) each man may carry away so much as him liketh (8)  
eich man may carry away as muche as him listeth (10r)
- 10) and, as touching the Prince's gain (9)

- and as touchinge the private gaine (10r)
- 11) At the which words, somewhat troubled in my mind, I sought leave to depart (9)  
Att the which wordes somewhat troubled in my spirites I sought license to departe  
(10r)
- 12) and would in any wise hear that matter resolutely disputed (9)  
and would in any wise heare that matter reasonablye disputed (10r)
- 13) Did he not presume to take on him the Papal title and authority; disposing bishoprics  
and benefices (11)  
Did he not presume to take on him the papall tytle and authoritie; dispensinge  
Bishoprickes and benefices (10v)
- 14) as his horse coveted new pasture, to satisfy the inordinate appetite of his lecherous  
will? (11)  
as his horse coveted new pasture, to satisfye [his] the imoderat appetite of his  
lecherous will (11r)
- 15) than to the hidden infinite virtue of the everlasting God the Creator (14)  
then to the hidden infinite rule of the everlasinge God their Creator (12r)
- 16) reason commendeth me to know both the nature and religion of the person (15)  
reason comandeth me to knowe both the nature and religion of the person (12v)
- 17) his Highness's intent was to proceed lawfully or unlawfully, privily or openly; for  
commonwealth or his own personal commodity (16)  
his highnes intent was to proceede unlawfully or lawfullye, privelye or apertly, as for a  
comonwealth or his owne personall comoditie (12v)
- 18) But Clement, smiling in his heart at so meet an occassion (17)  
but Clement smilinge in his hearte at so sweete an occasion (13r)
- 19) that he caused the King, as a private person, to appear before him (17)  
that he caused the kinge as a privat partie, in person to appeare before him (13r)
- 20) should so humble himself before the feet of a vile, strange, vicious priest (for  
Campeggio there in England demeaned himself in very deed most carnally in  
hunting of whores, playing at dice and cards, and sundry such other cardinal  
exercises) (19)  
should so humble him selfe before the feete of a vile stranger, a vitious preest (for  
Campageo there in England demeaned himselfe in verye deed most carnally in  
huntinge of whoares, playinge at dyce and cardes and huntinge such other  
cardinall exercises (14r)

- 21) but also members of the Christian justice? (21)  
but also ministers of the Christian justice (14v)
- 22) brought the King in slander of the ignorant and superstitious world (22)  
brought the kinge in slander of the ignorant superstitious (14v)
- 23) how Christ ordained any vicar or subject here in earth to be his broker (22)  
how Christ ordained any vickere or substitut here in earth to be his broker (15r)
- 24) So the Bishop of Antioch should of reason be rather Peter's successor (23)  
So the Bishoppe of Antioche should be rather Peeters successor (15v)
- 25) Christ having bolted the gates of heaven and barred the door (24)  
Christ havinge locked the gates of heaven and barred the door (15v)
- 26) and by misfortune happened on the gates of hell, where, unwittingly he put those keys  
(25)  
and by infortune happened on the gates of hell, where he put those keys (16r)
- 27) but also the same Antichrist whom John accuseth in so many figures (25)  
but also the same Antechrist that John paynteth in so many figures (16r)
- 28) And the Pope is so contrary unto Christ by Daniel, that the matter was *toto* evident  
(25)  
and the pope is soe contrary unto Christ by dyiameter that the matter was to too  
evident (16r)
- 29) And the Pope that arrogantly maketh not the mean people, but the Emperor himself,  
to kiss his foot, impatiently can he abide any man that would speake against his  
tyranny (26)  
And the Pope most arrogantlye maketh not the meane people, but the Emperor him  
selfe to kisse his foote Impatient cannot abide any man that would speake against  
his tyranye (16r)
- 30) For though the Popes have been diverse in outward customs, some less wicked than  
others, yet in their inward hypocrisy they have all followed the devil's dam (26)  
For though the Popes have bene divelles in outward customes some less wicked then  
others , yet in their inward hipocrisie they have all followed the divells dannc  
(16v)
- 31) At the which words, my said adversary, all swelling with anger, approached me with  
his dagger to have stricken me (27)  
At w[hi]ch wordes my adversary all swolne w[i]th anger, approched with his dagger  
to have strycken me (16v)

- 32) I find the will of man in the bosom of his appetite, notwithstanding that the wise philosophers have ever coveted (28)  
 I fynde the will of man in the reason of his appetite notwithstandinge that the wise beast[ly] philosophers have ever coveted (17r)
- 33) no man should call the Pope other than the Bishop of Rome, nor in any wise maintain--and thus ceased the Pope's revenue--his quarrel of Peter-Pence, of jubilees (30)  
 noe man upon paine of death should call the Pope other then the Bishoppe of Roome, nor in any wise maintayne his quarrell, and thus the Popes reueneue of Peeter pence of jubilees (18r)
- 34) and the Pope, remitting paena et culpa, taketh out of heaven and thrusteth into hell (33)  
 and the Pope remittinge paena et culpa, taketh out of heaven and throweth into hell (19r)
- 35) few kings or princes of Christendom that did not either bring or send some of their richest jewels thither (33)  
 fewe kinges or princes of Christendom that did not either bringe or send some of their cheefest jewells thither (19r)
- 36) from councillor to bishop, and from bishop to the highest unto himself-- that is to say, Lord Chancellor of England (34)  
 from Councillor to Bishoppe and from Bishoppe to the highest degree next unto himselfe that is to saye Lord Chauncelor of England (19r)
- 37) were confirmed by the Pope's canonization which followed within four years (36)  
 were confirmed by the Popes canonization w[hi]ch followed w[i]th in fewe yeares (20r)
- 38) a pix of crystal, great and thick as a ball on the one side (39)  
 a pixe of cristall greate and thicke as a bowle on the one side (21r)
- 39) he had purchased the light of the thin side of the crystal (39)  
 he had purchassed the thinne side of the christall (21r)
- 40) I should tell you of thousands as true as this, or rather better (39)  
 I should tell yow thousandes as good, nay better tryckes then these (21r)
- 41) And can you blame the King though he hanged and burned those hypocritical knaves and whores (40)  
 And can yow blame the kinge though he hanged and burned those hipocrites, knaves and whoores (21r)

- 42) if the saints, who are creatures, be in heaven, and want, as they do indeed, the perfection of God's Divinity (40)  
if the saints who are creatures be in heaven and want as they do indeed the perfection of Gods deitie (21v)
- 43) like as first one Dennis, and after him Thomas of Aquinas (41)  
like as first one Demius and after him Thomas of Aquine (22)
- 44) may perchance be no less enemy to their nature than contrary to the light of the night owl; for by right they agree so well with the dark, that till the sun's arising (42)  
may chauce be noe lesse eneme to theire theire nature thene contrary to the sight of the night owle for by night they agree so well w[i]th the darke that till the sonne arisinge (22)
- 45) Wherefore I will now despise me to speak of the monasteries which his Majesty suppressed, to the intent that you may understand what was the first occasion thereof (43)  
Wherefore I will dispose me to speake of the monasteryes his Ma[jes]tie suppressed to the intent that yow may understand what was his iust occasion therof (22v)
- 46) When his Highness had found out the falsehood of these jugglers (43)  
When his highnes had founde out the falsnes of these jugglers (22v)
- 47) that these abominable friars were the very false prophets and roaring wolves whom Christ prophesieth in the Gospel (43)  
that these abominable ffryares were the false prophetes and raveninge wolves whome Christ prophesieth in the gospel (22v)
- 48) There was working of wonders; the friars and nuns were as whores and thieves in the open street, and there were saints that made the barren women bring forth children (44)  
There was working of wonders, the ffryares and nunnes were as whore aand theefe in the open stewes, and these were saintes that made the barren woumbe bringe forth children (23r)
- 49) He had made his learned doctors to search out the grounds of these many evils of religion (45)  
He had made his learned doctors to serche out the grounds of this many sortes of religion (23v)
- 50) First, the religious do profess themselves to live much more nobly than the secular people do (46)  
First the religeous do professe themselves to live muche more holy then the seculer people doe (23v)



- 51) Furthermore, the vows that these religious make, and that they teach others to make (46)  
 furthermore the oaths that these religeous men make and that they cause to be made by others (23v)
- 52) who teacheth His faithful evermore humbly to submit themselves to the will (46)  
 who teacheth his evermore to submit themselves to the will of the father (23v)
- 53) they condemned them to be worse infidels and enemies unto God (48)  
 they condempned them to be more infidelles and enemys unto God (24r)
- 54) in divers provinces of the realm hath converted divers of the monasteries towards the bringing up of orphans and instruction of the poor, though will that part be a small quantity (50)  
 in divers places of the realme hath converted divers of these monasteryes towards the bringinge up of orphants, and sustentacion of the poore thoe well that part be but a small quantitie (25r)
- 55) so that for extreme remedy, he sent his chief councillors (53)  
 soe that for extreame remedie, he sent his cheefest councellours (26r)
- 56) but for the second commotion, wherein was found a continuance of their prepsened malice (54)  
 but for the second commotion, wherein was found a continuance of their pretended mallice (26v)
- 57) there would have followed none other but perpetual contention (55)  
 there would have followed none other but perpetuall confusion (26v)
- 58) he offered her liberty to remain in England at his honourable provision (58)  
 he offered her libertie to remaine in England at his honorable promotions (27v)
- 59) with all kinds of commodities, and better than 20,000 crowns of yearly revenue (58)  
 w[i]th all kinde of comodities, and better the[n] 2000 crownes of yearlie revenewe (28r)
- 60) For ere ever she continued two years the King's wife it was heard that before (58)  
 for or ever she continued 2 years the kinges wife, it was tryed that before (28r)
- 61) For, remembering the dishonour that he had received by the lightness of his other two wives (59)  
 for remembrance the [ye] dishonoure that he had reaped by the lightnes of the other two wives (28r)
- 62) he did not rather rid them by some fair means out of the way secretly (59)

- he did not rather ride them out of the world by some secret meanes (28r)
- 63) would not have consented unto the murder of one of them secretly (59)  
would not have consented unto the murder of any of them secretly (28r)
- 64) For Contarine was no sooner crowned with the red hat but that unfortunately he sued  
unto the Pope (63)  
for Ca[n]teryne was noe sooner crowned w[i]th the redd hatt but that importunately  
he sued unto the pope (29v)
- 65) ‘And if he were an emperor,’ said I, being erring to his country, as he is (64)  
And if he were an Emperor (said I) beinge enemy to his country as he is (29v)
- 66) nor yet any other justice executed for murder, robbery, or any other like mischief (66)  
nor yet any iustice exempted for murthers, robberyes, or any like mischeefe (30v)
- 67) therefore continually they invaded the fertile possessions of their Irish neighbours that  
inhabited the said English pale (67)  
therefore continuallie they invaded the fertille possessions of their civill neighbours  
that inhabited the said Englishe pall (30v)
- 68) so that, being prevented of their accustomed liberty to rob (67)  
soe that longe prevented of their accustomed libertie to robb (31r)
- 69) hath brought the nation from rude, beastly, ignorant, cruel and unruly infidels (68)  
hath brought the nation from under beastly ignorant [evell] cruell and unrulye  
infidelles (31r)
- 70) And look how the wild Irish before time warred against the same (68)  
And looke howe the wilde Irishe warred before tyme against the Tanne (31r)
- 71) And what know I of the practices between the Duke and the French King? (69)  
and what knowe I of the practices betweene the Turke and the french king (31v)
- 72) besides the which for a memory of his interest, he reserved in the articles of record  
these two covenants (70)  
besides the w[hi]ch for a memorye of his interesse he reserved in the articles of  
accorde these 2 convenantes (32r)
- 73) If I should say that the Lady Mary, the King’s daughter that is, deserveth not a  
husband, I should surely prove a silly young man (71)  
If I should saye that the ladye Marye the kinges daughter that is, deserveth not a  
husband, I should surelie prove a willie yonge man (32r)
- 74) whereunto the duke his father was privy, who therefore incurred the semblable danger

- (73)  
 whereunto the duke his father was privie, who therfore encouraged the semblable  
 danger (33r)
- 75) that it is a wonder to hear say; and finally, he hath such a grace of port, and gesture,  
 and gravity, when he cometh into any presence (74)  
 that it is a worlde to heare say, and finally he hath such a porte and grace of gesture  
 and gravitie when he cometh into any presence (33v)
- 76) 'Nay, by our Lady,' he said, 'there you are deceived' (76)  
 Nay by our lord (said he) there are yow deceived (34r)
- 77) to fear the tyranny of the Pope, who under a counterfeit name, not only usurpeth the  
 monarchy over the princes of the world, but also seeketh the blood of the poor  
 labourers of the earth (77)  
 to fear the tyranny of the pope who under a counterfaite name not onlie usurpeth the  
 monarche over the princes of the worlde, but also sucketh the bloud of the poore  
 laborers (34v)
- 78) I will you do but mark this little title that I shall tell you (77)  
 I will yow doe but marke this litle trycke that I shall tell yow (34v)
- 79) who, I trust, shall with no less perfection reform the true church of Christ (80)  
 who I trust shall w[i]th no lesse perfection performe the true church of Christ (35v)
- 80) than for doing of the things he hath done against the apostolical Roman law (80)  
 then for doinge of the thinges he hath done against the Apostolicall Romaine Sea  
 (35v)

In this discussion I have chosen only these examples, partly because they best reflect the editor's intrusive hand and partly because the more than five hundred other variants concern matters of syntax, incorrect use of prepositions and pluralization many of which, where relevant, are given in the notes to the edition in the second part of the thesis. Froude's work is clearly problematic and it seems fair given this analysis that Dunn's assertion surrounding Froude's principal works extends to at least one of his minor works. Consequently, it seems that an edition, more in keeping with the spirit of Thomas's writing and less preoccupied with ideological, political and religious

exigencies of competitive 19th-century British historiography, is justified. As mentioned earlier, this is particularly pressing since, as the most recent edition, Froude's remains the most authoritative. It is also important to note that this is the first time that the link between Froude and Thomas has been explored in the various studies.

### ***The Italian Edition***

To date, the little that has been written about the Italian edition and its relationship to the English versions of the text has been superficial and conflicting. The edition has not been directly linked to any one English manuscript version, and the question of its composition has remained unresolved. The relationship between the Additional manuscript and the Italian edition, discussed above, should dissolve some of the earlier theories based more on conjecture than a close examination of the evidence.

Let us consider first what has been written to date on the composition of the texts. Of *The Pilgrim* and its author, Adair writes that it was "undoubtedly written during his residence in Italy" (138). He further states that an Italian version was published in 1552, but that before that year a manuscript English translation had been prepared, probably by Thomas himself. He implies in so doing, that the Italian version preceded the English one. It is also his contention that the dialogue was probably written shortly after the discussion between Thomas and the Italian gentlemen in 1546. Rossi, on the other hand, asserts that *The Pilgrim* was "certamente composto in inglese e successivamente tradotto in italiano" [certainly composed in English and subsequently translated into Italian] (303). He suggests accordingly that the translation was made possible by Thomas's

“solida conoscenza della lingua e del mondo italiano” [sound knowledge of the Italian language and of the Italian world]. Laven and Hankinson conclude in their respective dissertations that the treatise was written first in English and then later translated by Thomas himself into Italian. Laven writes of an original English version written in Italy, and of an Italian translation made in England and published in 1552 in an unknown place. Later, in an analysis that was readily accepted and incorporated by Hankinson into her dissertation, Levin is more precise:

Sometime after his return from France Thomas resumed the translation into Italian of the ‘peregrine’. The greater part of this translation was probably done during the first months of his appointment to the clerkship, but the last few pages were not finished until after the Parmese War had broken out and papal troops had joined the fighting in June 1551. In fact Thomas seems not to have taken up the work again until Edward’s 14th birthday, October 12, 1551. Thus the work, like at least some of the discourses fits in with the period when Thomas seems to have been relieved of the more onerous of his duties as clerk by Barnard Hampton. (54)

As the excerpts from the texts will surely demonstrate, these positions seem to have been reached without a careful consideration of the work itself. The evidence collected here will show that Thomas first wrote the text in English and that a subsequent Italian version was prepared, more than certainly, independent of Thomas sometime between 1547 and 1552. The tenability of the assertions made by Rossi and the others is wholly contingent on Thomas’s proficiency in Italian. This is a fact very much at issue. There is nothing in the little we know of Thomas’s early life that suggests an interest in or familiarity with Italy or the Italian language prior to his flight to Venice. And, while it is possible to acquire a solid proficiency in a second language over a three--or four--year period, it is indeed unusual to achieve a competence in that language that eclipses one’s native

language, especially in written work. Examples drawn from the English and Italian texts will show that, where the English text is characterized both linguistically and stylistically by an awkward and hackneyed style, the Italian embodies much of the elegant sophistication and conventional hallmarks of the literary standards of Italy in the 16th century. That Thomas could have penned such an "Italian" dialogue, given the nature of the English text, seems simply implausible. A matter made all the more unreasonable if one accepts Adair's contention that the dialogue was written while still fresh in Thomas's experience sometime in 1547--only ten months after his arrival in Italy. It is also important to note that Rossi's assertion that Thomas's competence in the language could be argued given his authorship of the dictionary/grammar is fairly weak. Desmond O'Connor, T.G. Griffith and Rossi highlight in their respective essays on the *Principal Rules* that the dictionary is primarily a work of synthesis. That is, Thomas fashioned his text selecting passages from the *Vocabolario, Grammatica, et orthographia de la lingua volgare* of Alberto Accarisio da Cento (Cento 1543) and *Le ricchezze della lingua volgare* of Francesco Alunno (Venice 1543). O'Connor asserts, in point of fact, that "it was to Thomas's credit that he grasped the importance of these first (and only) major collections of Italian words, and realized that they could be adapted and synthesized to help English students of Italian" (12). However, he also states that "Thomas's dependency on Alunno and Accarisio for his material was almost total" (12). Those commentators who maintain that the translation belongs to Thomas seem to have ignored the following obvious question: why given this masterful grasp of Italian did Thomas choose not to write *The Pilgrim* in Italian? And, if as Rossi suggests he did, then why ever would he have prepared a subsequent translation in English--his native language--of such mediocre

quality? It is difficult if one objectively considers these pieces of evidence to conclude that the work on the dictionary necessarily prepared Thomas for such an undertaking.

Let us now move to consider the text of the Italian edition and the Additional manuscript in order to substantiate my contention that the translation was prepared independently of Thomas.

The examples arranged below fall into three categories. The first are of linguistic nature and indicate that the general tenor of the English text (the Additional ms.) betrays any possibility that the same author, William Thomas, penned both. The second category regarding style shows that the author of the Italian version possessed a notable grasp of metaphor, imagery and proverb, in short a literariness, that is notably absent in the English text. The examples in the third group suggest that the author of the Italian version had a political/religious agenda that went beyond the scope of Thomas's dialogue, and that he used the translation as a vehicle for its expression. My discussion of these categories follows the examples:

1) But I, who in this soddayn cace was not so promptly prepared with distincte answeare to satisfie the companie, as he thus roundely had charged me, rested in manner amased, partely bicause me seemed the other gentlemen enclyned towardes a certein creaditie of his reaporthe. (10r)

Ma io il quale ero vinto da l'ira, et trasportato da lo sdegno udindo tante bugie, con onta, et vergogna del pio mio Re, non potevo cosi in un subito distintamente scaricarmi d'uno si fatto oltraggio, con sodisfatione de gl'ascoltatori, quanto presto egli mi haveva incaricato. Però stupefatto, et ispaventato dal fiero ardire di questo mio adversario, mi vidi gionto à mal partito, si perche egli era uno bello dicitore, et persuadeva di modo le cose sue, che tutti que Signori presenti, davano piena fede à la sua bugiarda informatione. (B4r)

[But I who was overcome with anger, and transported by disdain hearing such lies with shame and dishonour for my pious king, could not in that very instance respond to such an insult to the satisfaction of those present

as he had so suddenly challenged me to do. Thus stupified and frightened by the proud audacity of this my adversary I found myself in difficult straits, on the one hand because he was a good orator and turned things in his favour in such a way that all those gentlemen present, placed their absolute confidence in his false words.]<sup>44</sup>

2) [Y]our king being envyrnonned with the oceane sea, thought it impossible that the fame of his wicked lief and doinges shulde passe into the fyrme lande of other cuntreys, and therfore the more hardely did he enterprise the fulfilleng of his develysh desires. (10r)

Il vostro Re essendo rinchuso d'ogni intorno dal mare Oceano, si pensava non essere possibile, che la biasmevol fama della sua malvagia vita, et fatti dishonesti, volassero, et trappassasero fino in terra ferma, divulgandosi poscia à mano à mano per tutto l'universo però è stato forsi più ardito che'l non sarebbe stato in esequire, et sodisfare à le sue dishoneste voglie, et à li suoi diabolici desiderii ma in questa parte egli è stato ingannato, et acciecatò ne li suoi errori. (B3v)

[Your king being enclosed on all sides by the ocean sea thought it impossible that the blameworthy renown of his wicked life, and dishonest deeds could fly and pass to the continent spreading then gradually throughout the universe; therefore he was perhaps more bold than he would have been in carrying out and satisfying his dishonest cravings, and his diabolical desires but in this matter he was deceived and blinded in his errors.]

## II

1) The poore Saint Thomas of Cannterburie helas; it sufficed him not to spoile and devowre the great rychesse of his shryne whose treasure amounted unto so many thousande crownes, but to be avenged on the deade corpse, did he not cause his boanes oapenly to be burned? (8r)

Ma che dirò io de'l povero S. Thomaso di Canturberi? **Oime che mi sento arriciare tutti gli capelli à dosso pur a pensarvi.** Non gli bastava la preda di quelle gran ricchezze de l'arca sua et il tesoro il quale valeva centenara et migliara di scudi, s'egli non faceva ancora vendetta sopra del sacro Santo corpo suo, facendolo pubblicamente ardere? (B1r)

[But what can I say of poor St. Thomas of Canterbury? Alas, I feel all my hair stand on end just thinking about it. He was not satisfied with looting his ark and with the treasure that was worth hundreds and thousands of crowns, but took further revenge on the sacred Saint's body by having him



burned publicly.]

2) And so having with great sute and ffor extreame sommes of mooney at leingth obtaigned superstitiouse licence, he attempted the acte of matrimonie. (13r)

Et cosi con grandissimi prieghi, et con certi mezzani fece ungere le mani al Papa con una buona quantità de la grassa di San Giovan Boccadore, la quale molto giova al l'infirmita de le pestilentiouse avaritie de chierici, ottenne una illicita licentia da 'l scele[ra]tissimo Padre, et venne à l'atto matrimoniale (B7r)

[And so with great prayers and with certain intermediaries he had the pope's hands greased with a good quantity of the fat of Saint John Goldenmouth, which greatly encourages the malady of the stinking greed of the clergy, and so obtained illegal license from the evil father and was able to marry]

3) I here saye there is a tragedie, entitled Ffree Wyll, which so well descryveth his colours that there needeth no more doubt of this matter. (21r)

io ho inteso che vi è una Tragedia fatta di novo, intitolata libero arbitrio, la quale tanto ben **dimostra gli suoi colori che non accade ch'io più m'affatichi, per dipingerlo meglio** (C8r)

[I have heard that there is a tragedy recently written entitled Free Will that shows his true colours so well that I need not tire myself to paint him better.]

4) But the ignorannt moltitude alwaies more enclynable unto error then unto the trowthe, have tasted such a savor in these ymaginations... (32v)

ma la moltitudine ignorante piu inclinata sempre all'errore, che alla verità **ha assaggiato un tale aceto in queste frenesie, che non può gustare il vino.** (E5v)

[but the ignorant multitude always more inclined toward error than to truth has tasted such a vinegar in this frenzy that it can not appreciate the wine]

5) Helas, myne hert maketh all my members to tremble with another maner of feaver then is the qwartan, whan I remember the abhominations that their was tried out. (34v)

Oime, che **mi triemano le viscere, mi mancano le forze, et esco fuori di**

**me**, quando io mi ricordo de le abominationi che furono quivi trovate.  
(E6v)

[Alas, my viscera tremble, I lack strength, and I take leave of myself whe I recall the abhominations that were found there.]

6) Ffor who wolde speake ageinst the deade King Harrie might much better saie he did see but with oon eye, and so accuse him for lack of putting an ende unto the reformation of the wicked Church... (63v)

Però quello il quale volesse parlare contra il morto Re Henrico potrebbe tanto dire, **che'l Sole non ha lume ne che'l cielo havesse stelle, et che'l mar manchi d'arrena**, et cosi accusarlo che havesse errato in riformare l'empia chiesa dell'appostatica sedia Romana... (I6v)

[Thus he who would wish to speak against the dead King Henry might as well say that the sun has no light nor the sky stars and that the sea lacks sand, and so accuse him of having erred in reforming the impious church of the Roman See of apostasy.]

7) they who have folowed Boniface in the Papisticall belief, thinking to clymbe unto heaven, arr fallen there by the waye (19v)

tutti coloro li quali hanno imitato Bonifacio ne la fede Papistica, pensando salire al cielo, **sono cascati à rompicollo ne l'inferno** (C6v)

[all those who have imitated Boniface in the popish faith believing they were climbing to heaven have fallen headlong into hell]

### III

1) So that to make a iust exclamation yow ought rather to crye out ageinst theexterminate tyrannie of your whoorish Moother Church. and saye, O you Romaines, O Boloignes, O Ravennates, O Parmesanes, O Placentines, O Avignons, how can you thus abide...(64r)

Si come à giorni nostri chiaramente si vede, **et spetialmente, da Clemente di Medici, da Paolo Farnese, et da Giulio Montanaro (volsi dire) Monte. Il primo de quali non perdonò alla sua dolce patria, anzi sopra di quella sfogando il suo veleno, con crudel guerre, et ossidioni, talmente la turbò, che al fine la ridusse al suo arrabiato volere. L'altro non permisse mai vivere in pace, ne gli Romani ne gl'altri. Scacciando hora il Duca di Napalli, pieni d'ogni vitio, et sceleragini. Oh Ravignani, Oh Anconitani, Oh Perosini, Oh Avignoni, Oh voi sudditi di quella non**

catolica, ma diabolica chiesa. Come soportati.... (I6v)

[Just as it is clearly demonstrated in our day, and especially by Clemente di Medici, Paolo Farnese and Giulio Montanaro (I should say Monte). The first never forgave his sweet homeland; indeed, giving vent to his venom, he attacked it with such cruel wars and sieges that it finally buckled to his wild will. The other would not allow anyone to live in peace, neither the Romans nor the others, driving out the Duke of Napalli full of every vice and wickedness. Oh citizens of Ancona, Perugia, Avignon, Oh you subjects of that not catholic but diabolical church. How do you endure...]

2) O comon wealthe of Fflorencie why suffereddest thow Pope Clement to take from the thy libertie? (64r)

Oh repubblica di Fiorenza, perché lasciasti dal **Papazzo tuo chi mente (vosi dire)** Clemente, privarti della cara et dolce libertà. (I7r)

[Oh republic of Florence why did you allow your mad lying pope (I mean) Clement deprive you of your dear sweet liberty]

The first set of examples illustrate the more literary tenor of the Italian text. Where the English is consistently more simplistic, even graceless, the Italian is stylistically elaborate and detailed. The Italian text includes not only more adjectival ornamentation, “una più abbondante aggettivazione” (306) as Rossi rightly pointed out, but also, as the first examples illustrate, more complex syntactic arrangements. The English examples contain 45 and 43 words respectively, while the Italian ones are twice as long, comprising 93 and 84 words. To a modern translator this disparity appears unnecessary and suggests a translation where the fashioning of a new literary text rather than observing the parameters set out by the original author seems to have been the order of the day.

The second group of examples highlight specific literary, social and cultural applications of the Italian language, that again suggest an author well acquainted and at ease with this particular usage. In the first example, the very literary “Oimè che mi sento

arriciare tutti gli capelli a dosso” is coupled with a rhetorical question that was a hallmark of Italian Renaissance literary language. In the second, the phrase “fece ungere le mani al Papa con una buona quantità de la grassa di San Giovan Boccadore” is a surprising reference to “la grassa di San Giovan Boccadore” found in the *Decameron*.<sup>45</sup> Now while it is possible that Thomas was well acquainted with the *Decameron* (the dictionary after all was subtitled *For The Better Understanding of Petrarche Boccace and Dante*), it is likely that only an experienced and literate Italian writer would have had the dexterity to fold this allusion so appropriately into the passage. The author of this text is certainly not one who in his own language would commit the colourless phrase “and so having with great sute and for extreame somes of money” in the stead of this Boccaccian reference. The use of the extended metaphors pertaining to painting and food, *colori-dipingere* (colour-painting) and *assaggiare-aceto-vino* (taste-vinegar-wine), in the third and fourth examples are again wholly absent in their English counterparts. In the final example the unmistakable literary flourish employed to characterize those who would speak malevolently against Henry’s just life illustrates the distance between the literary flavour of the Italian version, where “potrebbe tanto dire, che’l sole non ha lume ne che’l cielo havesse stelle, et che’l mar manchi d’arena” (might as well say that the sun has no light nor the sky stars and that the sea lacks sand) stands for “might much better saie he did see but with oon eye”.

The third set of examples is the most curious. If Thomas were the author of both texts, why would he have changed *Romaynes* to *Ravignani*, *Boloignes* to *Anconitani*, *Ravennates* to *Perosini*, *Parmesans* to *Avignoni* and omitted *Placentines* and *Parmesans* in the Italian version? What grievance could he have harboured against those cities and

their citizens? What events could have prompted such specific condemnation particularly for an Englishman? It is unlikely that any such reason existed. It is more plausible that the translator (likely an Italian) harboured a certain personal resentment and found an outlet for it in the closing pages of Thomas's work. Indeed, one of the characteristics of the Italian version is a stronger anti-papal vein. The references to "Clemente di Medici", "Paolo Farnese" and the disparaging "Giulio Montanaro" [Giulio "Mountain bumpkin"] for "Giulio Monte"<sup>6</sup>, the reference, although commonplace, to "Clemente" as *chi mente* (the one who lies) are perhaps the best examples of this. Although Popes Clement VII (1523-1534), Paul III (1534-1549) and Julius III (1550-1555) all played decisive parts in the feud with Henry and the reforming churches of Europe, there is in the English tradition no derogatory term employed for "pope" while in the Italian the term *papa* is replaced in the closing pages by the denigratory *papazzo*.

### ***The Italian Edition and Additional Manuscript-Inconsistencies***

The analysis of the Italian edition and the Additional manuscript has yielded a number of questions, namely, the presence in the Italian edition of passages that are not found in the Additional manuscript. Importantly, these passages do not appear in any of the other extant manuscripts. There are two possible explanations for this anomaly: the Italian translator may have indulged his literary fancy in these instances, or the translation may have been based on another English version similar to the Additional manuscript. The latter is made all the more probable given that there are also passages in the Additional manuscript that are not accounted for in the Italian. Here too, they do not

appear in the other English versions.

The passages found in the Italian edition fall into two categories. The first contain simple stylistic or lexical additions that serve to balance and amplify the passages. They are, as the examples demonstrate, superfluous and frankly confusing given the passages in Thomas. Why, for example, does the translator choose to add copper (*il rame*) in the first example? It is clearly not simply a case of a “*più abbondante aggettivazione*” as Rossi suggested but one of *amplificatio*, and for all practical purposes not pertinent to the discussion.

1) [M]a il piombo, lo stagno, **et il rame** abondono di sorte, che oltre al nostro uso, ne vendiamo assai fuori de l'isola. (A5v)

But the leade and tynne prove so habundant that there is continually bought and solde out of the Realme great quantities therof. (5r)

2) Se voi (disse egli) mi concederete, **si come non mi si puo dire in contrario** chel principal segno del Tyranno. (A8r)

If you, saied he, woll grannt me that the principall toaken of a tyrannt. (7v)

3) **Ne accontendandosi** di havere privato il suo Regno di questi duoi lumi, li quali erano atti di resistere ad ogni sua bestialita. (A8v)

And when he had rydde them out of his worlde who only with learneng and reason were hable to resist his beastly appetite. (8r)

4) Et quando ancora io non havessi altra prova a questo proposito, si vede chiaramente tutti quanti gl'huomini portar piu fervente amore a queste vane ricchezze del mondo, **che sono qua giu presenti** che a la nascosta infinite virtu de lo eterno Iddio loro creatore. (B4v)

Yea, and whan I had none other prooffe unto this my purpose but that all lyving men arr knowen to beare more earnest love unto the presence of these vayne worldly richesses, then unto the hydde, infinite vertue of the everlasting God their Creature...(11r)

5) Ma parlando de le cose celestiali, cioè, de la salute de l'animo, **io dico**

**che essendo il Papa uomo carnale, egli non le potrà mai conoscer, cioè, ne giudicare, ne meno dispensare,** quantunque havesse mille bizzari spiriti di rivellatione. (C6v)

and as ffor celestiall thinges, I speake of the sowle, being a carnall man, though well he had the spirite of prophecie, yet could he nought iudge thereof. (18r)

6) et cosi **con buona gratia d'Antichristo** rihebbe la sua Corona, indietro. Non vi pare ch'ei fosse ben trattato? Ma perche **questi ministri d'Antichristo sanno meglio medicare di veleno che di renbarbaro,** pero uno Santo Monaco l'avellenò. Et cosi la sventurata sua reconciliatione, hebbe una sgratiata riuscita, et uno misserabil fine. (D4r)

and there thankefully, receaved his crowne agein. Was he not (trowe you) well entreated? That he was forsoothe, and finally well rewarded; ffor a holy monke poysoned him, and to his miserable reconsilement had a miserable end. (25r)

7) Per la vergogna de le qual parole, certi gentilhuomini che servivano sua Maiestà, à la tavola, congiurorono insieme **la morte del santo.** Et quatro di loro senza indugio sene andorono à Cantorburi...(D7v)

These woordes were marked of them that wayted at the table in such wise that without more adoo iiii of those gentlemen wayters conferred togethers and straight waies tooke their iorney towards Cannterburie. (28r)

8) Et che dice Paolo? Iddio, dicono eglino, non habita ne tempii fatti con mano, **ne manco egli habita in casa terrena qua giu da noi.** Qual cosa habbiamo noi ch'egli non habbia creato? (F2r)

And what saieth Paule? God, saye they, dwelleth not in temples made with hande, nor can receive nothing of any earthlie matter. Ffor what thinge have we here that he hath not created? (37v)

9) Et data la debita sentenza di lei, cioè, che ella col fratello, et quegli altri quatro gentilhuomini fossero decapitati, **è stata ragionevole, et giustissima,** perche adulterio ne la moglie d'un Re, non pesa manco, che l'ingiusto regno d'un Principe bastardo. La qual cosa per la commune utilità si debbe spetialmente riguardare.(G1r)

and the sentence given ageinst them. Insomuch that both she and her broather, with the other foure gentlemen, were beheaded. Ffor adulterie in a Kinges wief waieth no lesse than the wronge raigne of a bastarde prince, which thinge ffor a common wealth ought spetiallie to be regarded. (44v)

10) Hor essendo egli in Venetia, il gran Contrino il quale pochi anni fa per ordine di **Paolo iii** fu avellenato in Bologna, per haver sottoscritto l'articolo della giustificatione à gl' Allemani, prima che fusse creato Cardinale...(G7r)

Nowe Ser, being in Venice the great Contaryne (who late daies by the popes meanes was poysoned in Bononie for subscribeng tharticle of Iustification unto the Allemaignes) before his vocation unto the Cardinalate...(49r)

The second anomalous group contains two passages. In the first, the historical detail, omitted in the English version, is presented coherently and the use of *[p]ero* suggests a subordinate statement stylistically consistent with the argument of the text. Further, the Italian emphasizes Edward's political astuteness and places him among good Christian kings. If the translator was Italian, as I have suggested, then it is unlikely that he would have had this additional historical information at his disposal. More importantly, why, if he were translating a polemical text in Italy for an Italian audience, would he have amplified a passage that has no religious or political significance within the framework of antipapal and anticatholic literature? This example again suggests that there may have been another English manuscript version, and that it, not the Additional, was employed for the translation. If Thomas composed the dialogue in Italy then it is reasonable to accept that he may have produced one or more versions during his sojourn, and that one such slightly different copy was left with a sympathetic Italian Protestant who wanted to publish the text in Italian. This line of argument would account for the similarities between the Additional and the Italian edition and would also explain the subtle differences between the two.



In the second example we are apprised of the translator's familiarity with internal Italian political and religious reality and of his command of colloquial Italian, specifically, with regard to the substitution of the denigratory *Montanaro* for *Monte*. Here, the translator seizes an opportunity to communicate a personal note to his Italian audience. In so doing he reveals himself sympathetic to Thomas's view, while at the same time making Thomas's closing invocation all the more dramatic. Again, it appears unlikely that Thomas would have had the linguistic competence or familiarity with contemporary Italian history to include the passage cited below. That is why it does not appear in the Additional manuscript.

1) Egli è vero Signore (diss'io) ma questo dirò ben che un bon christiano no debbe combattere, ne per danari, ne per honore. **Però questo nostro liberale et benigno Re Odoardo, il quale per la sua gran magnanimità, non ha riguardato alli danni patiti, ne à verunna altra cosa, ma solo á l'honore di Iddio, generosamente si è pacificato con Henrico Re di Franza, et d'accordo li ha reso la città di Bologna, la qual ha tenuta anchora dopo la morte de la felice memoria del Re suo padre. Per la quale cosa si tien per certo, che fra loro non habbia à essere piu ne guerra, ne nimicita, anzi una perpetua pace, et bona concordia. Ma dove sono io? (H5v)**

It is veray true, saied I, but this woll I speake against myself, that a good Christian ought not to fight neither for mooney nor for honor. But wheare am I nowe? (55v)

2) Si come à giorni nostri chiaramente si vede, et spetialmente, da **Clemente di Medici, da Paolo Farnese, et da Giulio Montanaro (volsi dire) di Monte. Il primo de quali, non perdonò alla sua dolce patria, anzi sopra di quella sfogando il suo veleno, con crudel guerre, et ossidioni, talmente la turbò, che al fine la ridusse al suo arrabiato volere. L'altro non permise mai vivere in pace, ne gli Romani, ne gl'altri. Scacciando hora il Duca di Napalli, pieni d'ogni vitio, et sceleragini. Oh Ravignani, oh Anconitani, ô Perosini, oh Avignoni, oh voi sudditi di quella non catolica, ma diabolica chiesa. Come sorportati, non solamente la opressione di tanti datii...(I5r)**

So that to make a iust exclamation you ought rather to crye out ageinst theexterminate tyrannie of your whoorish Moother Church, and saye, O you Romaynes, O Bolognies, O Ravennates, O Parmesans, O Placentines, O Avignions, howe can you thus abide, not only to be oppressed with so many customs...(64r)

The Additional manuscript includes the following passages that are omitted in the Italian edition. This discrepancy again poses a number of problems and suggests the very real possibility that a version of *The Pilgrim*, other than those extant, was used as the base text for the Italian edition.

1) The kinges Maiestie deceased in the tyme of his father, King Harry the Seventh, had an elder brother named Arthur, heyre apparannt unto the Crowne of Englande, unto whom this Ladie Katheriyn was first married. **Whether they cowpled in naturall knowledge or not God knoweth, ffor unto me it appertaigneth not to iudge, but ones they were lafull aage.** Now Ser, this Prince Arthur died before the father, and during the fathers lief this Ladie remained wedowe...(12v)

La felice memoria de la Maiestà de'l Re morto nel tempo del Re Henrico Settimo padre suo, haveva un fratello maggiore nominato Arthuro, herede de la Corona d' Inghilterra, al quale questa madama Caterina fu prima maritata. Questo Principe Arturo mori inanzi il padre, et mentre che visse il padre questa signora rimase vedova. (B6r)

2) he nevertheless sent first unto Rome to Clement the Seventh ffor the resolution of his iudgement in that behalf, **praieng him, if the matter appeared unlafull before God, to grannt him not only a divorce but also a licence to marie agein for diverse good and Christian respectes.** But Clement, smyleng in his hert at so sweete an occasion...(13r)

Egli premieramente mando à Roma da Papa Clemente settimo, pel suo risoluto giudicio sopra di questo caso. Clemente soghignando nel cuore tutto lieto, per una sì dolce occasione... (B7r)

3) and the error of the Popes dispensation was discovered. **So that in conclusion, his Maiestie was divorced from the saied Ladie Katherine,** not onlafully by extorte power, either of the king himself or of any of his subiectes, but lafully... (13v)

et l'errore de la dispensatione Papale fu chiarito, non illecitamente per forza del Re, o d'alchun'altro de li suoi, ma legitimamente... (B7v)

4) So that Peter all the daies of his lief sought to leade the true Christians thither by lively faith, as his maister taught **him, and not by oapening the gates**, and therfore hidde the kaies in his habitation in Antioche...(19r)

siche Pietro tutta la sua vita s'industriava di condure là gli veri Christiani per viva fede, come gl'insegnò il suo maestro, però nascose le dette chiavi in una sua habitation in Antiochia... (C5v)

5) And this Parliament, to latt you witt, is divided in twoo counsaillies: thone of the nobilitie and the prelates, and the other of the Comons of the realme; **that is to saye, twoo the wisest men of everie citie, of everie great borough, and of everie province of his domynion**. Nowe, emongest thee counsaillors this popyshe matter... (23v)

Questo parlamento, acciò che sapiate, è diviso in duo Consigli, l'uno è da la Nobilità, et de prelati, et l'altro de la comunità del Regno. Hora tra questi Conseglieri, questa materia Papistica... (D2v)

6) And thus hath he had sixe wiefes, wherof two have died **in their beddes**, two have suffered ffor adulterie, and twoo are yet on live (as you saye). (46v)

Et cosi de le sei mogli, due sono morte, due furono decapitate per adulterio, et due sono anchora vive. (G4v)

7) But I woll ffor this tyme forgett him, **bicause of his newe election unto the legation of Englande**, and woll speake of Irlande and Scotlande which you saie the King hath wrongfullie enforced. (52r)

Ma per venir ormai alle cose d'Iralanda et di Scotia, le quali (secondo voi) il Re ha tanto travagliate. (H1v)

As was previously mentioned Rossi claimed that the Italian edition and the English versions differed only slightly pointing specifically to a more frequent use of adjectives in the Italian. Yet these passages in the Additional seem, on analysis, to serve no other purpose than to amplify the various passages that they are drawn from. As such,

according to Rossi's rationale, they would have warranted inclusion in the translation. They are not mere amplifications though, and their exclusion as I shall illustrate below is particularly telling.

In the first example, Thomas's observation on whether or not Katherine and Arthur had consummated their marriage is a curious digression that gives the dialogue a more personal character and speaks again to Thomas's amateur charm as a writer. Why the translator would have omitted this passage seems odd, especially if the translator was Thomas himself. In the second instance the English passage omitted in the Italian is particularly important in establishing Henry's initial humility before the Pope and Divine Law. By excluding this passage the Italian version fails to portray Henry as a devout Christian determined to address the question of his marriage to the Pope according to established tradition and with the attendant reverence of a faithful subject of the Church. Again, it would have been compromising for Thomas to have failed to include this passage seeing that it contributes to a humble and deferential portrayal of Henry. The absence of the final example (no. 5) from the Italian is even more surprising. In it, Thomas includes a statement of clearly didactic character, destined for a foreign readership. There would be no reason to qualify the nature of the English parliament for Englishmen, so why then does it fail to appear in the Italian where it may have been useful? In this instance, I think it safe to conclude that Thomas would not have neglected this passage if he had translated the defence. That the Italian translator did so suggests either an oversight, which seems improbable, or again that another version, without this passage, was used for the translation.

Finally, there are three puzzling passages, where the Italian translator has

modified the Italian by offering a synonymous and complimentary phrase that is omitted in the English. The question begged by these examples is why an Italian translator, writing for an Italian audience would deem it necessary to provide a qualifying phrase. Since this characteristic seems the mark of a writer with an intrinsically didactic nature, is it not reasonable to conclude, as I have illustrated, that this idiosyncrasy would be a reflection of Thomas's approach to his literary project? Again, if we accept this possibility, since none of the extant English versions include these phrases, then the question of another version must be seriously considered. These are the relevant passages:

1) Ffor whan I regarde the discourse of philosophie, all saied and reakened, I finde the wyll of man in the boosome of his appetite. (22r)

Perche quando io ho calcolato il discorso de la filosofia, computatis computandis, trovo la volontà de l'homo giacere nel seno del senso, **ò per dir meglio** de l'appetito suo. (D1r)

2) Ffor we had holy maydens that lyved not by manna as the Iewes in the deserte ... (30r)

Perche noi havevamo le sante Vergini, **ò vero** donzelle (**come voi volete**) le quali non vivevano con manna, come li giudei nel deserto... (E3r)

3) These freeres and noones were as whoore and thief in the oapen stewes... (35r)

Li frati, et le monache erano come marito, et moglie, **ò per dire meglio**, come bertonni, et putane al publico luogo. (E7v)

As indicated in the preface, *The Pilgrim* has been long neglected. This extensive study reveals a wealth of editorial material for future study. In shedding light, for the first time, on the Italian edition I think it clear that Italianists can move beyond the linguistic studies of the Thomas's grammar and focus on the anonymous edition of *Il pellegrino*

*inglese.*

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Adair makes this statement in his seminal essay on Thomas (138). It is in my opinion an overstatement as the text had not been analysed to that date with any seriousness. It is also interesting that his statement is not followed by a discussion that would justify such a characterization.

<sup>2</sup> Rossi on this point observes that the text is “un libello di scarsa importanza come documento storico ... non ha molto rilievo come opera letteraria” and “nel complesso il testo italiano e quello inglese procedono paralleli senza aggiunte o divagazioni” (306).

<sup>3</sup> Virginia Cox. *The Renaissance Dialogue*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Wayne Rebhorn. *Courtly Performances: Masking and Festivities in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978, p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> All quotations from *The Pilgrim* are drawn from the version found in the Additional MS. 33383 in the British Library.

<sup>6</sup> Cesare Marchi. *Aretino*. Milano: Rizzoli, 1980, p. 278,

<sup>7</sup> Francesco Berni. “Contra Pietro Aretino”, *Rime burlesche*. Milano: Rizzoli, 1991, p. 115.

<sup>8</sup> The edition I have used is Pietro Aretino *Corrispondenza*. Ed. Fausto Niccolini. Bari: Laterza, 1913. Lettera 25: Al Signor Gismondo Haruelo (p. 466); Libri I, Lettera 75: A Messer Andrea Udone (p. 521); Lettera 122: Al Signor Giambattista Guicciardini (p. 589); Lettera 183: A Messer Antonio Cardidoni (p. 673); Lettera 193: Al Duca di Firenze (p. 686); Lettera 363: A Messer Girolamo da Trevigi (p. 875); Lettera 371: Al Conte Lodovico Rangone (p. 883); Lettera 381: A Messer Riccardo Scellei (p. 893); Lettera 429: A Messer Piero Vanni (p. 939) and Lettera 440: A Messer Baldasari Altieri (p. 948).

<sup>9</sup> Lettera 193: Al Duca di Firenze, p. 686.

<sup>10</sup> Piero Vanni or Peter Vannes was Henry's envoy to Venice during the period in question. As such he was privy to many of the activities in the city and would have been eager, as one of Henry's staunchest supporters, to help cultivate and facilitate a relationship of favour with Aretino on behalf of the King.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Caldecot Chubb. *Aretino Scourge of Princes*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1940, p. 404.

<sup>12</sup> Lettera 440: A Messer Baldasari Altieri, p. 948.

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<sup>13</sup> Cesare Marchi. *L'Aretino*. Milano: Rizzoli, 1980, pp. 219 and 223.

<sup>14</sup> Libro Primo, Lettera 179: Al Cardinal di Ravenna, p. 224.

<sup>15</sup> Libro Primo, Lettera 311: Al Cardinale di Trento, p. 394.

<sup>16</sup> Libro Primo, Lettera 97: Al Chieti, p. 119.

<sup>17</sup> Libro Secondo, Lettera: 89, Al Cardinal di Trento, p. 540.

<sup>18</sup> Daniel Lleufer Thomas, "William Thomas" (d. 1554) *Dictionary of National Biography*. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press since 1917, vol. 19, pp. 673-676. London, British Library, Egerton MS. 837 (A1r). Thomas's signature also appears in a work, presumably from his library, in the British Library entitled *The Chronicle of Brute* in the Harley MS. 2248.

<sup>19</sup> Cotton fol. 47v; Harley fol. 8v; Bodley fol. 71v. Lambeth has been excluded as it is a faithful copy penned in 1861 by Thomas James. James in fact states the following on the first page of the manuscript: "Transcribed and published out of a written copie extant in the Publique Librarie at Oxford, of the honorable foundation of St. Thomas Bodley Knight by Tho. James Biblioth. for the Archbishop of Canterburie 1861".

<sup>20</sup> Cotton fol. 80v; Harley fol. 35v; Bodley fol. 101v.

<sup>21</sup> Cotton fol. 57v; Harley fol. 17v; Bodley fol. 81v.

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting, that while the Bodley presents "Scholastical" the Lambeth manuscript agrees with the Additional and the Italian edition. This is the only significant departure and the reason why this manuscript has been eliminated from the collation.

<sup>23</sup> Cotton fol. 52v; Harley fol. 13v; Bodley fol. 76v.

<sup>24</sup> Cotton fol. 54; Harley fol. 14v; Bodley fol. 78.

<sup>25</sup> Cotton fol. 62v; Harley fol. 22; Bodley fol. 86.

<sup>26</sup> Cotton fol. 64v; Harley fol. 23v; Bodley fol. 87v.

<sup>27</sup> Sotheby Firm Auctioneers, London *Catalogues of Sale 1733-*. London. Ann Arbor, Michigan University Microfilms, 1971. The quotations from the Sotheby's 1888 summer sale catalogue are from pp. iii, iv, 110.

<sup>28</sup> William Turner, a botanist by training, was, like Thomas, a religious radical who was constrained through the latter years of his life both by vocation and religious sentiment to



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settle abroad first in Venice and then in Germany.

<sup>29</sup> That F. Bedford (The Second Earl of Bedford, Francis Russell) should have had a hand in the tradition of the Additional manuscript is extremely important if one is trying to establish that manuscript as autograph. Apart from the fact that he was a Protestant favourable to Henry's reforms, he was also a noted Italophile and collector of Italian and Latin manuscripts and books.

<sup>30</sup> The edition corresponds to the manuscript that it is based on; however, now that the Additional manuscript appears to be the most authoritative, a definitive edition based on the Additional challenges its value.

<sup>31</sup> The first page continues: "The most abandoned and nefarious wretch may think himself secure of heaven, if he be a veritable roman catholic: He may gratify every unlawful and depraved desire, violate every tie divine and human; and when the hour of death approaches, he hath nothing more to do than utterly disclaim those vices he no longer can commit, repent of all mischiefs he hath done society, and bequeath his ill acquired treasure to the church; for then a perfect absolution and remission of his sins is given, and he expires in the plenary assurance of enjoying future endless happiness".

<sup>32</sup> "They were clearly convinced, that all those crimes against which the supreme being had pronounced irrevocable doom; might be pardoned for a fee"(A2r).

<sup>33</sup> "Till stung with the sharpest injuries; this generous empire stood forth, to vindicate the rights of human nature; and headed by a Prince impatient of oppression, struck off at one vast blow, the galling chains of superstition, imposed by vanity and blasphemy. And thus Christianity, which before had been so obscured behind the clouds of sophism and falshood, now resumed its pristine lustre, of simplicity and truth" (viii).

<sup>34</sup> See fol. 46v.

<sup>35</sup> A. F. Pollard, "James Anthony Froude" (1818-1894). *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement, vol. 22, p. 679-687.

<sup>36</sup> The choice to introduce a bold font in these examples is mine.

<sup>37</sup> Waldo Hilary Dunn. *J. A. Froude*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961-63, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> *Some Modern Historians of Britain*. Edited by Herman Ausbel, J. Bartlet Brebner and Erling M. Hunt. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. In her essay on Froude, Beatrice Reynolds cites A.F Pollard and the Dublin Review respectively to make her point as to his partisan appeal (49).

<sup>39</sup> Herbert Butterfield. *The Whig Interpretation of History*. London: G. Bell, 1931, p. v.

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<sup>40</sup> James Anthony Froude. *The Lectures on the Council of Trent*. London: Longmans, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Donald Shea. *The English Ranke*. New York: The Humanities Press, 1969, p. 12.

<sup>42</sup> DNB, 681.

<sup>43</sup> Reynolds, 55.

<sup>44</sup> I have decided to include these translations in order to make clear the striking differences between the English and Italian versions and to suggest by so doing that, if Thomas had composed the Italian, then his English version should have been much more similar to it.

<sup>45</sup> G. Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, Day I, Story 6. In the story the passage reads as follows and, based on a pun on St. John Chrysostom's name, speaks to the corruption and avarice of the priesthood and by extension the Church, a matter central to Thomas's critique: "...gli fece con una buona quantità della grascia di San Giovanni Boccadoro ugnere le mani, la quale molto giova alle 'nfermità delle pistilenziose avarizie de' cherici e specialmente de' frati minori...".

<sup>46</sup> The word play is on *Monte* meaning 'mountain'.

## Chapter 3

### Some Thoughts on the Sources of William Thomas' *Pilgrim*

Since there is no record of Thomas's personal library or any other extant writings that can direct us in tracing the sources that informed his politico-religious defence of Henry, we are left with the prospect of sifting through a variety of Italian and English writings from the period in order to get a sense of his inspiration. Whether encouraged by his Italian sojourn--where in Venice he may well have been exposed to much of the seminal Italian reform literature that eloquently voiced the "corposa tradizione anticlericale, il pensiero umanistico e il platonismo rinascimentale, e il richiamo, filologico, teologico, e etico a un cristianesimo ricondotto alle sue origini evangeliche"<sup>1</sup> -- or, already sufficiently imbued, prior to his flight in Wycliffite, Lollard, Lutheran and Henrician doctrine, Thomas, in *The Pilgrim*, evinces many of the conventional arguments, interpretations and stylistic hallmarks of Continental and English reform. In this respect the text is unremarkable, and like the rest of Thomas's literary output, it amounts to an unoriginal pastiche of extant writings and thought. Therefore, rather than presenting a review of the explicit influences in *The Pilgrim*, I will argue that, while the text mainly reflects the conventional 16th-century English position on the Reformation, particularly as set forth by William Tyndale, John Frith, Robert Barnes and others, the arguments set forth in the text suggest a further idiosyncratic affinity on Thomas's part with the "radical" thought of John Wyclif and his theological disciples, the Lollards. I will argue that Thomas was not only a Lollard but likely a member of the underground

fringe community that surfaced in the first part of the 16th century known as the Christian Brethren and suggest that *The Pilgrim* is an example of a Lollard text. This type of writing was defined by Smeeton as one which “was not theology or history *per se* but occasional polemical or expository tracts and sermons proclaiming heretical as well as orthodox opinions” (15). In addition to appraising this likeness, I will consider the influence exerted over Thomas’s composition by the one Italian reform treatise mentioned in it--Francesco Negri’s *De libero arbitrio*--and the tradition that it embodied.

### ***John Wyclif and the Lollards***

Thomas’s ideas arise from a well-established tradition of religious dissent in England--one that has been investigated, albeit, as Ashton suggests “imperfectly”, and that warrants closer non-partisan scholarship as its guiding methodological consideration.<sup>2</sup> The question of the importance of medieval antecedents for the reform of the English Church remains an open one.<sup>3</sup> A contentious debate spanning five hundred years continues to distance historians of the Anglican tradition, among whom we can place Thomas and Froude, and who are best represented today by A.G. Dickens, from the likes of Philip Hughes and David Knowles who advocate a Catholic reading. The most recent faction to enter the debate include Christopher Haigh and J.J. Scarisbrick who have been dubbed revisionist or neo-Catholic. Obviously, their respective positions on the question of the existence of legitimate historical, religious, political and social preconditions for the reform of the Church differ greatly. As is so often the case, these polarized, even radical interpretations, all carefully documented and carefully argued,

serve more to convert the converted rather than to advance the issue itself. What is more, the debate tends to consider canonical texts and readings alone. Consequently, marginal records are often entirely disregarded or considered superficially at best. Notwithstanding this prejudice, it is evident that minor pieces, of which *The Pilgrim* is an example, share in a larger tradition, proceed from it and can, when carefully analysed, contribute to established historiographic traditions. This is particularly true of work composed during critical moments in the history of a given nation or on timelessly debated points of interest where almost all feel a compulsion to contribute. As Froude noted in *The History of England*, this is certainly the case for Thomas whose *Pilgrim*, he concludes, reflects the everyday man's view of the events of the early 16th century in England.

In *The Pilgrim*, Thomas's discussion of papal supremacy--which is the essence of this otherwise simplistic and partisan history--and the arguments with which he rebuts the spurious arguments of his interlocutor reflect the author's affinity for the theological teaching and political activism of John Wyclif and the Lollards. If Thomas matriculated in Canon Law at Oxford in the 1530s, as Adair suggests, then he was certainly exposed to the theological tradition of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes who were, in their turn--this is particularly so in the case of Tyndale--educated in the spirit of the theological, philosophical and political sermons and lectures of the banished Oxford theologian John Wyclif. The longstanding association of Wycliffite thought and active sedition, however, demanded that his sympathizers incorporate his teachings, judiciously avoiding any explicit acknowledgement of their source. This was true for the principal writers of the century and was not lost on the likes of Thomas in whose writings there are no explicit allusions to a Wycliffite theological and political program.<sup>4</sup> Some studies have revealed,

however, a considerable debt to the seminal work of medieval thinkers including Wyclif. In *The Pilgrim* there is plenty of evidence to suggest the author's familiarity with the essence of Wyclif's teachings and the general theological principles especially as they pertain to questions of papal authority, ecclesiastical orders, the spiritual and material corruption of the Catholic Church and the crucial, but obliquely related, questions of pedagogy and the vernacular language.<sup>5</sup>

Insofar as the main platforms are concerned, Wyclif had three main theological concerns. First, that the primitive Church be regarded as the single most significant body of the faithful; second, that the Bible was the sole source of doctrinal authority; and, finally, that the papacy was an historical construct, inconsistent with and antithetical to the spirit and letter of Jesus and his disciples.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these theological considerations, Wyclif also advocated a nationalistic, pro-government politics premised on the independence of the English state from foreign constraints.<sup>7</sup> This sovereignty was to be marked, as well, by linguistic independence in both spiritual and temporal matters and by the very modern notion of the democratization of knowledge. As a result Lollardy, and to a lesser degree Wyclif himself, has often been reductively characterized as a religious movement driven by antiauthoritarianism, antisacerdotalism and anti-papal sentiment whose inimical institutional/political underpinnings posed a substantial threat to the integrity of the state.<sup>8</sup> To these cumbersome characterizations some historians have added anti-pilgrimage, anti-transubstantiation and a litany of other sobriquets which, while contributing to the negative characterization of the movement, have tended to cloud the basic matter at the heart of this movement. Simply put, Wyclif and his disciples were wholly opposed to a Church whose material politics and ecclesiastical doctrine threatened

to undermine the majesty of Christ's sacrifice and the integrity of a nation. Smeeton makes it clear that Lollards did not consider themselves heretics any more than the Henrician reformers considered themselves revolutionaries. In fact, Lollards rejected such an epithet while militating to preserve the primitive, true Church from the "innovators of new forms, new fashions, new laws, and new theology".<sup>9</sup>

Beyond Wyclif's three specific concerns, the few surviving Wycliffite sermons and manuscripts indicate the major Lollard themes addressed: the veneration of images, outward manifestations of faith, auricular confession, the opposition to purgatory, rejection of the papacy, priesthood, prelacy and fraternities, the rejection of the eucharistic doctrine and the authority of Scriptural exegesis.<sup>10</sup> Additionally, Wyclif, who was in his turn profoundly influenced by the theological writings of Marsilio of Padua, was one of the first English theologians to liken the Pope to the Antichrist as prophesied in the Old and New Testaments. This theme was to enjoy popular and theological currency in reform literature throughout Europe during the later 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 16th century it was refined into a touchstone of the highly defamatory propaganda in the hands of Luther, Melanchthon, Ochino, Velenus and other lesser figures such as Thomas. Interestingly, Wyclif's representation of the Antichrist anticipated the Reformation configuration of that figure; that is to say, he was among the first theologians of the late Middle Ages to equate the Antichrist with an institution (the Church or papacy) rather than the traditional association with an individual (pseudo-Christ or tyrant).<sup>11</sup>

After Wyclif's death, Lollardy lost much ground largely as a result of the prominence of a militant cadre that envisioned a spiritual revolution with political

consequences. The failure of the Oldcastle Uprising confirmed conventional notions that the Lollards were subversive, belligerent and misguided. As a consequence, they were marginalized and driven underground for most of the 15th century. In the early part of the 16th century, Lollardy enjoyed something of a revival as the growing tide of reformers, influenced by events at Wittenberg, began to discover precedents for their doctrinal concerns in their own country, particularly Wyclif's pronouncements. For instance, Tyndale, arguably the most important English reformer was, despite the arguments of revisionist historians, profoundly marked by Wyclif and Lollard thought.<sup>12</sup> As it becomes more apparent that he was not alone among the protagonists of the reform movement to be indebted to Wyclif's revision of medieval ecclesiology, so too do the lesser figures like Thomas begin to stand out. In fact, as is slowly becoming more clear, many learned Englishmen seem to have appropriated the rediscovered ideology of Wyclif's teachings as they filtered through the centuries, since, as Dickens maintains, they "continued to enjoy a popular appeal beyond the first three decades of the century".<sup>13</sup>

In *The Pilgrim*, Thomas marshals many of these Wycliffite concerns under the pretence of defending Henry. Whether in language or substance, his response takes the form of a Lollard repudiation of the Roman Catholic Church and not strictly speaking simply an argument for acquitting Henry. In fact beyond the four central arguments which I will discuss below, Thomas's disparaging allusions and insistence on evoking seemingly marginal matters such as singing at mass, ringing of bells, organ music and the like place him squarely among what J. F. Davis considers a puritanical faction within Lollardy which was later appropriated by Protestants and Radicals.<sup>14</sup>



Beyond the purely lexical similarities that betray Thomas's antipathy for Rome, for instance his insistence on terms such as "synagogue", allusions to the church as "stepmother" and the commonplace of equating the pope and papacy with the Antichrist, Thomas's arguments rest on the main theological and political tenets of Wycliffite thought.<sup>15</sup> Like most reformers, Thomas privileged Scripture both in the body of his writings and in the marginal notes in order to illustrate comparatively the untenability of Church dogma. Throughout the 16th century, Protestant scholars immersed in careful study of the Bible revealed the Church's antithetical theology often publishing lengthy treatises in which the "Word of God" was dispassionately juxtaposed to that of the "Church". Indeed, the strategy that Thomas elects in constructing the case against the Italians is to rebuff them on each point with recourse to the Scriptures. In so doing Thomas invokes Wyclif's advocacy of *scriptura sola* as the ultimate validation of truth in theological and political matters--an approach which Anne Hudson considers to be the "single validating law" of Wyclif's program.<sup>16</sup>

In *The Pilgrim*, the place of scriptural authority is placed squarely before the reader from the outset. In an early exchange, Thomas relates Henry's response to the Duke of Suffolk's concerns about the constitutionality of a sovereign monarch being judged in his realm by an agent of another community. The papal legate Cardinal Campeggio is characterized by Thomas as "a vyle, strannge, vitiouse priest. (15r) It is interesting here to compare Thomas's characterization of Campeggio with that recorded in *Hall's Chronicle* in order to illustrate the inflammatory and partisan spin that marks Thomas's discussion. In that equally Henrician record, Campeggio is remembered to have been sickly and bedridden due to his travels. What is certain is that he was not

carousing and gaming in the manner that Thomas would have us believe. This is, however, the first of many instances in *The Pilgrim* where Thomas betrays his aversion for the Church and evokes the stereotypical rhetoric of a certain type of commentator. Initially unwilling, Henry later encourages Suffolk to establish an evidentiary committee and investigate the matter thoroughly with an eye to establishing once and for all the constitutionality of such a procedure. We are then apprised that Suffolk summoned the most ‘learned doctors’ in England for the task and that these select individuals found themselves thwarted in their endeavor by a myriad of interpretive inconsistencies between the Evangelical and canon law. Uncertain how to proceed, they returned to the King for his opinion on the matter. At this point, Thomas writes the following: “smyleng at the ignorance of so fonde a question, [he] answered that the Gospell of Christ ought to be the absolute rule unto all others” (15v). This categorical response, inserted at the outset of Thomas’s argument sets the tone for the discussion and represents a central theme of the work. During the subsequent exchanges he punctuates all of the salient points of divergence with disclaimers which invoke the “lawe of God” (16v): “in all the Holy Scriptures not oon worde is mentioned howe...” (17v); “so that it is impossible to prove by the Holy Scriptures” (18r); “ffor the Scripture affirme” (32r), “the Holie Scriptures affirme” (32r), in order to undermine any attempts to gainsay the conduct of king and Parliament with respect to Henry’s divorce. In this, Thomas was simply reminding the reader of Wyclif’s contention that, where conflicting laws contrive to encumber sovereign politics and ecclesiastical process, the law recorded in Scripture must be considered authoritative. Gradon and Hudson summarize Wyclif’s position in somewhat stronger language concluding that “any law that is not grounded in God’s law (usually defined as

that given by Christ in the Gospels together with the dispensations made by early apostles and conveyed in the Acts and the epistles) is to be condemned” (IV, 84). Indeed, Wyclif and Lollards routinely referred to the Bible as ‘Goddis lawe’ or ‘Christis lawe’--a tendency not lost on Thomas who employed “lawe of God” or “Goddess lawe” when referring to the Scriptures on four occasions during the twenty-folio discussion on claims to papal supremacy.<sup>17</sup> This “law” was oftentimes compared with Church law which they characterized variously as the “popis lawe” and “anticristis lawe”. Here, too, Thomas echoes the distinction citing the “popes self canon lawe” (13v), “papall auctoritie” (17r) and “popes auctoritie” (19r) in similar circumstances.

A second key element in Wyclif’s indictment of the Church concerned the martyrdom of saints and superstitious practices that their worship encouraged. Wishing to establish the primacy of Christ, he was particularly critical of the way in which these distractions diverted the gaze of the faithful from Christ and his divinity by offering rivals whose place in the hierarchy of souls increased with the success of the industry of forgiveness and healing at the heart of these cults. So comprehensive was Lollard disdain for this well-entrenched feature of religious life that Gradon and Hudson conclude “that while little is said about the theory of sanctity almost all saints are disparaged.”<sup>18</sup> Of the many saints whose cult was scrutinized, Wyclif and the Lollards focused on Thomas Beckett.<sup>19</sup> This is not to suggest that they ignored the many others but simply that they concentrated on demystifying the most venerated of English martyred saints in order to undermine, by extension, the tenability of comparable ones. In his treatment of saint worship, shrines and pilgrimages, Thomas devotes considerable attention to Beckett’s life and the fascination that had grown around his shrine at Canterbury (26v-29r).<sup>20</sup> As was

customary, Thomas's portrayal of Beckett's early life was deferential and favourable. He is described as "the son of a payinem" who rose rapidly to the office of Chancellor of England on the heels of an intimate friendship with Henry III. This favourable portrait is followed by an exposition of the differences that soon developed between him and Henry on questions of sovereignty and religion. These contentious years culminate in Beckett's flight to Rome, the excommunication of the King and his realm, Beckett's triumphant return, his murder and finally his canonization. It is on this last point that Thomas dwells. Having commented on Beckett's "hoalynesse", "superstition" and "canonysation" (28v), he assesses the mystery of the "holy water" with curative properties which was discovered within the cathedral. Thomas describes to his audience how, as in most such instances, this was not a matter of Godly grace but another example of human guile and corruption. Once the fraud was uncovered and the unmiraculous waters revealed for what they were, the shrine where they were contained was defaced. This, Thomas asserts, occurred in order to discourage the pernicious unchristian superstitions which drove people in numbers to seek consolation and redemption in images and miracles. It is interesting that Thomas chose to end this anecdote with a reminder to his Italian companions that Beckett was punished in death for promoting deference to Rome and nurturing treasonous beliefs at home by being disinterred and burned:

[W]hether the doing thereof hath been the ondoing of the canonised saint or not I cannot tell. But this is true that his boanes arr sprede emongest the boanes of so many deade men that without some great myracle they woll never be founde agein. (26v)

It is possible that Thomas introduced this gratuitous detail in order to parallel the final events in Wyclif's "martyrdom" since he too was exhumed, burned and scattered to the wind as per the anathema handed him at Constance.

While Beckett's example was standard for English reformers there were other significant shrines routinely singled out for their outlandish claims. Of these, two in particular figure prominently in Lollard literature and appear anecdotally in Thomas's work: the Blood of Hailes and the shrine of the Virgin Mary at Walsingham. The latter is discussed briefly in the context of a broader assurance that Thomas gives to his interlocutors that, like Italy, England had a longstanding tradition of saint worship and pilgrimages:

Ffor as you have here Our Ladie in so many places: De Loretto, De Gratia, De Miracoli, Lannuntiata di Firenza, San Rocho, Santo Antonio di Padoa that presented Goddes bodie to an asse, and so many others as you knowe. Even so had we our Ladie of Walsingham, of Penrise, of Islington, Sainct Thomas, Sainct John of Sulston that coniured the devill in a boote. (29v)

It is a segue for an impressive description of the latter. Now while it was customary for reformers to embellish their characterization of these events and sites, Thomas included a singularly inflated version which has been characterized by Ronald Finucane as an extreme piece of propaganda typical of Lollard and later reform literature whose purpose was to underscore the theatrical and perverse practices of individual members of the Church intent on preserving themselves opulently while impoverishing their spiritual charges with staged shows.<sup>21</sup> Thomas's "extreme claim" is worth citing here in its entirety because it too serves as an example of the exaggerated polemic that many writers indulged in:

But emongest the rest, oon thinge I shall tell you specially. In a certain monasterie called Hailes, there was a great offering unto the bloudde of Christ, brought thither many yeres agoon out of the holy lande of [30v] Ierusalem. And this bloudde had such vertue, that as longe as the pilgryme were in dedely synne his sight wolde not serve him to regarde it, but incontientlie as he werein the state of grace he shulde clearelie beholde it. See here the crafte of these develish sowle qwellers. It behoved eche person that came thither to see it, first to confesse himself, and then paieng a certain to the common of that monasterie, to enter into a chapell, upon the aulter whereof this blessed bloudde shulde be shewed him. This meane while, by a secret waye behinde the aulter came the moonke that had confessed him, and presented upon the aulter a pixe of christall great and thicke as a bowle on thone side and thynne as a glasse on the other side, in which this bloudde on the thinne side was cleare and oopen to the sight, and on the thicke side impossible to be discerned. Nowe, if this holy confessor thought by the confession that he had hearde that the qualitie of the partie confessed wolde yelde him more mooney, then shewed he foorthe the thicke side of the pixe, thorough the [31r] which the bloudde was invisible, so that person seing himself remaineng in deadely synne, must torne and retorne unto his confessor, till by paieng ffor masses and other such almes he had purchased the sight of the thynne side of the christall, and then was he sauf in the favor of God untill he fell in synne agein. And what bloudde trowe you was this? These moonkes (ffor there were twoo spetially and secreatlie appointed unto this office) everie Saturdaie killed a ducke, and renewed therwith this consecrate bloudde, as they themselves confessed not only in secret but also oopenly before an approved audience. (31r)

Here we have a fine example of exaggerated narrative overstating the facts and embodying the description Smeeton advanced of Lollard polemic. Establishing a pattern of dissent which confirmed historical precedent for Henry's grievance with Rome was a commonplace of much of 16th-century reform literature in England. Here too, Wyclif's teachings are instructive. On purely political grounds, Wyclif had repeatedly gainsaid the dysfunctional relationship between national sovereignty and spiritual hegemony. His arguments frequently invoked the example of Henry II and John who had questioned the authority of Rome's claim to England. In *The Pilgrim* both of these kings are cited in

order to corroborate Thomas's claim, surprising to the Italians present, that Henry's inimical disposition to Rome had deep roots in English politics. Thomas first assures his adversary that, given the chance, Henry "like a good Christian prince wolde gladly have reformed this malignannt church" (27r). He also cites King John who centuries earlier had challenged the legitimacy of Roman spiritual/political authority in England, as a virtuous nationalist paragon. Here too Thomas needed to look no further than the writings of Tyndale to discover an eloquent antecedent for his argument. In *An exposicion upon the v. vi. vii. chapters of Matthew*, in language almost identical to Thomas's he claims that John "woolde have put a good and godlye reformation in his awne lande"<sup>22</sup> and the following passage from the *The Obedience of a Christian Man* illustrates the exemplary pedigree of Henry VIII's defiant predecessor:

Compare the doinges there of holy church (as they ever call it) unto the lernynge of Christe and of his Apostles. Did not the legate of Rome assoyle all the lordes of the realme of their due obedience which they oughte to the kynge by the ordinaunce of God? wolde he not have cursed the kynge with his solemne pompe because he wolde have done that office which God commaundeth every kynge to doo and wherfore God hath put the swerde in every kynges hande? that is to wete because kynge Iohn wolde have punished a weked clerke that had coyned false money. The laye man that had not done halfe so greate fautes must dye but the clerks must goo scapfre. Sent not the Pope also unto the kynges of France remission of his synnes to goo and conquere kynge Iohns realme. So now remission of synes cometh not by fayth in the testamente that God hath made in Christes blou: but by fyghtinge and murteringe for the popes pleasure. Last of all was not kinge Iohn fayne to delyver his crowne unto the legate and to yeld up his realme unto the Pope wherfore we pay Peter pence.<sup>23</sup>

In this paragraph, Tyndale effectively summarizes the debate that had existed in England centuries before Henry had questioned the authority of the Church; namely, that English kings had consistently opposed the reach of the Church whose avarice and capricious

misuse of Canon law, forgiveness and salvation contributed to profound divisions between Christians of different nationalities and exacerbated more debilitating internal crises marked by onerous taxation policies and legal double standards. In *The Pilgrim*, Thomas raises the spectre of these kings. In his discussion of Henry VIII's decision to execute Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester he claims that the king acted preemptively in order to avoid "the example of his predecessor King John". In typical fashion Thomas has one of the Italians request an explanation of this historical reference. Thomas gladly obliges. He seizes this opportunity to establish the historical basis for his argument and also, importantly, to remind his audience that Italians are generally inimical to Henry because they have been misinformed by the Holy See and are ignorant of the longstanding tradition of dissent of which Henry is but a recent example. He concludes this digression by assuring the gentlemen that the division with Rome is not the fruit of the king's perverse desire to displace papal authority for his own gain but rather a natural development steeped in precedent (25r).

Throughout the text, Thomas's insistence on assailing the deficiencies in the historical argument and the factual inadequacy of the premises of his Italian detractor is obliquely Wycliffite in character. Like Wyclif who was determined in his writing to elucidate the interpretive inconsistencies which underscored the Medieval Church, Thomas appeals throughout *The Pilgrim* to a rigorous consideration of the facts and not the secondhand misrepresentative version of history propagated by the Church. The importance of this in Thomas's defence is apparent throughout. In the early exchanges Thomas alludes to those "whose eares may happen to be occupied with uniuert and false rumors" (2r). Later, he asks the gentleman responsible for the accusations against the



king who seems to possess an appreciation of English politics whether or not he had in fact visited England: “But tell me, I pray you, have you ever been in Englande?” (6v). His answer, in the negative, draws the following philosophical musing from Thomas: “[u]niversally in all thinges do I finde oon singler and perfect rule, which is that the outwarde apparence is alwaies preferred before the inwarde existence, and that most commonly the thinges do all otherwise appeare to be then they arr indeede” (10v). In the later stages of the discussion, following Thomas’s description of the king’s policy on the northern insurrections, one of the Italians remarks: “these be thinges that I have never hearde of”, to which Thomas responds: “there blowe so many wyndes betwene the Alpes and the ocean see that the true aire of Englande can never arrive oncurruped here in Italie” (51v). Finally, in the closing stages of his defence, after humbly accepting the praise of two of the Italians, Thomas proclaims “who woll consider well the discourse of the trowthe shall finde the roote of all the rehearsed mischiefes (if mischiefes they may be called) to have growen in the boasome either of the Pope, of the cardinalles and of their prelates and mynisters, or elles of those superstitiouse laie peoples” (63v). With this statement Thomas confirms that the distorted view of England and king held by many beyond England ought to be discarded and replaced with objective, verifiable, preferably first-hand accounts.

As well as indicting the Church’s institutional sovereignty over England, Wyclif was critical of the “bureaucracy” which enforced its will abroad. This highly structured network of religious orders was frequently debated among Lollards and is a recurring theme in Wyclif’s own sermons. Like Wyclif, Thomas allots numerous folios to this issue and concludes, similarly, that there is no scriptural justification for the existence of such a

hierarchy and for its preeminence among the faithful. On this point, he reminds his audience of Saint Paul's admonition to the Corinthians who, having divided themselves into factions according to the disciples who had converted them, claimed: "[...]oon said I am Paule an other I am of Apollo, I of Cepha and I of Christ" (38v) thus minimizing the singular place of God at the heart of the proselytizing of his disciples. Thomas likens the orders of "Ffrances, Domunycke, of Benet, of Brygide and of so many others" (39r) who controvert the spirit of Christ's message to those of Paul. In the same way that he commends Paul for exhorting the Corinthians to abandon their divisive communities in Christ, he also applauds the King for dissolving and confiscating the property and power of these religious orders in England. In much the same way Wyclif had criticized the clergy and religious orders before him, Thomas maintained that priests, prelates and monks lived hypocritically in contrived institutions protected by the Papacy. He concludes stating indeed that they live

cleane contrarie unto the true Christian religion, in which all the faithfull in Christ bounde togethers with the knott of charitie, in the belief of cleane remission of synnes, arr regenerate unto oon self order and self without difference either of name, habite or colour. (39r)

In Wyclif's writing there is considerable discussion of violence and war. Embroiled as the Church was for much of the Middle Ages in wars against infidels, heretics and sundry enemies of the Empire, theologians often found themselves constrained to examine and justify the rationale behind such action. Wyclif, like other theologians of his day, was categorically opposed to war. In his sermons he repudiated the practice of the Church of granting indulgences in exchange for support for the crusades. Indeed in one sermon (no. 48) he claims that it was tantamount to paying men

to kill their fellow men. His disavowal of war, notwithstanding the Oldcastle Uprising, was endorsed by later Lollards. It was also his belief that the Church through its network of priests, prelates and religious orders disseminated and fanned much of the dissent which culminated in doctrinal hostility, schism and war.

In Thomas's discussion of the uprisings in the north of England he twice attributes responsibility for the civic unrest to the Church. In the first instance he writes sweepingly about the involvement in the movement of the Church:

these our holy spirituall religiose [...] beganne with sowing of seadition here and there to corrupt the myndes of the ignorannt and inconstannt people. Insomuch that a cobler (marke this beginneng) encouraiged by the presumptuouse audacitie of oon private moonke in the cite of Lincolne, [...] made a heade of better then three thousande men and under the name of Capitaigne Cobler beganne a brave rebellion (40r).

The failure of this poorly organized coup by a "knavish freere" (40v) was followed by a second, the Aske rebellion. This too, he reminds us, was a popular uprising sponsored by the Church which, on this occasion, sought better tactical and logistical support in order to challenge the King's authority. With regard to this newfound tactical and logistical sophistication he notes:

But see nowe what mischief folowed of this possibilitie. Those our religiose men perceaving right well what this Capitaigne Cobler could have doon, and not regarding what became of him indede, disposed themselves of newe to prove their fortune" (41r).

This more serious threat saw Aske gather an impressive force in the space of a few days. Thomas remarks that this was accomplished under the aegis "of many men of reputation, spetially of the prelates of your Moother Church, for whose whoorishe defence all this seadition was moaved" (41r).

Now, while Wyclif was concerned above all with the crusades and wars between Christian States, he also frequently drew attention to the role that prelates, monks and priests played in their unfolding. The tenth Lollard conclusion dealt with the question of war:

The tenth conclusion is that manslaute be batayle or pretense lawe of rythwysnesse for temperal cause or spirituel withouten special revelacion is expres contrarious to the newe testament, the qwiche is a lawe of grace and ful of mercy. This conclusion is opinyly provid be exsmples of Cristis preching here in erthe, the qwiche moste taute for to love and to have mercy on his enemys, and nout for to slen hem.[...] The corellary is: it is an holy robbing of the pore puple qwanne lordis purchase indulgencis a pena et a culpa to hem that helpith to his oste, and gaderith to slen the cristene men in fer londis for god temperel, as we have seen.<sup>24</sup>

Scholars like Smeeton, who have carefully studied Wyclif's sermons, have concluded that "[i]n the wycliffite view, the prelacy was guilty of encouraging conflict and was the direct cause of war and Lollards charged the prelates with promoting war" (236). It is not surprising that Thomas, in a tract that does not necessarily admit such a discussion, insists on reminding the reader of recent similar episodes that bear out this claim. He goes on to recount how Reginald Pole, once he was made a cardinal, was enlisted to "sollicite the warres against his owne naturall Sovereign Lorde and nation" (50v) by the Pope in France, Spain and Flanders. And that, in addition to plotting with foreign Christian leaders, he continued through his mother, brother and allies in England to "woorke seadition at home" (50v). These allies included the "holy religiouse abbottes of Reading and Glastonburie" (51r) who, Thomas claims, had financed the Aske Rebellion. Thomas concludes this section by stating that "a good christian ought not to fight neither for mooney nor for honor" (56r). Tyndale, while falling in line with the general Lollard and

Protestant concerns with war took particular issue with Christian kings who were often incited to war with other Christian kings at the Pope's behest for spiritual rewards. Thomas similarly includes a remark to that effect condemning the Pope for deploying innocent men to fight irreligious wars for his cause and not that of the community of Christian souls, thus characterizing the Pope as "disobedient both unto God and also unto nature, offering himself crowned with so many crownes of golde to the destruction of so many nombres of men, as daily be slayne of all handes for his only cause" (20v).

By far the most interesting trace of Wycliffite teaching can be seen in Thomas's attitude toward the pope and the papacy. Wyclif's later works focussed almost exclusively on the pope as Antichrist.<sup>25</sup> In *De potestate papae* and *De papa* he outlined twelve oppositions which prove the pope to be diametrically opposed to Christ in spirit and deed. Wyclif's twelve conclusions served as model for subsequent Reformation parodies and read as follows:

Christ is truth, the Pope is the origin of falsehood; Christ lived in poverty, the Pope labours for worldly wealth; Christ was humble and gentle, the Pope is proud and cruel; Christ forbade that anything be added to His law, the Pope makes many laws which detract men from the knowledge of Christ; Christ bade his disciples go into all the world and preach the Gospel, the Pope lives in his palace and pays no heed to such command; Christ refused temporal dominion, the Pope seeks it; Christ obeyed the temporal power, the Pope strives to weaken it; Christ chose for His apostles twelve simple men, the Pope chooses as cardinals many more than twelve, worldly and crafty; Christ forbade to smite with the sword and preferred Himself to suffer, the Pope seizes the goods of the poor to hire soldiers; Christ limited His mission to Judea, the Pope extends his jurisdiction everywhere for the sake of gain; Christ was lowly, the Pope is magnificent and demands outward honour; Christ refused money, the Pope is entirely given up to pride and simony. Whoso considers these things will see that he must imitate Christ and flee from the example of the antichrist.<sup>26</sup>

For centuries, reformers had written, animated and popularized these oppositions in order to sensitize believers to their claim that the Pope was in fact the antichrist. In Italy this question was pursued most actively by Ochino, whom Thomas may have read in Italian. The English translation of Ochino's work, entitled *A Tragedie or Dialogue of the Uniuste Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome* by John Ponet appeared in 1549 after Thomas had composed *The Pilgrim*. In any event, there is nothing in Thomas's work that suggests a debt to Ochino. That they both include discussions of the Antichrist was a standard trope and its currency far too diffuse to ascribe to a single individual. Some time before this date, Luther, the Czech reformer Ulrich Velenus, Melancthon and Ochino had published their conclusions in pamphlet and illustrated form.<sup>27</sup> It is unlikely however, that Thomas drew his inspiration and ultimately the phrasing of his conclusions from Latin or Italian works. And so we are left to conclude that Thomas was likely conversant with this line of argument prior to his flight from England. The fact that there is no record of Thomas in the households or libraries of English students abroad and no mention by Harvel of books among Thomas's personal effects encourages the belief that *The Pilgrim* was composed from memory and that its factual precision and ideological consistency suggest a capable and disciplined mind steeped in the tradition of his political and religious mentors.

This passage best illustrates the typical diction, structure and style with which Thomas's work is imbued:

Fforasmuch as Antechrist can none otherwise be expounded, but Christ his contrarie. And the Pope unto Christ is so contrarie by [20r] diameter {*marg.* diameter is the iust extremities} that the mater was to to evident. Ffor whereas Christ was humble, patient, chaste, poore, constant and obedient, seeking alwaies the fulfilleng of his fathers will and not of his

owne, the Pope cleane contrarie was prowde, impatient, leacherouse, ryche, inconstant and disobedient, not seeking the fulfilleng of any parte of Goddes wyll, but of his owne will only, in despite of all the worlde. As for prooffe, Christ humbled himself to the wassheng of his apostelles feete, patientlie suffered the Scribes and Pharisees to contende with him, chastely resisted the worldely possessions of the devilles temptation in the deserte, lyved poorely without any habitation of his owne, was constannt in fulfilleng the Lawe ffor the synnes of his fathers elected and last of all, obedientlie suffered death, offering himself alone, crowned with thorne, on the tree of the crosse for the redemption of all the nombre of true Christians. And the Pope most arrogantlie maketh not the meane people, but the self emperors to kysse his feate, impacientlie can abide any man that wolde [20v] speake ageinst his tyrannie and abhominacion, resisteth not, but rather embraceth, the onchaste, develish temptacions that is to wete, *omnia regna mundi*, lyveth most richely in high sumptuose and imperiall palaices of his owne, hath no kinde of constantie in doing of any good thinge that Goddes lawe commanndeth, but hath so much to do with the merchandise of other mennes synnes that he can not see to reaken with his owne, ffor that litle constantie that he hath is only in persecuteng of Christ his faithfull and finally, is disobedient both unto God and also unto nature, offering himself crowned with so many crownes of golde to the destruction of so many nombres of men, as daily be slayne of all handes for his only cause. And it was not only proved that the Pope was thus contrarie unto Christ in his doinges, but also in his doctrine and cerymonies from the first to the last, to longe nowe to rehearse.

Another intriguing likeness between Thomas and Wyclif is found in their attitude towards language and pedagogy. In the introduction to two of his works, Thomas addresses the importance of the English language and general questions of education. In the dedication to the *Historie of Italie* he writes of the importance of printing the text in “our mother tongue”, while in the preface to the translation of Sacrobosco’s *De Sphaera* he sounds a strong nationalistic note. Rossi characterized this feature of Thomas’s character as “un acceso nazionalismo” (a profound nationalism) evidenced in, “il passo nel quale l’autore sostiene, prima l’importanza delle lingue moderne nei confronti di quelle antiche, poi la necessità che ci siano opere scritte nella lingua nazionale, e non solo

in latino, e che anche l'inglese divenga materia di insegnamento" (283). In the final sentences of the lengthy introduction Thomas states: "Wherefore if our nation desier to triumphe in Civile knowlege as other nations do, the meane must be that eche man first covett to florishe in his owne naturall tongue: without whiche he shal have much ado to be excellent in any other tongue" (A1r). Thomas restates this sentiment in the letter to John Tamworth in the *Principal Rules*. He expresses a confidence that, if the English were to apply themselves, like the Italians, to their own language, then in time they would also elevate theirs to the status of Greek and Latin in the modern world. With these digressions, Thomas was ushering in a progressive and novel approach to education and printing. Adair writes that until Richard Mulcaster, who was credited with first registering these concerns in *The First Part of the Elementarie* (1582), there is no record of any other Englishman who so consistently articulated this position.<sup>28</sup> He points out further that, of the many texts generated by authors during Edward's reign who expressed an interest in pedagogy and language, it was Thomas who, thirty years before Mulcaster, proclaimed "I love Rome, but London better, I favor Italie, but England more, I honor Latin, but worship the English" (158), and encouraged English instruction in schools, advocated English translations of canonical texts and argued for linguistic parity at home.

In this respect, Thomas appears to have endorsed a fundamental concern of Wyclif who, throughout his life, not only advocated and indeed carried out the first complete English translation of the New Testament but also recommended the preeminence of English and English texts in liturgy, discussions and miscellaneous matters. Such was Wyclif's and Lollard commitment to this cause that Aston summarizes their activities in this manner: "For all the advances of vernacular religious instruction



there was still a boundary of belief between Latin and English which there were obvious dangers crossing. From their first beginnings the Lollards devoted much attention to attacking this boundary".<sup>29</sup> The medieval notion of the Bible as sacrosanct and therefore beyond the humble reach of the untrained was anathema to Wyclif. He maintained contrarily that the Bible was God's gift to the faithful and should, as such, be accessible to them directly not through arbitrarily appointed intermediaries.<sup>30</sup> The question of language was spelled out unambiguously in two Wycliffite tracts. The first on biblical translation states:

This tretteyse that folowth proveth that eche nacioun may lefully have holy writ in here noder tunge. Sithen that the trouthe of God stonndith not in oo langage more than in another, but who so lyveth best and techith best plesith moost God, of what langage that evere it be, therfore the lawe of God writen and taugt in Englisch may edifie the commen pepel, as it doith clerkis in Latyn, sithen it is the sustynance to soulis that schulden be saved.<sup>31</sup>

The second, included in the first chapter of *The function of the Secular Ruler*, argues as follows:

Sythen witte stonndis not in langage but in groundynge of treuthe, for tho same witte is in Latin that is in Greke or Ebrew, and trouthe schuld be openly knowen to alle manere of folke, trowthe moveth mony men to speke sentencis in Yngelysche that thei han gedirid in Latyne, and herefore bene men holden heretikis.<sup>32</sup>

To illustrate the importance of these linguistic and literary issues in its general approach to reform Lollardy has been called an "indigenous vernacular reform movement" (Aston 136). Hudson, answering her own question, was Lollardy the English (that is, the English language) heresy? convincingly makes the case for the revolutionary consequences of

Wycliffite and Lollard insistence on the English language and the diffusion of ideas through this, the people's, medium.<sup>33</sup>

Lollards were equally concerned with general levels of literacy and study. In *Lollards and Literacy* Aston claims that “[i]t was study, by knights and clerks and others, which was to be the means of redemption and that it was as a vernacular literate movement that Lollardy had gathered momentum and it was as a vernacular literate movement that it was suspected and persecuted” (197, 207).<sup>34</sup> The notion that the advance of lay literacy went hand in hand with the advance of the vernacular in affairs of state, in business, in bill-posting and religion (196) seems present in Thomas's work. His insistence on presenting his countrymen with accurate accessible modern surveys, summaries and commentary on matters of consequence and his repeated admonition to follow the Italian example and legislate language reform evinces the practical vision of Wycliffite teachings. Like Thomas, Lollards were not necessarily learned people but interested, progressive and active lay people encouraged by teaching and truth to challenge the errors of a nation that, as Thomas reminds his reader in the introductions to the dictionary and *The Pilgrim*, was still trailing the rest of Europe in the most important matters during the reign of Henry VIII. Like Wyclif, he believed that much of this was due to a slavish “unconstitutional” intellectual spiritual and institutional obeisance to Rome.

The Christian Brethren represented the organized body of Lollard sympathizers during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As yet not fully understood, and described variously as a mysterious, curious, militant organization, it is suggested that the members of this fraternity were largely responsible for the financing and dissemination of reform

literature, the maintenance of underground print shops and the channeling of monies to members in various cells.<sup>35</sup> Known to historians as 'brothers in Christ', 'known men', 'trewe men', 'Bible men' or 'justfast men' the Christian Brethren appeared to have flourished in the 1520s and 30s (decades in which Thomas would have been in his twenties or thirties) and disseminated through their example and their publications the teachings of Wyclif, Lollard texts of the 15th century and European, mainly Lutheran, reform literature.<sup>36</sup> They constituted the first 'legitimate' Wycliffite group since Oldcastle's failed coup in 1414. Since that date, Lollards had been generally considered radical political agents associated with theological heresy or political rebellion. As such they were carefully monitored, marginalized and summarily treated in the courts of law.<sup>37</sup> It is well documented that, during the early part of the 16th century the Brethren were responsible, through their curious ties with the merchant classes in England and Europe, for the importation, publication and distribution of prohibited texts, most notable among which was Tyndale's English translation of the Bible. As Lollards, their commitment to such a project is understandable. One hundred and fifty years earlier, Wyclif had undertaken the same project on a much smaller scale.<sup>38</sup> It is also relatively clear that during these crucial decades the Christian Brethren were responsible for the dissemination of the works of Luther, Melanchthon and other continental reformers. The effect of this industry on their own ranks and the general reform movement was dramatic. Davis notes that the demographic composition of their clandestine fraternity during the period 1541-1546 included artisans, ex-bishops, a parliamentarian, courtiers, gentry and the well-born--no longer simply merchants and clerks--suggesting that texts were more readily available and their numbers more significant.

By the time of Thomas's return to England it seems that Wycliffite nationalistic theology and Lollard principles were well entrenched not only with respect to the eucharist but with respect to the validity of the Roman Church and its place in England's affairs. Thomas, of course, shared many of these positions, and found, not surprisingly, immediate favour in Henry's successor's court, a fact that suggests that he had atoned for his crimes in Italy in one way or another. Whether he was an intelligencer or an operative for a Christian Brethren cell abroad securing texts, publishers and the like for possible future projects, has yet to be fully discovered. It is clear, however, that Thomas moved freely in Italy, and one must assume from the absence of correspondence, appeals for financial support and records of exchanges between him and other prominent Protestant dissidents that he was on someone's payroll.<sup>39</sup> Rather than returning home he chose to spend the next three years as an itinerant in Italy. Now there is no surviving correspondence between Thomas and members of the King's council to suggest that he was responsible for charting the activities of English Catholics abroad, nor is there any record in the detailed entries of the many English gentlemen and their circles of Thomas's presence in their residences in Italy during these years. In *The Historie of Italie*, Thomas tells of how in Florence he was hosted by Bartolomeo Panciatichi, but aside from this there is no other mention of where he may have found lodging and fraternity during this period. So we are left to determine whether his well-being was due to the kindness of a new unspecified patron or whether he was being sponsored with monies and passage by a well-organized clandestine organization with affiliations in Italy. The Brethren and their counterparts in Europe seem a reasonable possibility.

That the Reformation depended in great part on the merchant class and its resources is affirmed most poignantly by Dickens who writes the following:

Nevertheless, the spread of Protestant doctrine was greatly facilitated by the international connections, the anticlerical outlook, the mobility and relative political immunity of the merchant classes throughout Europe. Ideas, not in themselves economic, advanced naturally upon the lines laid down by economic men. [...] Alongside the heretical ex-friars and other university men we have always to reckon with resolute and moneyed groups in the larger trading-centres. (92)

Aston notes that the Brethren had managed to forge mysterious links between various reformers at home and exiles abroad.<sup>40</sup> This fact makes Thomas's acceptance in the home of Bartolomeo Panciatichi, one of Florence's most notable Protestants and leading businessmen and one whose politics and heretical views would have made him particular suspicious of widening his circle of associations, easier to understand.<sup>41</sup>

### *Italy, Negri and a "Tragedie"*

Thomas's decision to seek safety in Venice was likely not a gratuitous one. In *The Historie* he tells of its exemplary freedoms, and of its unique place as a centre for political and religious debate. This situation during the 16th-century reform movement in Italy made of Venice, as Firpo states, "un vero e proprio nodo della propaganda eterodossa in Italia, [...] con i suoi tipografi avidi di novità, i suoi indaffarati gazzettieri, i suoi mercanti in contatto con mezzo mondo" (11). While clearly prompted to seek safe haven for personal concerns it appears that Thomas, like so many dissidents before him,

made his way to Venice with the intention of continuing his work in exile as activist and student engaged in an historical battle of state and personal consequence.

By 1546, the year he arrived, Venice had achieved an unrivaled reputation as a democratic and progressive city-state. Firpo suggests that

intorno alla metà degli anni quaranta Venezia non solamente continuò ad essere il centro importante per la stampa e la diffusione dei libri eterodossi, italiani e stranieri, un crocevia di uomini e idee provenienti da ogni parte d'Italia anche in funzione del clima di maggior libertà e tolleranza che ancora per qualche tempo vi si poté respirare, ma--sia pure illusoriamente--parve ad alcuni poter diventare il centro propulsore di un rinnovamento religioso. (25)

This notion is echoed by Silvano Cavazza in *Libri, idee e sentimenti religiosi nel Cinquecento italiano* as follows:

proprio in questi anni, pur tra sconfitte e disorientamenti, assistiamo al tentativo del movimento riformatore in Italia di estendere la propria influenza a più strati della popolazione attraverso una fitta letteratura religiosa in volgare, sia che si tratti di opere originali, sia che a tal dire vengano adatti o tradotti testi provenienti dall'estero, in qualche caso libri ormai classici del pensiero protestante.<sup>42</sup>

An intense effort was made by a progressive group of publishers, rivalled perhaps only by those in Basel, to diffuse the work of Luther, Melanchthon, Negri, Vergerio, Ochino, Vermigli and others who were determined to thwart the manipulative reach of the Church, reveal the doctrinal falsity and superstitious underpinnings of its teachings and practices and expose the corruption of its clerical and monastic orders.<sup>43</sup>

In this respect it is not surprising that Thomas's *The Pilgrim*, albeit a marginal treatise, appealed both to avid reformers and publishers in that milieu. It was after all the only example in the English language of the vitriolic and impassioned pseudoliterary dialogues and writings preferred by Thomas's Italian and German counterparts. The shift

in Italy to popular, accessible invective coincided with the Church's decision in 1542 to fashion their own Inquisition based on the Spanish model. During this period, as Caponetto points out, the printing press takes on a new function, "diventa un'arma violenta polemica senza mezzi termini, senza le sfumature e le ambiguità del Beneficio di Cristo e i silenzi del Sommario della santa Scrittura. Il papa è indicato come l'Anticristo e la chiesa di Roma come la Babilonia dell'Apocalisse" (44).<sup>44</sup> Similar to most texts published in these makeshift printing houses in Venice, the Italian version of *The Pilgrim* includes no information of provenance, authorship and so forth. Notwithstanding Venetian liberties, as the Church became increasingly vulnerable to the growing tide of criticism and extraordinary number of printed materials it contemporaneously tightened its control over strategic centres. It must be said, however, that despite the threat of reprisals, determined reformers and their allies in the clandestine print shops of many major cities continued to spread their messages in creative fashion. Cavazza indicates as much in this passage:

Il più delle volte però questa letteratura fu veramente clandestina, non rispettò le leggi sul permesso di stampa, esibì dati tipografici incompleti o fittizi, soprattutto si presentò come proveniente da chissà dove. [...] Furono usati caratteri ormai di diffusione internazionale, specialmente corsivi di origine non italiana. Qualche volta ci troviamo di fronte a libri pubblicati quasi alla macchia, dall'inchiostrazione difettosa e con le righe mal allineate, pieni di incredibili errori. (13)

It was roughly during these years and as a response to the unwieldy number of printed controversial or inimical titles that the first *Index of Prohibited Books* was prepared by Giovanni Della Casa. It included many titles including the work of Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Ochino, Negri and many others. The publication of the Index was accompanied by a concerted attempt to discourage the flourishing industry that continued to provide a

forum for debate and opinion. And while relatively successful--almost all commentators agree that few Venetian printers or, for that matter, their counterparts in Bologna, Rome and Florence were willing to risk their livelihood for activities that could if exposed lead to their execution--books, devotional tracts and commentaries continued to trouble the authorities thanks to a well orchestrated smuggling operation that had been in place from the beginning of the century.<sup>45</sup>

Among the most important Italian texts published during these years was Francesco Negri's *De libero arbitrio*, which Thomas refers to as a "tragedie entitled *Ffree Wylf*".<sup>46</sup> Of course there is no evidence to suggest Thomas's familiarity with the work and for that matter with any of the other Italian books published during the period particularly those by Ochino and Vermigli who ended up in England at the behest of Archbishop Cranmer and who had a tremendous impact on the development of the reformation there. Nevertheless, Thomas's decision to cite Negri's work warrants a closer look.<sup>47</sup>

In the only full-length study to date on Negri's *Libero arbitrio*, Giuseppe Zonta provides a review of "uno dei più splendidi esempi di orazione-invettiva, che siano state scritte a scopo religioso in Italia nel XVI secolo" (324).<sup>48</sup> As one of the first Italian clerics to fully embrace Lutheran doctrine through the work of Valla, Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer and Erasmus, Negri left the Benedictine Order and ventured to Strasbourg. There, under the tutorship of Matthew Zell and Butzer he consolidated his religious convictions and returned to Venice in the early 1530s. Driven by two beliefs: the one, that a new evangelic order could be established, and the other, a profound hatred for the "imposture papistiche" ( Zonta 296), Negri composed his two principal works, the *Rethia* and *Libero arbitrio*. These works evince the strikingly profound tension between a devoted servant



of God discouraged by the hypocrisy and injustice of the Church and a militant reformer determined to play his part in the struggle, particularly in Italy, for church reform. Commenting on the manner in which these texts reflected the essence of Negri's religious philosophical and political thought Zonta writes:

E di queste due qualità, che formavano tutta la sincera sua coscienza, sono espressione fedele i due componimenti letterari: [...] l'uno tutto soffuso di miti aspirazioni pastorali con trepidi sospiri di quiete campestre, con intenso desiderio della patria lontana; l'altro, tutto vibrante di irruenti sarcasmi, di invettive, di odio religioso. (296)

Later Zonta describes the *Liberio arbitrio* as “un acerima invettiva, tutta gialla di odio e di rancore contro la Chiesa, cui lui era appartenuto, e contro il capo di essa, il papa, da lui, come dai suoi confratelli, chiamato l'antichristo” (300). It is with this in mind that Thomas may well have been encouraged to level such a fierce attack against the Church and the papacy. In so far as the structure of *The Pilgrim* is concerned, there is nothing that recalls Negri's work save the presence of the standard critical apparatus and philosophy of reformers whose aim was, as Zonta succinctly writes,

di dimostrare per mezzo dei loro discorsi, e coll'allettamento di una larva di azione drammatica, la falsità intima e storica delle dottrine della Chiesa romana e la indegna vita morale dei suoi membri; e nello stesso tempo di insinuare nell'animo del lettore la persuasione della ideale superiorità della evangelica dottrina. (110)

In fact, both authors use specific historically and theologically rooted questions as foils to criticize the church--the one a defence of Henry and the other a discussion of the divisive question of free will. The outcome in both instances is that of a rather vitriolic and disjunctive diatribe that accomplishes the author's implicit rather than explicit goal. Indeed neither work has been singled out as a creative or artistic masterpiece. Zonta concludes his analysis of the artistic content of the tragedy with the following: “se

vogliamo riguardare adunque solamente dal lato teatrale il *Libero arbitrio* dobbiamo tosto condannarlo come un'opera artisticamente mancata" (145).<sup>49</sup> As has already been noted, Rossi drew similar conclusions about *The Pilgrim*.

### **The Language of the *pasquinata* in Negri and Thomas**

The most interesting similarities occur in the language and tone of the two pieces. As far as Zonta is concerned, Negri proves his unmistakable debt to the *pasquinata*, not only in his wholesale repudiation of the Church, or as Zonta puts it "porre alla gogna i costumi della curia e dei vari papi, la loro avarizia, la simonia, il nepotismo" (152), but also stylistically in the choice of words which are often denigratory, excessive and offensive. The language in both Italian and English versions of Thomas's work too reminds us of the tradition of the Italian *pasquinata*.

The most compelling example in *The Pilgrim* occurs in the repeated use of the word "carnal" for "cardinal". This trope associated with the *pasquinata* also figures prominently in Negri's tragedy. In the first act, one of the first matters for discussion centres on the etymological significance of the names for the various members of the clergy. In response to a specific question concerning the word "cardinal" Diaconato, one of the principals replies as follows:

Non mi meraviglio sono coniatì per la maggior parte dalla lingua greca [...] Cardinale contenere in se quella figura, che da grammatici e detta EPENTHESIS, la qual fassi, quando si aggiunge qualche lettera ò vero sillaba a dire Induperatore, in vece di imperatore, così vogliono che sia detto CARDINALE in vece di CARNALE, e dicono ciò esser fatto per dare miglior consonantia alla parola.<sup>50</sup>

Negri reinforces this semantic observation claiming again through Diaconato that the meaning of *carnal* has in fact been extended to characterize these church officials because they are entirely given over to vice, and because they are physically (here of course “physically” is intended to be interpreted as sexually) closest to the Pope, noting that they are “fratelli carnali del papa” (B2v). As noted, Thomas employs the term eight times in the text. Initially he does so to describe Cardinal Campeggio upon his arrival as *legate in latere*. In order to establish the subsequent play on words he first refers to him as Cardinall Campegio (13v) and then immediately thereafter favours Carnall for Cardinal (14r).

From this point onward he uses the word both as a proper noun and as an adjective with the intention of impressing upon the reader the lasciviousness of the pope’s ministers. In characterizing Campeggio’s escapades while in London to weigh the question of Henry’s divorce, Thomas states that he “demeaned himself in veray dede most carnally: in hunteng of hoores, plaieng at dice and cardes and haunteng such other cardinall exercises” (15r). Later, rhetorically questioning Campeggio’s authority to adjudicate on temporal matters, he writes “what lawe of God shulde direct so carnall a man as Campegio under the name of spirituall to iudge a king in his owne realme”? (15v). Thomas then moves beyond the epenthesis and applies the term arbitrarily to the pope, affirming that, like the cardinal before him, he too was precluded from judging because he was but “a carnall man” (18v). In the section dealing with the dissolution of the monasteries, the term is used again to tar the lesser religious orders of “hipocrisies, murders, ydolatries, myracles, sodomies, adulteries, fornycations, pryde, envye” (34v) and of having “used carnally with moo then twoo or three hundreth gentlewomen and

women of reputation” (35r). He uses the term twice more, once to negatively characterize Anne Boleyn’s immoral and treasonous betrayals of the king calling her insatiable desire a “carnall appetite” (44r) and then to claim that the king’s sixth marriage was not motivated by “carnall desire” but by his disappointment with the inconstancy of Anne and Katherine (46r). Thomas then returns, having established the sexual and depraved connection between the nexus cardinal-carnal, to the original use stating with regard to Pole’s ultimate betrayal (accepting his cardinalcy) “wheather it were thearnest love of Contaryne his companie, that blynded him, or the obstinate superstition of the papall dignitie that persuaded him, or elles the ambition of the carnall glorie that allured him, or what other devill moved him I cannot tell” (49v).

In addition to the word ‘carnal’, *The Pilgrim* is replete with raw phrasings and pointed diction. Indeed such was the quality of Thomas’s style that Froude took care to clean up the text in the 19th century. Thomas likens Campeggio to a “donge hyll” (16v), refers to Pope Boniface as “Pockieface” (19v), characterizes the Roman Catholic Church as “an arrannt whoore, a ffornicatrix and adulteresse with the princes of the earthe” (21v), “stepmother” (48r) and “whoorish mother” (64r), labels philosophers as “beastly” (22r), canonists as “develish” (32v), and likens nuns and monks to “whoore” and “thief” operating out of “oopen stewes” (whorehouses) (34r). Interestingly all of these appear in coeval Italian writings. In one of her essays, “A Lollard Sect Vocabulary”, Hudson cautiously considers the question of language in Lollard texts. And while her conclusions encourage careful and thorough examination of the extant manuscripts she notes that the term ‘Bishop of Rome’ and variations of the word ‘prelate’ are “strongly derogatory” and occur frequently in Lollard works. Thomas employs both

terms three times. “Prelate” is invariably used in conjunction with other ecclesiastical titles in order to delegitimize by association any official of the Church; indeed in the first example the Church itself is invoked: “prelates of your Moother Church” (23v), “which their prelates and religiose did evermore beate in their heades” (41r) and, “of the cardinalles and of their prelates or mynisters, or elles of those superstitiouse laie people” (42r). In each case Thomas cites the prelates for their insidious involvement in attempts to subvert the country. “Bishop of Rome” is employed precisely as Hudson notes “for contexts where the pretensions of the papacy are particularly under attack” which is certainly the case in Thomas’s text, particularly in the all important and critical section on papal supremacy.<sup>51</sup>

Just what a *pasquinata* is and how it may have influenced Thomas can be derived from this definition offered by Valerio Marucci in his recent book *Pasquinate del Cinque e Seicento*: “[U]na breve satira, un epigramma specificamente rivolto a colpire un potente, un vituperium ad personam che sia una personalità, una anonima stiletta la cui audience è determinata e direttamente proporzionale alla fama della vittima” (7). They were in fact at the outset amateur, indeed student, protests publicly posted outlining a dissatisfaction with the church and its practices. And it is to be noted that, while they were in themselves drastic indictments of individual cardinals, the intention for the most part was not to undermine the institutions, clergy or papacy but to draw attention to individual abuses that threatened the integrity of the whole:

“Il pasquinismo di regime, comunque meno amico del potere che dei potenti, non è soltanto la necessità controfaccia di quello invettivo e aggressivo. Se ci si limita a stigmatizzare vizi e colpe, veri o presunti, di persone potenti, ma non si mettono mai in dubbio le forme istituzionali del potere.”<sup>52</sup>

Here too, the medieval trope of contrasting the virtue of Christ's life and the indecency of the popes found full expression. This *pasquinata* best illustrates the stylistically economical and pointed nature of the genre:

*Paragone tra Cristo e il papa*

Cristo non volle regno, il papa ne conquista/ Là di spine corona, qua di gemme commista./ Quegli lavava i piedi, umil, sereno, altrui; questi orgoglioso, vuole che li si bacino a lui/ Cristo pagò i tributi e il papa gregge pascolò, il papa e lusso e giove e imperio ognor cercò/ povero, Cristo ascese del calvario la china; ricco il papa, e superbo va in giro su parlantina/ l'un respinse i tesori, ei mercanti dal tempio; d'ogni più sacra cosa, l'altro a arricchir fa scempio./ Cristo, amoroso umile venne agnello di pace, agita il papa in terra degli eccidi la pace/ L'un grandeggiò nell'opera santa del suo vangelo; l'altro alleato ai demoni ne tenta lo sfacelo.<sup>53</sup>

The authors of the *pasquinate* targeted the pope and the clergy in an attempt to draw popular attention to the iniquity and falsity of the Church. A representative epigram entitled simply *Pasquino al Papa* reads “Falso pastor nemico al mondo e a Cristo/ tiranno, empio, crudel, iniquio,/ lupo rapace, ingordo e affamato/ contro al tuo gregge assai turbato e tristo”.<sup>54</sup> It is interesting that Thomas cites the three popes most targeted in the *pasquinate* in the closing pages of the defence. But it is also true that these three popes in specific were targeted most often. In three important studies realized over the past ten years it is enough to glance at the appended *indice dei personaggi storici citati* to fully appreciate this point.<sup>55</sup>

While the language in the English version of *The Pilgrim* is, as was pointed out earlier, acerbic and stylistically not particularly refined, the Italian version, *Il pellegrino inglese*, reveals a pronounced debt to the diction, tropes and idiosyncracies of the

*pasquinate*. The use of “chimente” for “Clemente” and “Montanaro” for “Monte” some of the many names used pejoratively to describe these hated popes surface. *Chimente* was a popular play on words not only among the writers of *pasquinate* but also in the broader sonnet tradition of the day.<sup>56</sup> In his recent book Antonio Marzo includes “Frottola di Maestro Pasquino” where Clement is referred to as *Chimente* numerous times (1990, 65-100). He attributes this *frottola* to Pietro Aretino<sup>57</sup> whose brazen style elevated the use of derogatory epithets to a literary art. In *Scritti di Pietro Aretino*, Danilo Romei cites this list of alternatives to Chimente that found their way into Aretino’s verses: *Chimento, il pastor, un pappa, ser Chemente, l’infelice vicario, il coglion papa santo, papa cazzo, Cremente, il pastor diabolico, and papessa pidocchiosa* (184).<sup>58</sup> The poet Francesco Berni, one of Aretino’s contemporaries and enemies, employed the term in the titles of two sonnets dedicated to Clement--“Sonetto di papa Chimente” [VII] [contro l’accordo] (1527) and “Sonetto a papa Chimente” (1529)--both bitter condemnations of Clement’s failure to secure the integrity of Rome during the fated meeting of the League of Cognac that led to the sack of Rome.<sup>59</sup>

There is also in the Italian version of *The Pilgrim* the word “papazzo” again used in relation to Clement. This combination of *papa* and *pazzo* is another commonplace of the denigratory word games of the *pasquino*. Interestingly, in the Bodleian manuscript of *The Pilgrim* which is most likely a second autograph or at the very least an apograph, we find the curious word “poodle” used to describe Reginald Pole. Here, the ludic element so integral to the *pasquino* appears to have been adopted by the author in the clever wedding of Pole and Pope. Originally the *pasquino* was a Roman genre but after 1521 there developed “un altro filone del pasquinismo”. According to Antonio Marzo this variant,

which was to enjoy a Europe-wide appeal differed in four important ways. First, it was no longer considered a composition of specific temporal or political consequence and it was circulated as a bona fide literary observation destined for a particular audience not simply the open piazza and an undetermined readership. Second, its structure changed such that the frivolous quality of the sonnet form was replaced by a more measured and decisive format. Marzo speaks of “un dialogo in prosa, lamento, frottola, consiglio e corrispondenza in versi.” Third, the thematic preoccupation with Church issues is replaced by a concern with socioeconomic matters, urban issues, in short practical exigencies of everyday life. Finally, this second wave of *pasquinismo* was not confined to Rome. The Venetians had by the mid 20s their own statue dubbed “il gobbo di Rialto”.<sup>60</sup> The diffusion and appeal of *pasquino* as genre had by the mid 16th-century enveloped northern Europe. Marucci claims that

la fortuna del Pasquino trova proprio nel seicento la sua massima espansione orizzontale e verticale; d'una parte, non v'è città, non solo italiana, dove non fiorisca, con nomi diversi ma *a la manière* di pasquino, una libellistica anonima o satirico-politico o comico-libertina.<sup>61</sup>

and Dell'Arco indicates that the *pasquino* even found its way from Rome to England in the person of Thomas Nashe.<sup>62</sup> It seems, however, that Thomas here too might have “done prettilie”, as John Florio conceded in *World of Words*, by once again introducing fragments of things Italian.

It is always difficult to speculate on the philosophical or religious orientation of an historical figure, particularly when there is such a paucity of reliable published documentation. Thomas remains in many ways a mysterious figure and years of research have done little to elucidate his activities and thought. The observations and thoughts



presented here may, however, begin to clear the way for future inquiry into the English and continental forces, nationalistic and religious, at play in Thomas's work.

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup>Massimo Firpo. *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento*. Bari: Laterza, 1993, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In James Gairdner's four-volume *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, the author concludes "I do not regard the Reformation itself as a development of Lollardy" (I, 287). His subsequent study, however, leaves one wondering whether he might have reserved such a judgement until the fourth volume since the material, though organized in an expectedly partisan (Catholic) fashion, suggests otherwise.

<sup>3</sup> Anne Hudson also notes in the introduction to *Lollards and Their Books* "that much remains to be done on the origins and history of the Lollard movement". She indicates further that it may never be possible to properly account for its early development because of a scholarly dependence on documentary sources which are by their nature inimical to the movement (12).

<sup>4</sup> This was particularly true in the early stages of the Lutheran debate when Henry appeared little disposed to the movement and was granted the title *Defensor Pacis* by the pope.

<sup>5</sup> In *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and English Reformers 1525-1556*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994, Carl R. Trueman suggests that it is difficult to establish direct and specific influences of Wycliffe and Lollardy on the protagonists of the English Reformation but it is equally clear that close readings of their writings reveal a certain familiarity with the cornerstones of their manifesto (40-44). In *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*, Smeeton states that it would indeed be difficult to show that Tyndale used a particular version of a particular tract, but compatibility, approach, language and general theological themes could certainly be indicated (34).

<sup>6</sup>I have chosen to highlight these three general categories because they bear directly on the issues raised in Thomas's work.

<sup>7</sup>In *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*. Donald Dean Smeeton discusses Wyclif's "doctrine of dominion". Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishing, 1986, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> James Gairdner equates Lollardy with anarchy (67) tyranny, intolerance and revolution (100). Most Catholic and revisionist historians endorse these characterizations.

<sup>9</sup>In *Lollard Themes*, chapter 2, "The Possibility of Reconsideration", Smeeton provides an excellent summary of Lollardy and its fundamental tenets.

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<sup>10</sup> For a full treatment of the sermons see *English Wycliffite Sermons*, a five-volume collection edited by Pamela Gradon and Anne Hudson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

<sup>11</sup> In *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, Richard Emmerson reviews the representation of the Antichrist in Medieval literature beginning with Adso of Montier-en-Der's *Libellus de Antichristo* (954) and charts the course of this fundamental shift within the tradition (77). This conception of Antichrist as individual was altered in the 14th century by the Czech reformers Matthew of Janov and John Huss who considered the Antichrist far more pervasive and largely a result of the division of the Church between Avignon and Rome (71).

<sup>12</sup> For a full discussion of this see Smeeton *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> A.G Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York*. London: Hambledon Press, 1982, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> J.F Davis lists these as the enduring facets of Lollard thought that were appropriated by Protestant and Radicals in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He notes that the ringing of bells, choirs, organ music were particular to those sympathizers with a puritanical streak (40). In "Lollardy and the Reformation" *The Impact of the English Reformation*, ed. Peter Marshall. London: Arnold, 1997.

<sup>15</sup> Wyclif made repeated references to the stepmother church and in 1395 a decade after Wyclif's death, a Lollard faction anticipated Luther and posted the Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards on the doors of Westminster Hall and St. Paul's Cathedral. The first of these conclusions, which David Loades claims foreshadowed many of the demands made by later reformers, reads "When the Church of England began to dote in temperality after her stepmother the great Church of Rome....".

<sup>16</sup> Hudson, 228.

<sup>17</sup> *The Pilgrim* 12v, 15v, 16v and 20v. This was also the language used in the Act of Submission of the clergy.

<sup>18</sup> *English Wycliffite Sermons*, iv, 60.

<sup>19</sup> In *Lollard Themes*, Smeeton writes in support of Gordon Leff's claim that the Lollards were more strident in their opposition to saints and saint's days, especially Thomas Beckett, to images and to any excess of pomp (29). In Thomas's day this Lollard position was represented by John Bale in his play *On the Impostures of Thomas Beckett* and later by Thomas Cromwell who in an effort to produce "a new martyrology", as Ashton has characterized it, contrived to undermine Catholic martyrs and present Protestants in their place (235). In *English Wycliffite Sermons*, Gradon and Hudson write that the question of

saints led invariably to a consideration of Becket, from which the preacher concludes that speculation on saints, their legends and feasts is vain (iv, 67).

<sup>20</sup> In the *Treatise on Images and Pilgrimages*, Wyclif, while generally condemnatory singles out 'the swete rode of Bromholme', 'the swete rode of Grace', 'the swete rode at the northe dore', 'oure deare Lauedy of Walsyngham', but not 'oure Lauedy of hevene', 'oure Lorde Iesu Crist of hevene' as examples of some popular sites of worship. See *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. Anne Hudson, p. 87.

<sup>21</sup>In, *Miracles and Pilgrims*. London: J.M. Dent, 1977, Ronald C. Finucane first cites Hugh Latimer's remarks on the popularity of Hales: "I dwell within half a mile of the Fossway, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hales which can neither help me or mine ox, neither my head nor my tooth; nor work any miracle for me" (199). He then assures the reader that this holy site was, despite the absence of a religious 'programme', one of the basic tenets of Wycliffe and Lollard criticism (200). He concludes this section with examples of typical Protestant characterizations of the site stating: "The more extreme claims reappeared in the later propaganda, such as the semi-official 1539 'Declaration of the Faith' and a justification of the religious changes written about 1550 called *The Pilgrim*. This piece of propaganda not only repeated the tale about the duck's blood but averred that it was secretly renewed every Saturday by two monks who had confessed to their fraud. In addition, a second legend made an appearance in *The Pilgrim*. It was said that the glass of the container was constructed so that the monks could make the blood seem to appear or disappear; disappointed pilgrims were usually rewarded by the sight of the blood after making further offerings. Latimer had simply described the container as a 'round beryl garnished with silver', but because the outlandish tales were more useful to the reformers (especially those of Edward VI), the yellow gum of Hailes was remembered as duck's blood secretly and periodically renewed, kept in a conjurers magical glass. The Blood of Hailes soon attracted so many pilgrims that the new Worcestershire was thought by some to rival the Marian shrine at Walsingham in Norfolk" (207-208).

<sup>22</sup> Smeeton, 245.

<sup>23</sup> Smeeton, 247.

<sup>24</sup> *Selections*, 28.

<sup>25</sup> McGinn's recent work on the Antichrist acknowledges the singular place of Wyclif's antipapal rhetoric (181).

<sup>26</sup> M. Creighton. *History of the Papacy*. London: Longman, 1897, I, 122. In *Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe*, ed. The Rev. Robert Vaughan see *Speculum de Antichristo, De XXXIII erroribus Curatorum, How Antichrist and his clerks travail to destroy Holy Writ and De Papa Romana--Schisma Papae*. This convenient summary has been chosen

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because it is closest to the summary that Thomas provides. John Frith wrote *An Antithesis Between Christ and the Pope* (1529) where he presents seventy-eight oppositions. See *The Works of the English Reformers: William Tyndale and John Frith* ed. Thomas Russell, London: Ebenezer Palmer, 1831, III, 297-318.

<sup>27</sup> See A.J. Lamping, *Ulrichus Velenus and His Treatise Against the Papacy*. Leiden: E.J Brill, 1976. The full title of the sixty-page book published in 1520 in Augsburg is: *In hoc libello gravissimis certissimisque et in sacra scriptura fundatis racionibus variis probatur: Apostolum Petrum Rhoman non venisse neque illic passum, proinde satis frivole et temere Rhomanus Pontifex se Petri successorem iactat et nominat, etc.* Lamping claims that this attack on the historical foundation of the Church, inspired by Valla's previous assertions and proofs, influenced Luther and Fisher among others. Lucas Cranach, *Passional Christi und Antichrist*. Wittenburg, 1521. Its frontispiece carries the Latin title *Antithesis figurata vitae Christi et Antichristi*. As the title suggests the book contains opposing pictures of the Christ and the Pope (Antichrist).

<sup>28</sup> In a letter addressed to Sir Thomas Hoby in 1557, which was included in his translation of Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* (*The Courtyer*, 1561), Sir John Cheke wrote: "I am of the opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borowing of other tungen, wherin if we take not heed by tiim, ever borowing and never payeng, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt" (680). *Tudor Poetry and Prose*. ed. John W. Hebel. New York: Appleton, Century and Crofts, 1953, p. 680. There is little doubt that both Hoby and Cheke, who knew Thomas, shared his nationalist spirit and sense of cultural independence. And, while Cheke was writing specifically about standardizing orthography, the note that he sounds in his letter goes beyond a simple concern with language.

<sup>29</sup>This passage is taken from the informative chapter, "Lollardy and Literacy", pp. 193-217 in *Lollards and Reformers*.

<sup>30</sup>The Church's view on reading sacred texts was outlined apparently in a sermon attributed to Bernardino of Siena where the following four distinctions were drawn between letters: 1. gross letters were for the rude and were generally pictures; 2. middle letters generally written for the men of the middle class; 3 vocal letters which are words and teachings that are memorized for the sake of proselytizing; 4 mental letters ordained by God for those who dwell in contemplation. This synthesis is taken from Margaret Aston's "Devotional Literacy" in *Lollards and Refomers* (114).

<sup>31</sup> Anne Hudson, ed. *Selections from Wycliffite Writings*. Toronto: Medieval Academy of America, 1997, p. 107.

<sup>32</sup>Hudson, 127.

<sup>33</sup>Anne Hudson. *Lollards and Their Books*. London: Hambledon Press, 1985. In "Lollardy: the English Heresy" she repeatedly makes the point that the popularity of the vernacular opened the debate and gradually undermined the existing ecclesiastical hegemony and order. In fact she concludes that the success of Wyclif's ideas, which were by no means new, was most probably due to the new crucial ingredient--the vernacular (141-163). For further reading on the topic see Anne Hudson in *Wyclif in his Times*, ed. Anthony Kenny Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. One of her central claims is that language for the Lollards was always charged with revolution "as Wyclif and his followers were well aware, the purposes for which they wished to use the vernacular were more audacious, not to say dangerous: they were attacking the whole edifice of clerical domination in theology, in ecclesiastical theory, indeed in academic speculation generally" (90). In the same book, Chapter 7, "The Influence of Wyclif", Maurice Keen usefully reviews Wyclif's influence on future thinkers (85-104).

<sup>34</sup>Aston (197) also states that Lollard emphasis on literacy was equated with sedition and quotes the following passage from the anti heretic legislation *De Heretico Comburendo* to illustrate the point: "They make unlawful conventicles and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write books, they do wickedly instruct and inform the people" (198).

<sup>35</sup>In *The Premature Revolution, : Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1988, Hudson appears to question the legitimacy of discussing the association of these individuals and cites a number of sources including Rupp and Hume who dismiss wholesale any such affiliations preferring to consider the term Christian Brethren as one fit for any gathering of radical religious thinkers (482).

<sup>36</sup>J.F. Davis again provides the most up to date account of the Christian Brethren in the essay mentioned above (45-52). A.G. Dickens in *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York*. London: Oxford University Press, 1959, suggests that the Christian Brethren were not in fact Lollards but a heterogeneous group of reformers that included men of Lollard affiliations (10).

<sup>37</sup>Smeeton, 30.

<sup>38</sup>David Daniel notes that already prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century there were not only Wycliffite Bibles but there were small portions of the Gospels and other parts of the Bible in manuscript for liturgical or devotional readings (96).

<sup>39</sup> It must be remembered that Thomas's financial situation was so compromised before his departure from England that he was forced to steal money from his patron and shortly thereafter obliged to restore the bills of exchange to Harvel in return for his freedom.

<sup>40</sup> Aston, 233.

<sup>41</sup>Firpo refers to a group of “numerosi intellettuali raccolti nell’*accademia fiorentina*, alcuni funzionari e collaboratori della corte, potenti mercanti legati alla piazza di Lione come Bartolomeo Panciatichi, processato nel 1551 insieme con altri artigiani e nobili di ricchezze, e infine illustrissime nobildonne” (41). In much the same language Panciatichi is introduced to the reader in *Evangelismo Italiano del Cinquecento* by Paolo Simoncelli regarding the possibility that some of Cosimo’s inner circle may have been reformers: “Almeno per quanto riguarda il Panciatichi no di sicuro: A di 6 dicembre 1551--si legge nel citato *Diario* di Antonio da Sangallo--e quivi dintorno si scoperse una setta di uomini, che sotto specie di santità interpretavano le scritture a loro modo ed il santo significato loro storpiano, pubblicando che solo bisogna credere in Dio [...]” (360). Further on he writes “Varchi, del Caccia, Panciatichi, Bonsi, Gelli, Bartoli, Giambullari, Carnesecchi, Riccio . . . e quanti altri come loro, formavano dunque una congregazione di fratelli, una comunità intesa in senso evangelico (priva cioè di strutture ma presente ovunque si riconoscessero i fratelli)? Sembrerebbe proprio di sì, e sembrerebbe addirittura legata alla fondazione della stessa Accademia nel 1540-41 (negli anni drammatici della fine politico-religiosa dell’*Evangelismo italiano*) o comunque progressivamente formatasi attraverso i contatti e i legami che molti degli accademici non perdevano occasione di stabilire (o rinsaldare) con gli ex “spirituali” è sintomatico infatti che sin dal giugno 1541, il repubblicano esiliato Bartolomeo Cavalcanti si rivolgesse in questi termini a Pier Vettori: ‘Del progresso della accademia mi rallegro [...] Veggo che voi [il Vettori e l’altro accademico Francesco Verino] vi godete questa state il Protonotrio Carnesecco e il Flaminio, e ve n’ho (come si dice) invidia’; una estate che, come di consueto, molti letterati fiorentini trascorrevano a Fiesole, presso la Badia attorno al Vermigli a discutere su temi che sollevavano le inquietudini e le apprensioni perfino di un partecipante come Bernardo Tasso che seppur occasionale, sembrava comunque non del tutto sordo ai richiami dell’*Evangelismo*” (382). Gairdner, commenting on the Lollard secrecy and sedition, refers to the meetings held by well-to-do merchants who had collaborated in the importation of these ideas and rehearsed their merits in private meetings very much reminiscent of the conventicles set up by Lollards to discuss their Bible.

<sup>42</sup>Silvano Cavazza. “Libri in volgare e propaganda eterodossa, Venezia 1543-1547” in *Libri, idee e sentimenti religiosi nel Cinquecento Italiano*. Presentazione Adriano Prosperi e Albano Biondi. Modena: Panini, 1986, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Salvatore Caponetto writes: “I processi inquisitoriali, svoltisi in tutta la penisola e nelle isole, a partire dagli anni trenta fino ai primi decenni del Seicento, i numerosi inventari di libri sequestrati agli inquisiti e ai libri, nonostante la lacunosità documentaria, dimostrano l’entrata in Italia di una proluvie di libri dei grandi riformatori e dei loro maggiori collaboratori: Lutero, Melantone, Bucero, Zwingli, Calvino, Brenz, Urbano Regio, Erasmo Sarcerio, U. Hutten, Pomerano (Bugenhagen), Rorer, ecc. Ai quali si devono aggiungere, dopo il 1542, le opere, i libelli e le prediche degli italiani Ochino, Vermigli, Negri, Curione, Giulio Della Rovere, Girolamo Donzellino, Antonio Brucioli, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Francesco Betti, Girolamo Cato e tanti altri, nascosti dall’anonimato o dagli pseudonimi. Da Venezia, il più grande centro europeo di produzione librai, parti una rete

di diffusione clandestina di libri ereticali, che difficilmente trova l'eguale in Europa. Da Augusta, Lione, Strasburgo, Basilea, Ginevra, Poschiavo, Berna e Zurigo si tesseva una trama di contrabbando capace di superare i controlli della polizia civile ed ecclesiastica" (36-37).

<sup>44</sup> Among the most severe books published for popular consumption during 1542 were Ochino's *Imagine di Anticristo* which was subsequently translated into French, German, Spanish and Latin, Celio Secondo Curione's *Pasquino in estasi* (1543) and the *Tragedia del libero arbitrio* (1546) by Francesco Negri.

<sup>45</sup> Cavazza rather overstates the matter suggesting that from 1547-1548 "[D]ivenne impossibile pubblicare a Venezia libri compromettenti. D'ora in avanti, salvo qualche occasionale e malsicura eccezione, libri italiani d'ispirazione protestante furono stampati solo all'estero" (24). It was, however, true that by this time the authorities had clamped down on the publishing ventures and that Protestants throughout Europe had established an intricate network for the publication and smuggling of prohibited books. In *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, chapter 1, "The Circulation of Protestant Books in Italy", the editor Joseph MacClelland reports on the activities of Pietro Perna, one of the key personalities who from Basel flourished as a principal in this clandestine activity (5-9).

<sup>46</sup> This passage is followed in *The Pilgrim* by: "Ffor though the popes have been diverse in outwarde customes, some less wicked then other, yet in the inwarde hipocrisie they have all folowed the devilles dannee. And wote you why? quod I. Bicause the tragedie condempneth the abhominacion of those your lerned men, and therefore nowe that they can finde none answeere to deface the trowthe thereof, they only contende with the proportion..." (21r).

<sup>47</sup> The tradition of anticlericalism and criticism of the Church to which many of Negri's contemporaries belonged had a rich pedigree in Italy and included works by Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Valla and Savonarola.

<sup>48</sup> Zonta, Giuseppe. "Francesco Negri l'eretico e la sua tragedia del libero arbitrio", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 67(1916), 265-324 and 108-160.

<sup>49</sup> This point is echoed by Caponetto who notes that the "tragedia non ha nulla di scenico e nulla di poetico" (48).

<sup>50</sup> Fabio's question was: "Ma quei nomi che sono posti a cotesti gradi chiericati, son quasi tutti strani, che io per me non gli so intendere, che mi farebbe molto grato sapere quel che significhino, e particolarmente questo nome Cardinale, poi ch'io veggo, che ivi è posto a quel grado di persone, le qual sono più presso al Papa, che tutte le altre" (A1r).



<sup>51</sup> See Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, chapter 10, "A Lollard Sect Vocabulary", 173.

<sup>52</sup> *Pasquinate del Cinque e Seicento*. ed. Valerio Marucci. Roma: Salerno, 1988, p. 11.

<sup>53</sup> *Pasquino e le pasquinate*. Mario dell'Arco. Milano: Aldo Martelli, 1957, p. 116.

<sup>54</sup> *Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento*. ed. Valerio Marucci, Antonio Marzo, e Angelo Romano. Roma: Salerno, II, 629.

<sup>55</sup> See, *Pasquino e dintorni 223-227*, *Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento*, 1007-1065, and *Pasquinate del Cinque e Seicento*, 350-358.

<sup>56</sup> In *Aretino Scourge of Princes* Thomas Chubb writes "Pope Chimente, to name him courtierwise-- this was a play on words, changing Clemente, merciful, to Chi mente, he who lies" (163) and in *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola*. Firenze: Sansoni, 1974, Roberto Ridolfi states that the Florentine public referred to Clement as "papa che mente", p. 446.

<sup>57</sup> D. Romei, "Pas Vobis, brigade: una frottola ritrovata di Pietro Aretino". *La rassegna della letteratura italiana*, ser. 8, 90 (1986) 429-473.

<sup>58</sup> *Scritti di Pietro Aretino nel Codice Marciano It. XI 66 (=6730)* ed. Danilo Romei. Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 1987.

<sup>59</sup> The first sonnet reads: Può far il ciel, papa Chimenti,/ ciò è papa castron, papa balordo,/ che tu sie diventato cieco e sordo,/ et abbi persi tutti i sentimenti?// Non veduto, non odi o non senti/ che costoro voglion teco far l'accordo/ per ischiacciarte il capo come al tordo,/ co i lor prefati antichi trattamenti?// Egli è universale oppenione/ che sotto queste carezze et amori ei ti daran la pace di Marcone./ Ma son ben io, gli Iacopoi e' Vettori,/Filippo, Baccio, Zanobi e Simone, / e' compagni di corte e cimatori, / vogliono e lor lavori / poter mandare alle fiere e a' mercati, / e non fanno per lor questi soldati. / Voi, domini imbarcati, / Renzo, Andrea d'Oria e Conte di Gaiazzo, / vi menarete tutti quanti il cazzo; / il papa andrà a solazzo / il sabbato alla vigna o a Belvedere, / e sguazzarà che sarà un piacere. / Voi starete a vedere; / che è e che non è, una mattina / ci sarà fatto a tutti una schiavina (65-66). In the second sonnet, written after the sack of Rome, the poet is no longer concerned with the pope's shortcoming but rather wishes him a speedy death: Fate a modo de un vostro servidore,/el qual vi dà consigli sani e veri:/non vi lassate metter più cristieri,/che, per Dio, vi faranno poco onore./ Padre santo, io vel dico mo'de cuore: / costor son macellari e mulattieri,/ e vi tengon nel letto volentieri, / perché si dica--Il papa ha male, e'more --/ e che son forte dotti in Galieno, / per avervi tenuto all'ospitale, / senza esser morto, un mese e mezzo almeno. / E fanno mercanzia del vostro male: / han sempre il petto di polizze pieno, / scritte a questo e a quell'altro cardinale. / Pigliate un orinale, / e date lor con esso nel mostaccio: / levate noi di noia, e voi d'impaccio (85).

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<sup>60</sup>*Pasquino e dintorni*, 16.

<sup>61</sup>*Pasquinate del Cinque e Seicento*, 18.

<sup>62</sup> In *Pasquino e le pasquinate*, Mario Dell'Arco refers to Tomaso Nashe as the "pasquino d'Inghilterra" who immediately took up the challenge with his "intervento nelle controversie tra i paladini della Chiesa anglicana e uno scrittore puritano che si nasconde sotto il nomignolo di Martino Marprelate" (72).

## PART II

### Introductory Note on the Edition

Within the bibliographic community there is considerable controversy as to what constitutes a reasonable representation of an author's work. Since, however, all agree that subjectivity on the part of the editor must in some measure prevail, and that editing is at best a thoughtful attempt to mediate between a given text and its audience, I propose the following editorial decisions for this edition of Thomas's *The Pilgrim*. The discovery of an autograph manuscript has rendered the crucial consideration of final authorial intention somewhat less troublesome<sup>1</sup>. This is not to suggest categorically that the Additional manuscript represents Thomas's final thoughts, but simply that the evidence--the relative similarity between the autograph and the other manuscript versions, the similarities that the autograph shares with the Italian edition and the absence of any substantial argument to the contrary, be it historical or philological--militates strongly against another compelling reading of the material.

Having considered the conflicting literature on editing and editions I have chosen to modernize certain aspects of the manuscript. In accordance with Tanselle's notion of preserving the text from condescending and excessive reworking I have limited myself to altering the accidentals of capitalization and punctuation. This decision reflects the absence in the Additional manuscript of any recognizable pattern in either of these areas. I have also decided against a "clear text" and have placed the variant readings at the foot

of the page, arranging them alphabetically. I have separated the explanatory notes from the variants arranging them numerically at the end of the text.

The decision to present the variant readings according to contemporary orthographic conventions reflects my interest in presenting an accessible exposition of the manuscript and editorial tradition surrounding *The Pilgrim*. The absence of orthographic conventions in the 15th and 16th century would otherwise require an unwieldy number of notes that would invariably detract from the lexical and syntactic variants which are the focus of this project.

The rules that I have followed for the transcription are those listed in *Handwriting in England and Wales* by N. Denholm-Young. They are the following:

1. All abbreviations have been extended.
2. Punctuation, capitalization and word division are modernized.
3. Parentheses have been eliminated where they mark the speaker: e.g. (said I) (quoth he) and replaced with commas.
4. The various manuscript forms of place names are maintained as is their spelling. They, are however, capitalized.
5. All foreign words, Italian and Latin, are italicized.
6. {} indicate the marginal glosses of the author.

The manuscripts and editions are represented in the footnotes as follows:

J. A. Froude's 19th century edition--f--

A. D'Aubant's 18th century edition--d--

Harley--H--

Cotton --C--

Bodleian--B--

The Lambeth Palace manuscript has been eliminated from the collation since upon examination it appears, as suggested in the Catalogue entry, to be a verbatim transcription of the manuscript at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. <sup>2</sup>

Since the 19th-century edition is the most accessible version of *The Pilgrim* I have decided to place it first among the variants that appear in the footnotes. It is followed by the manuscript version that it was based on, the Harley. The 18th-century edition follows accompanied by its manuscript, the Cotton. The Bodleian manuscript rounds out the list.

**The Pilgrim: A Twentieth-Century Edition Based on the  
Additional Ms. 33383.**

[*lr*] Pelegrine

He that dyeth with honor lyveth for ever  
And the defamed deade recovereth never

To Mr. Peter Areyne the Right naturall Poete<sup>3</sup>

Like as manie times the wilde woodes, and baraine mountaygnies yeilde more delite unto the seldome travayled citizen<sup>a</sup> then do the pleisannt orchardes and gardenes, whose beaultie and fructe he dayly reyoine<sup>b</sup>, so hath yt now pleysed me rather<sup>c</sup> to directe this my littol booke unto the, whose vertue consisteth onlie in nature without any arte, then unto any other: whom I knowe bothe naturall, vertuouse and learned with all, specially because I understand that the King (in defence of whos honoure I have made it), hathe remembred thee with an honorable legacie by his testament the which his enemies pretend proceded of<sup>d</sup> the feare that he had least<sup>e</sup> you shouldest after his deathe defame hym with thy wonnted ill<sup>f</sup> speache. But to lett them<sup>g</sup> witte that noe man with right can

---

<sup>a</sup> citizens H

<sup>b</sup> enjoys H

<sup>c</sup> *om.* rather H

<sup>d</sup> from H

<sup>e</sup> lest *f*C

<sup>f</sup> evil *C d*

<sup>g</sup> there H

sklander hym, and to open also unto the parte of his worthy and gloriouse doinge<sup>a</sup> (wherof if you wilt<sup>b</sup>) you maiest<sup>c</sup> iustly<sup>d</sup> speake unto his great honour, I have in this little worke<sup>e</sup> briefflie declared the most parte of such successes as have happenid unto him in his liffe daies<sup>f</sup> with<sup>g</sup> the occasion that thereunto moved me and have thought good to perticipat the same<sup>h</sup> unto thee, to thentent that if anie person shuld repugne against it, thou, with the mountaigne of thi naturall reasons, shuldest have matter sufficient accordingly to defende it, in wiche doing thou shalt partly satisfie<sup>i</sup> bothe unto the very truthe and also unto the good memorie, that so noble a King hathe deservid of the. Farewell

[2r] Pelegrine unto the Reader<sup>1</sup>

Constrained by misfortune to habandon the place of my nativitie, and to walke at the randome of the wyd worlde. In the mooneth of Februarie the yere of our Lorde afre the Church of Englande, CCCCXLVI<sup>j</sup>, it happened me to arrive in the citie of Bononye<sup>5</sup>, of<sup>k</sup> the region of Italie, wheare in companie of certen gentlemen known to be an Englisheman, I was earnestlie appoased of the nature, qualitie and customes of my cuntrey, and specially of diverse perticuler thinges toocheng thestate of our Kinges

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<sup>a</sup> doings H

<sup>b</sup> will H

<sup>c</sup> must C *d*

<sup>d</sup> fully *f*

<sup>e</sup> book *f*

<sup>f</sup> lifetime H

<sup>g</sup> together with C *d*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* the same C *d*

<sup>i</sup> satisfy it C *d*

<sup>j</sup> and after the Church of England, the year of our Lord God 1546 H *f* B Februarye, and after the Church of England, 1546 C *d*

<sup>k</sup> in *f*

Maiestie Harry the Eight, who than newly<sup>a</sup> was departed out of this present lief. And albeit that my grosse intelligence extended not so<sup>b</sup> unto<sup>c</sup> the sufficient satisfaction of those important<sup>d</sup> questions that were<sup>e</sup> demanded of me, yet to advoide occasion<sup>f</sup> of discourtesie towardses those curteyse gentlemen that<sup>g</sup> so curteyslie provoked me, and agein<sup>h</sup> to learne of them some notable thinge<sup>i</sup> woorth<sup>j</sup> the knowledge, being<sup>k</sup> as they were men<sup>l</sup> of singler reputation and iudgement, I entreprised liberally to comon<sup>m</sup> [2v] with them, and to saye myne opinion toocheng the thinges<sup>n</sup> in question afterfoorth<sup>e</sup> as I knewe<sup>o</sup>. The discourse wherof I have thought good to put in writeng, not only ffor the<sup>p</sup> private defence of that noble prince whose honor hath been wrongefully tooched, but also ffor the generall satisfaction of them whose eares may happen to be occupied with uniust and false rumors. Beseching thee, therefore, (gentle<sup>q</sup> reader) to accept the trowthe of myne entent without offence, in cace thine appetite shulde move the<sup>6</sup> to mislike my reaporte.

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<sup>a</sup> nearly *f*

<sup>b</sup> *om. so f C d B*

<sup>c</sup> to *H C d B*

<sup>d</sup> impertinent *f D*

<sup>e</sup> were there *f C d B*

<sup>f</sup> occasioning *f*

<sup>g</sup> who *H f C d B*

<sup>h</sup> *om. agein H f C d B*

<sup>i</sup> things *f*

<sup>j</sup> worthy *C d*

<sup>k</sup> and being *f*

<sup>l</sup> and being men as they were *H*

<sup>m</sup> commune *f*

<sup>n</sup> thing *H B*

<sup>o</sup> as far forth as I knew *H B om. afterfoorth<sup>e</sup> as I knewe f as farre forth as I know C d*

<sup>p</sup> that *C om. the d*

<sup>q</sup> good *C d*



Ffor surely if thou sett aparte affection, and<sup>a</sup> governe the<sup>7</sup> with the discourse of reason, thou shalt well<sup>b</sup> perceave that myne answers proceade<sup>c</sup> more of pure<sup>d</sup> simplicitie then of propensed<sup>e</sup> malice, in that parte specially that excuseth the blamed<sup>f</sup> doinges<sup>g</sup> of my foresaied King, who by<sup>h</sup> his lief tyme was much more hable in dede to iustifie himself ageinst all the worlde, then I nowe after his death am hable to defende him with my penne. [3r]

Before<sup>i</sup> sowper on an evenyng, sytteng by the fyre in companie of seven or eight gentlemen, in a riche merchannt mannes<sup>j</sup> howse in Bononye, emongest other thinges, whan they had reasoned of many matters, their hole<sup>8</sup> talke fell on<sup>k</sup> me, by occasion of the king who than was newly departed this worlde. And there first was it asked me<sup>l</sup>, of what circuite might the hole<sup>9</sup> Ile of Englande be. Whereunto I answered, that after the description of cosmographie it did extende in compasse upon the point of<sup>m</sup> twoo thousande Italian miles. But in this, saied I, you must undrestande Scotlande to be comprehended.

'And what may Scotlande conteigne<sup>n</sup>?', 'saied oon<sup>10</sup> of them.

---

a to *f*

b also *f*

c answer procedes *f*

d mere *C d*

e proponned *H* pretensed *C d*

f stained *C d*

g doing *B*

h in *f C d*

i After *H f C d B*

j merchants *H om. man's f*

k upon *H*

l And there was it first asked me *f C d*

m to *H* points to *f*

n comprehend *C d*

'I thinke,' saied I, 'Scotlande<sup>a</sup> may be somewhat better then as it were a fourthe<sup>b</sup> parte of the ylande.'

'And howe is the cuntrey fertile?<sup>c</sup>,' saied he.

I answered, 'that it was habundant of grayne and cattell. And to compare it unto Italie, I shall tell you what difference there is. Here [3v] in Italie groweth wyne, oyle and diuers sortes<sup>d</sup> of fruictes<sup>e</sup> that growe not with us; as melones, pepones<sup>11</sup>, pomegranates, orenge, figges, raysins and some other such bicause the colde ayre of or<sup>12</sup> cuntrey cannot noorish them, being as we arr<sup>13</sup>, sixe degrees further off<sup>f</sup> from the sonne then you be. But insteede of these your commodites; first, ffor wyne we have great abundanncce of barlye, whereof our ale and beare arr made, which, ffor our common drinke agreeth much<sup>g</sup> better with our nature then the continuall drinkeng<sup>h</sup> of wine shulde do. And than ffor oyle we have so much sweete butter, that though well we had abundance thereof as you have, yet, thinke I, there be fewe that in their meate wolde use it<sup>i</sup> as you do. Fyne<sup>j</sup> butter pleaseth our appetites much better then oyle. And in that that you exceade us in fruictes<sup>k</sup>, we exceade you both in thabundance, and also in the<sup>l</sup> goodenes of fleshe, fowle and fyshe, wherof the common people there do<sup>m</sup> no lesse feede, then your common people here of

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<sup>a</sup> that Scotland *f*

<sup>b</sup> four *C d*

<sup>c</sup> country's fertility *H f*

<sup>d</sup> sort *C d*

<sup>e</sup> fruit *B*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* of *H f C d B*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* much *f C d*

<sup>h</sup> drinkings *f*

<sup>i</sup> think I there would be few that would use it in their meats *H* think I, there be few that would use it in their meats *f*

<sup>j</sup> since *f*

<sup>k</sup> fruit *B*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* also in the *H*

<sup>m</sup> do there *H B om.* do *C d*

herbes and fruites<sup>a</sup>. And agein ffor wyne, we have continually out of [*4r*] Ffrance, Spaigne, Allemaigne<sup>14</sup> and out of Candia<sup>b15</sup> great quantitie of the best that growe in those parties<sup>c</sup>. And of oyle and all those<sup>d</sup> other fruites<sup>e</sup> that arr rehearsed (the melones<sup>f</sup> only excepted), it is veray<sup>g</sup> true that we pay well ffor it<sup>h</sup>, and that we have not such<sup>i</sup> plentie as you have. Nor to say the trouthe we neede it not, ffor liek as the subtill ayre of Italie doth not allowe you to feede grossely, so the grosse ayre of Englande doth not allowe us to feede subtilly. Here the temperate heate requireth foode of light digestion, as fruites<sup>j</sup>, herbes, litle fleshe and delicate dyet. And there the temperate colde requireth foode of more substance, as habundance of fleshe and fyshe with satisfieng thappetite<sup>k</sup>. And therof groweth the proverbe: give thenglishman beef and mustarde.'

'Yea, but what meaneth it,' saied<sup>l</sup> they, 'that your nation supporteth no strangier<sup>m</sup>, as by dayly prooffe it is right well seen? Whan an outlandyshe man passeth by, you call him horeson, dogge, knave and other like<sup>n</sup>. This seemeth unto [*4v*] us a veray barbarouse parte.'

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<sup>a</sup> fruits *f C d*

<sup>b</sup> from France and Spain, as also out of Almain and out of Candia *H f*

<sup>c</sup> parts *H f C d B*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* all those *C d*

<sup>e</sup> fruit *B*

<sup>f</sup> melon *f*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* veray *H f*

<sup>h</sup> dear for them *H f*

<sup>i</sup> not so much *C d*

<sup>j</sup> fruits *f*

<sup>k</sup> which satisfy the appetite *f*

<sup>l</sup> say *C d*

<sup>m</sup> strangers *f*

<sup>n</sup> like names *C d*

'I shall tell you why,' saied I, 'in times passed our nation hath practised as litle  
 abroad<sup>a</sup> as in strannge cuntreys as any nation of<sup>b</sup> the worlde, and the commodities of our  
 cuntry arr so great that the ignorannt personnes, seing the<sup>c</sup> stranngiers reasorte unto them  
 ffor trafficque, and (as it is true) also<sup>d</sup> ffor gayne<sup>e</sup>, ymagined they came not to bye their<sup>f</sup>  
 commodities, but to robbe them, and that they that<sup>g</sup> so used to trafficque, for lack of  
 lyveng<sup>h</sup> in their owne cuntreys, applied the merchandise of Englande as for<sup>i</sup> necessitie.  
 But at this day it is all otherwise, ffor liek as<sup>j</sup> your merchanntes do practise in Englande,  
 so our merchanntes do nowe trafficque abroad<sup>e</sup>, and by travayle have attained such  
 knowledge of civilitie that I warannt you those stranngiers that<sup>k</sup> nowe repaire into  
 Englande arr as well receaved and<sup>l</sup> seen, and as much made of, as in any other region of  
 all Europe<sup>m</sup>. Spetially in the Prince his<sup>n</sup> courte, and emongest the nobles, where surelie  
 hath evermore been<sup>o</sup> all honor and curtesie principallie towards Italians<sup>p</sup>.'

[5r] 'We believe you well<sup>q</sup>,' saied they, 'but those commodities that you speake of,  
 what be they?'

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* as H *f* C *d* B

<sup>b</sup> in C *d*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* the B

<sup>d</sup> *om.* also *f* C *d*

<sup>e</sup> for a gain C *d*

<sup>f</sup> other H

<sup>g</sup> who H *f* which C *d* B

<sup>h</sup> livings C *d*

<sup>i</sup> of H *f* C *d* B

<sup>j</sup> your *f* C *d* B

<sup>k</sup> who *f*

<sup>l</sup> or C *d*

<sup>m</sup> as any other Kingdom of all Europe H as in any other kingdom of all Europe *f*

<sup>n</sup> Prince's H *f*

<sup>o</sup> been seen H *f* C *d* B

<sup>p</sup> *om.* principallie towards Italians H *f* C *d* B

<sup>q</sup> *om.* well *f* C *d* B

'Besides habundance of meates<sup>a</sup>,' saied I, 'there groweth in Englande great quantitie of woll, the finest of all the worlde, wherof the karseys<sup>16</sup> and broade cloathes of London arr<sup>b</sup> made. And all the fyne cloathes which here<sup>c</sup> arr called *panni di Fiandra* arr also English cloathes, wronge named by occasion<sup>d</sup> of the marke of<sup>e</sup> Andewerpe in Fflandres, wheare those cloathes arr most commonly bought and solde<sup>f</sup>. Then have we leather, whereof continually<sup>g</sup> there<sup>h</sup> goeth out of the realme a mervaylouse quantitie, a good witnesse of the great habundance of cattell that the cuntrey doth noorish. We have also mynes of leade, of<sup>i</sup> tynne, and in some places of sylver, but the sylver vaynes<sup>j</sup> do prove so sklender that in maner it quyeth<sup>k</sup> not the myners chardge, so that it is lefte onsought for. But the leade and tynne prove so habundant that there is continually bought and solde out of the realme great quantities therof. Then have we mynes of naturall cole.'<sup>[5v]</sup>

'What mean you by naturall cole?,' saied they.

'Naturall cole, saied I, is a certein blacke substance of thearth, congeyled in veynes as thother<sup>l</sup> metalles be, serving unto none<sup>m</sup> other purpose but to burne only, which in the burneng yeldeth a much<sup>n</sup> greater heate then doth the woode cole, and that after he

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<sup>a</sup> Beside the abundant meat *f*B Beside the abundant meats *C d*

<sup>b</sup> be *C d*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* here *C d B*

<sup>d</sup> reason *H f*

<sup>e</sup> mart at *f**C d* mark at *B H*

<sup>f</sup> where most commonly these cloths are bought and sold *C d*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* continually *H*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* there *f**C d B*

<sup>i</sup> *om.* of *f**C d B*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* vaynes *H*

<sup>k</sup> yields *H f*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* the *f**B om.* thother *C d*

<sup>m</sup> proving to no *H* and serves to none *d*

<sup>n</sup> *om.* much *H*

is<sup>a</sup> burned consumeth<sup>b</sup> not into ashes but resteth harde as a stoane. So that bicause it serveth much better<sup>c</sup> ffor the smythes occupation then doth the other cole there is yerely solde out of the realme a great quantitie therof into<sup>d</sup> Dowchelande<sup>17</sup>, Fflandres, and Ffrance. And another notable commoditie we have, wheather the cause be of<sup>e</sup> our industrie, or in the goodenes of our waters I cannot tell, the Fflemmynges do bye<sup>18</sup> much of our beere bicause it is better then theirs, and pay almost as much for it as we do to the Frenchemen for their wyne. And finally divers other commodities there be of smaller moment to longe now to rehearse.'

'Yea,' saied oon of them<sup>f</sup>, 'that dronken beare is it [*6r*] that<sup>g</sup> fatteneth the Flemmynges like hogges. But surelie<sup>h</sup> these your commodities rehearsed arr veray notable, and I mervaile not though your ylande be riche and wealthie as is<sup>i</sup> reaported, seing<sup>j</sup> it hath so many meanes to drawe mooney unto<sup>k</sup> it, whan on thother side that money that cometh in your handes<sup>l</sup> can never be had out agein, ffor your King hath kept the passaiges<sup>m</sup> so straictelie that no man coulde carie out of the realme in readie money above

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<sup>a</sup> and after that it is *Hf* and after that here is *d* and after that he is *C B*

<sup>b</sup> it consumeth *C d B*

<sup>c</sup> betters *C*

<sup>d</sup> unto *f*

<sup>e</sup> in *Hf*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* of them *H*

<sup>g</sup> that that *H*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* surelie *H*

<sup>i</sup> as it is *C d B*

<sup>j</sup> seeing that *f*

<sup>k</sup> into *f*

<sup>l</sup> hand *H*

<sup>m</sup> passage *f*

ten ducates so that it is no wonder<sup>a</sup>, saied he, though he had mountaignes of golde, as they saye<sup>b</sup> he had.'

'No,' saied an other of them, 'that lawe is finisshed. It is true that whilest the English mooney was better then other money, no man (as you saye) coulde carie it away. But nowe that the said King, for his owne private gayne, hath made it worse then any other money, eche man may carie away as much as him lyketh.'

'Why,' saied I, 'can you blame him to take his advanntaige as all other princes do? See you not that<sup>c</sup> the golde and sylver is abased in all [*6v*] the newe mooney that is<sup>d</sup> made anywhere? I suppose he shulde have been reaped<sup>e</sup> a very simple oon<sup>f</sup> to have holden up his fine mooney ffor a bayte when all<sup>g</sup> other mennes mooney decayed. And as tooching the private<sup>h</sup> gayne (howe well in common I cannot see wheare any man thereby susteigneth<sup>i</sup> losse) I thinke yet<sup>j</sup> he did better so to gayne<sup>k</sup> upon his owne mooney, then, as other princes do, to borowe<sup>l</sup> of their private subiectes and never paye.'

'What,' saied that other unto me, 'you are earnest in your Kinges favor, but you consider not that Cicero his eloquence shulde not suffise to defende him of his tirannie, syns<sup>19</sup> he hath been knowen and nooted over all to be the greatest tyrannt that ever was in Englande.'

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<sup>a</sup> marvel *fC d*

<sup>b</sup> said *C d*

<sup>c</sup> that all *fC d*

<sup>d</sup> is now *H*

<sup>e</sup> reputed *C d*

<sup>f</sup> man *H f*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* all *H fC d*

<sup>h</sup> Prince's *fC d*

<sup>i</sup> sustaineth any *H f*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* yet *fC d B*

<sup>k</sup> to gain so *H fC d B*

<sup>l</sup> borrow so *H f*

'In this cace,' saied I, 'you chardge my patience, and thanswere of so outerageouse a reaporte requireth a<sup>a</sup> more force then reason or writeng, but bicause the place alloweth me not to speake and<sup>b</sup> much lesse to fight, I therefore woll forbear<sup>c</sup>. But tell me, I pray you, have you ever been in Englande?' [7r]

'No,' saied he, 'but in Picardie<sup>20</sup> I have been, and also in Fflandres, wheare by reaporte I have knowen all the proceadinges of Englande, and knowen<sup>d</sup> them so well that in every poinct I shulde be well hable to defende both with reason and force ageinst you not only that that I have saied, but much more if neede were. But, bicause I am an Italian and you a strannghier your bragge<sup>e</sup> shall have place ffor this tyme.'

At the which woordes somewhat trowbled in my spirites<sup>f</sup> I sought licence<sup>g</sup> to departe. But the other gentlemen present helde me per force<sup>h</sup>, and wolde in any wise here<sup>21</sup> this<sup>i</sup> matter reasonable<sup>j</sup> disputed; insomuch that<sup>k</sup> having moved my contrarie to alledge ageinst the Kinges Maiestie what he coulde saye, they temperatelie persuaded me to answeere, to thentent it might appeare who had the wronge. And thus both parties quieted, afre a litle pause, seemeng rather to have studied this<sup>l</sup> matter then to have conceaved it by hearing saye. This gentleman my contrarie thus beganne his argument.

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<sup>a</sup> *om. a f*

<sup>b</sup> *om. and f C d*

<sup>c</sup> I will therefore bear H

<sup>d</sup> know C d

<sup>e</sup> brags *f*

<sup>f</sup> mind *f C d*

<sup>g</sup> leave *f C d*

<sup>h</sup> by force *f*

<sup>i</sup> that H *f the C d*

<sup>j</sup> resolutely *f*

<sup>k</sup> as C d

<sup>l</sup> the C d



[7v] 'If you,' saied he, 'woll grannt me that the principall toaken of a tyrannt is the immoderate satisfaction of an<sup>a</sup> onlauffull appetite, whan the person, either<sup>b</sup> by right or wronge, hath power to atchieve his sensuall will, and that the person, also, who by force draweth unto him that which of right is not his, in the onlauffull usurping comitteth expresse tyrannie, then doubt I not right well to iustifie my reaporthe with the<sup>c</sup> advantaige.

'{I} Your King, his first wief (I pray you) being themperors annte<sup>22</sup>, did he not cast her of<sup>23</sup> after that he had lyved in lauffull matrymonie with her<sup>d</sup> XVIII yeres?

'{II} And to accomplish his wyll in the newe mariage of his seconde wief, bicause Pope Clement wolde not consent unto him, did he not adnulle<sup>e</sup> the auctoritie of the Holy Romayn Churche, which so longe tyme hath been<sup>f</sup> honored and<sup>g</sup> obeyed of all Christian princes?

'{III} Thriddely, bicause the Cardinall of Rochester, and Thomas Moore High Chancellor of Englande wolde not allowe those his abhominable errors, did he not cause them to be beheaded? [8r] Men whose famouse doctrine hath mearited eternall memorie. And when he had rydde them out of the worlde who only with learneng and<sup>h</sup> reason were hable to resist his beastly appetite.

'Did he not preasume to take on him the {III} Papall tytle and auctoritie, dispensyng<sup>i</sup> busshopricks and benefices of the Churche as Christes vicare in<sup>j</sup> earthe, liek as it is manifest he did untill his dieng daye?

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<sup>a</sup>any C d

<sup>b</sup> whether f

<sup>c</sup> om. the f

<sup>d</sup> after he had lived with her in lawfull matrymony H

<sup>e</sup> disanull H f

<sup>f</sup> which for longe time had been so long H which for long time has been f

<sup>g</sup> or d

<sup>h</sup> or d

<sup>i</sup> disposing f C d

<sup>j</sup> on f

'{V}The poore Saint Thomas of Cannterburie helas; it suffised him not to spoile, and devowre the great rychesse of his<sup>a</sup> shrine, whose treasure amounted unto so many thousande crownes, but to be avenged on<sup>b</sup> the deade corpse<sup>c</sup>, did he not cause his boanes oapenly to be burned?

'{VI}And consequentlie all the places wheare God by his saintes vowchesaufed to shewe so many myracles, did he not cause them to be spoiled of their rychesse, iewelles and<sup>d</sup> ornamentes, and aftre cleane destroyed nor wolde not so much as suffer in those fewe churches that remained the lightes<sup>e</sup> to burne before the ymages of Goddes most holy saintes?

[8v] '{VII}The monasteries wherein God was continually served, did he not overthrowe them and take all their rychesses and possessions unto his owne use, crucifieng and tormenteng the poore religieuse persons even unto the<sup>f</sup> death? With whose<sup>g</sup> goodes he became more puyssannt in golde then any Christian prince.

'{VIII}Aftre the insurrection in the Northe whan he had pardoned the iust<sup>h</sup> rebelles<sup>i</sup> ageinst him, contrarie unto his promise, did he not cause a nombre of the most noble of them, by divers tormentes, to be put unto death?

'{IX}And not his first wief, but iii or iiii moo<sup>24</sup> did he not choppe, change and<sup>j</sup> beheade them, as his horse coveated newe pasture to satisfie the inordinate<sup>k</sup> appetite of

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<sup>a</sup> the *f C d*

<sup>b</sup> of *f C d*

<sup>c</sup> corpses *H*

<sup>d</sup> or *d*

<sup>e</sup> light *H f C d*

<sup>f</sup> *om. the C d B*

<sup>g</sup> by whose *C d*

<sup>h</sup> first *f*

<sup>i</sup> rebellers *H f*

<sup>j</sup> or *d*

<sup>k</sup> imoderate *H*

his leacherouse wyll? Twoo of his wiefes he hath caused to<sup>a</sup> suffer death and twoo remaine yet on lyve<sup>b</sup>.

'{X} Did he not persecute the Cardinall Poole whose vertue and learneng seemeth rare unto the worlde? And hath he not wrongfully murdered the cardinalles moother, his broother and so many other nobles that it shulde be all<sup>c</sup> [9r] to<sup>25</sup> longe, or rather to lamentable<sup>d</sup> to rehearse?

'He hath by force subdued the realme of Irelande {XI} whereunto he hath nother<sup>e</sup> right nor title, and wasted, he hath, no small parte of Scotlande with entent to subdue the hole without cause or reason.

'Ageinst all conscience he hath moved warre unto Ffrance {XII}, and by force usurped the stronge towne of Boloigne, which he keepeth unto this howre.

'{XIII} His daughter, the Ladie Marie, that he had by his first wief, being oon of the fairest, the vertuest<sup>f</sup> and<sup>g</sup> the gentellest creatures in all the worlde is nowe grown unto the aage of xxxii or xxxiii yeres and thorough<sup>26</sup> his develish obstinacye coulde never be maried.

'{XIIII} And finally to fynishe his crewell lief with blouddie raage, nowe, a litle before his death, hath he not beheaded the olde Duke of Norfolke with his sonne? Ffor what cause no man can tell. So that I wote not what Nero, what Denys<sup>27</sup>, or what Machomet<sup>28</sup> may be compared unto him, in whom towards God rested no reverence of religion, nor towards man no kynde of [9v] compassion, whose swearde enflamed by

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* to *f*

<sup>b</sup> yet alive *Hf*

<sup>c</sup> all be *C d*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* or rather to lamentable *HfC d B*

<sup>e</sup> neither *HfB C d*

<sup>f</sup> most virtuous *fC d*

<sup>g</sup> virtuous one of *Hf*

the<sup>a</sup> continuall heate of innocent<sup>b</sup> blood, and whose boatomelesse bealye coulde never be satyate thorough<sup>c</sup> the throate of extreame avarice and rapine<sup>29</sup>, whose inconstant mynde occupied with occasions<sup>d</sup> of continuall warres<sup>e</sup> permytted not his quyett neighbors to lyve in peace, and in conclusyon, whose onreasonable wyll had place alwayes<sup>f</sup> and in all thinges ageinst all equitie and reason.

'O, if I wolde<sup>g</sup> go about to declare at leingth the particuler<sup>h</sup> enormyties that I have hearde reaported ageinst him, a parte whereof I have here<sup>i</sup> briefly recyted unto you, I shulde give occasion of trowble unto a hole worlde. But syns this<sup>j</sup> that I have saied is (I doubt not) sufficient to iustifie my purpose, I have thought it better with fewe woordes to lat you knowe howe manyfest his tyrannie was<sup>30</sup> then with longe circumstance to occupie your quyett myndes<sup>k</sup> with the terror of so much creweltie as I coulde iustly alledge. Answer me [*10r*] nowe who<sup>l</sup> woll, ffor I am tyred, not with talke<sup>m</sup>, but with the remembrance of so many mischiefes as this reasoning representeth unto my conscience. And yet oon thinge I have to saye, your King being envyronned with the oceane see, thought it impossible that the fame of his wicked lief and doinges shulde passe into the fyrme lande of other cuntreys, and therefore the more hardely did he<sup>n</sup> entreprise the

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* the *HfC d B*

<sup>b</sup> *innocentes C d*

<sup>c</sup> *satisfied through Hf*

<sup>d</sup> *occasion f*

<sup>e</sup> *war f*

<sup>f</sup> *alway f*

<sup>g</sup> *could C d*

<sup>h</sup> *particulars H*

<sup>i</sup> *om.* here *HfC d B*

<sup>j</sup> *could C d*

<sup>k</sup> *mind Hf*

<sup>l</sup> *who that Hf*

<sup>m</sup> *for I am not tired with take H*

<sup>n</sup> *om.* he *fC d B*

fulfilleng of his<sup>a</sup> develysh desires. But in that behalf he was no lesse deceived then blynded in his errors<sup>b</sup>, ffor not only his generall proceadinges, but also everie particuler and<sup>c</sup> private parte thereof was better knowen in Italie then in his owne domynion<sup>d</sup>, where ffor feare, no man durst<sup>31</sup> either speake or wynke.'

And thus having fynished his heavie and fervent tale<sup>e</sup>, he gave me place of speache. But I, who in this<sup>f</sup> soddayn cace was not so promptly prepared with distincte answeres<sup>g</sup> to satisfie the companie, as he thus roundely had chardged me, rested in manner amased<sup>h</sup>, partely bicause me seemed the other gentlemen enclyned [10v] towards a certein creadite of his reaporte, and partely also ffor feare of the place wherein I founde myself. Ffor Bononye (though well with wronge) is of the Popes territorie, and he that speaketh there ageinst the Pope encurreth no lesse danngier then he that in Englande wolde offende the Kinges Maiestie. Insomuch that oon of them, perceaving me so oppressed with an inwarde passion, veray curteyslie encouraiged me to defende the cause that<sup>i</sup> I had taken in hande without respect or<sup>j</sup> feare. So that afre I had telled them howe<sup>k</sup> without the Popes offence I coulde not make my reason good, which the presence of the place prohibited me, assured of them all in oon voyce, to speake at libertie what I wolde,

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* his H

<sup>b</sup> blind in his own errors H blinded in his own errors *f*

<sup>c</sup> or *d*

<sup>d</sup> dominions H *f*

<sup>e</sup> talk C *d f*

<sup>f</sup> the C *d*

<sup>g</sup> answers *f C d*

<sup>h</sup> amused C *d*

<sup>i</sup> which C *d*

<sup>j</sup> of *f B*

<sup>k</sup> I had told him how that *f C d*

without danngier of<sup>a</sup> displeasor. All ioyfully ymagineng the victorie in hande thus beganne I<sup>b</sup> to saye:

'Universally in all thinges do I finde oon singler and perfect rule, which is<sup>c</sup> that the outwarde apparance {*marg.* apparance that seemeth to be} is alwaies preferred before the inwarde existence {*marg.* existence that is indede}<sup>d</sup>, and that most commonly the [*llr*] thinges do all<sup>e</sup> otherwise appeare to be then as they arr indeede. As for example, the faire woman of him that by love seeketh to reioyse her is rather regarded for her outwarde beaultie then for her inwarde vertue, and many tymes under the veyle of a smyleng face is covered the<sup>f</sup> poyson of a cankered herte. Yea, and whan I had none<sup>g</sup> other prooffe unto this my purpose but that all lyving men arr knowen to beare more earnest love unto the presence of these vayne worldly<sup>h</sup> riches, then unto the hydde<sup>i</sup>, infinite vertue of the everlasting God their Creature<sup>j</sup> I thinke the same only shulde suffice to declare howe ignorant the<sup>k</sup> mannes common iudgement is as longe as it is occupied with the apparance of the thinge and penetrateth not unto the essentiall substannce, as in this our present matter you shall right<sup>l</sup> well perceave it hath happened. Ffor that<sup>m</sup> person that woll only regarde the argument that this<sup>n</sup> gentleman here hath made<sup>a</sup>, with the particuler

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<sup>a</sup> or *f*B

<sup>b</sup> I thus began *Hf*

<sup>c</sup> which is this *f*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* gloss *HfC d*

<sup>e</sup> do all things *Hf*

<sup>f</sup> the the *H*

<sup>g</sup> no *Hf*

<sup>h</sup> earthly *H earthy f*

<sup>i</sup> to the hidden *Hf*

<sup>j</sup> creator *HfC dB*

<sup>k</sup> that *HfC d*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* right *H*

<sup>m</sup> the *f*

<sup>n</sup> the *f*

witnesse of those thinges that he hath rehearsed [11v] (which in parte arr surely true), and discurne no further, he, I saye, must rest undoubtedly persuaded that the deceased King was no lesse then a crewell<sup>b</sup> tyrannt, by reason that in all thinges it shulde seeme he folowed more his onlauffull appetite then any reasonable vertue. But, on the other side, he that woll passe thorough this<sup>c</sup> outwarde discourse, and recourre unto the inwarde occasions, howe, why and in what maner these thinges have suceaded, shall clerely<sup>d</sup> fynde theeffect to conteigne all an<sup>e</sup>other reason then it seemeth to do as myne answers unto his appositions<sup>f</sup> by oon and oon, shall (I doubt not) sufficiently<sup>g</sup> prove<sup>h</sup>. Nothing mistrusting as<sup>i</sup> all but that they who covett the light of the trowthe shall receive singler pleasure in the<sup>j</sup> hearing of me. Wherfore I shall hertelie beseche<sup>k</sup> you of quyett audyence unto the full declaration of my purpose. And yet or ever it shall become me to dispute<sup>l</sup> in so weightie a cace, reason comanneth me to knowe both the nature and devotion<sup>m</sup> of the person [12r] whom it behoveth me to answer so that, quod<sup>n</sup> I unto my contrarie, I shall pray you not to disdaigne to tell me what is<sup>o</sup> your profession and what<sup>p</sup> your religion. As

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* made H f C d B

<sup>b</sup> *om.* crewell H

<sup>c</sup> through the *f*

<sup>d</sup> easely H

<sup>e</sup> and H

<sup>f</sup> oppositions *f*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* sufficiently H

<sup>h</sup> prove sufficiently *f*

<sup>i</sup> at H f C d B

<sup>j</sup> *om.* the H f C d B

<sup>k</sup> desire C d

<sup>l</sup> dissent C d

<sup>m</sup> religion H *f*

<sup>n</sup> said H *f*

<sup>o</sup> *om.* is H C d B

<sup>p</sup> what is C d

ffor your qualitie, I nothing doubt but that you arr a gentleman ffor so doth your porte and gesture sufficiently assure me.'

'As ffor that,' saied he, 'I woll not make it strannge. My profession is to serve the warres, though well I lyve upon my landes, and my religion is to believe in the Holy Mother Church as my father and all myne ancestors have doon<sup>32</sup>.'

'Veray well', saied I, 'in the hole is evermore comprehended the parte, and therefore unto the particuler which as I can remember dependeth in<sup>a</sup> xiii or xiiii<sup>33</sup> severall<sup>b</sup> poinctes.

{I}<sup>34</sup> I answere that first, as<sup>c</sup> toocheng the divorce had betwene the Kinges Maiestie and the Ladie Katherine, his first wief, which was themperors annte, it is to be considered wheather in that behalf His Highnes<sup>35</sup> intent was to proceade onlauffully or lauffully<sup>d</sup>, prively or apertely<sup>e</sup>, and ffor his [12v] owne personall comoditie or for a common wealth<sup>f</sup>. In the triall of which three distinctions the matter must appeare. And thus standeth the cace.

'The Kinges Maiestie deceased in the tyme of his father, King Harry<sup>g</sup> the Seventh, had an elder brother named Arthur, heyre apparant unto<sup>h</sup> the Crowne of Englande, unto whom this Ladie Katheryn was first married. Wheather they cowpled in naturall knowledge or not, God knoweth, ffor unto me it appertaigneth not to iudge, but ones<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> *om. in f*

<sup>b</sup> *om. severall C d*

<sup>c</sup> *om. as H*

<sup>d</sup> *lawfully or unlawfully f*

<sup>e</sup> *openly f*

<sup>f</sup> *as for a commonwealth or his own personal commodity H for commonwealth or his own personal commodity f or for a commonwealth, or his owne person's commodity d or for a commonwealth, his own persones commodity C B*

<sup>g</sup> *Henry H f C d B*

<sup>h</sup> *to to C*

<sup>i</sup> *om. ones H f one C d*



they were<sup>a</sup> lauffull aage. Now Ser<sup>b</sup>, this Prince Arthur died before the father, and during the fathers lief this<sup>c</sup> Ladie remained wedowe<sup>d</sup>, but incontinentlie as the father was deade and the King that nowe is deperted comen<sup>e</sup> to the Crowne, his Maiestie became enamored in her<sup>f</sup>, both for the<sup>g</sup> rare beaultie and also for the<sup>h</sup> singler vertues which seemed then<sup>i</sup> to flourish in her then in any other lyving woman. But bicause the lawe of God in Christ permitteth not the broother to reioyse<sup>j</sup> the brothers wief, as the speciall prooffe of<sup>k</sup> [13r] Herode, whom<sup>l</sup> John Baptist therefore rebuked {*marg.* Mark 6<sup>37</sup>}, doth well declare, His Highnes as ffor extreame reamedie unto his unlauffull cace, recurred unto the Popes dispensation, believing at that tyme (as many yet do believe) the same to be of much more effect then Goddes comannment<sup>m</sup>. And so having with<sup>n</sup> great sute and ffor extreame sommes of mooney at leingth obteigned superstitiousse licence, he attempted the acte of matrimonie, and quietlie lyved (as you have saied) with that<sup>o</sup> Ladie Katherine xviii yeres or therabout<sup>p</sup> having issue by her that gentle Ladie Marie, whose beaultie, and vertue you have most worthiely commended. But whan the tyme came that God

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a were of *f*

b *om.* Ser H B

c the C *d*

d a widow *f* C *d*

e coming H came *f* come C *d*

f *om.* in her H

g because of her *f* both for her B

h her H *f*

i then more H *f* C *d*

j enjoy H *f*

k *om.* of H

l whom whom H whom when C *d* B

m commandments *f*

n unto *f*

o the *f* C *d* B

p thereabouts H *f* C *d* B

oopened His Maiesties spirites<sup>a</sup> to consider his<sup>b</sup> onlauffull acte, not trusteng yet altogether unto the divine inspiration of the spirite, howe well diverse of his prudent and learned counsaillors had persuaded him plainelie that the matter coulde not stande well, he neverthelesse sent first unto Rome to Clement the Seventhe ffor the resolution of [13v] his iudgement in that behalf, praieng him, if the matter appeared onlauffull before God, to grannt him not only a divorce but also a licence to marie agein for diverse good and Christian respects.

'But Clement, smyleng in his hert at so sweete an occasion<sup>c</sup>, and thinkeng of this ryche King to sheare such an other golden fleese as Jason conquered in Colchos, threwe foorthe so weake a trayneng bayte that the great fyshe swallowed his hooke and brake<sup>d</sup> his lyne. Ffor straight waye sent he the Cardinall Campegio<sup>38</sup>, *legate a latere*<sup>39</sup>, into Englande to determyne this matter; who, sytteng there in iudgement, had such couraige of presumption that he caused the king as a private partie<sup>e</sup> in person to appeare before him, and the Ladie Katherine both. And there was this matter so longe disputed *pro et contra*<sup>40</sup> that finally not only by<sup>g</sup> the civile and morall lawes, but also by the Popes self canon lawes the commanndement of God had place, and the error of the Popes dispensation was discovered. So [14r] that in conclusion, His Maiestie was divorced from<sup>h</sup> the saied Ladie Katherine, not onlauffully by extorte<sup>i</sup> power either of the King himself or of any of his subiectes, but lauffully by<sup>j</sup> true examination of the veritie before

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<sup>a</sup> eyes and spirit H *f*

<sup>b</sup> this his H *f*

<sup>c</sup> at so meet an occasion *f* at this sweet occasion C *d*

<sup>d</sup> broke *f*

<sup>e</sup> *om.* partie *f* C *d*

<sup>f</sup> and C *d*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* by H *f* C *d* B

<sup>h</sup> from her H

<sup>i</sup> extorted *f*

<sup>j</sup> by the H *f* C *d* B

such a iudge as coveated rather to rule the King then to obey him. And it cannot be saied that he did it prively, ffor all the worlde was present, and<sup>a</sup> the matter in question more then xx moonethes or ever it tooke effect.

'And then as ffor his<sup>b</sup> personall comoditie, I thinke no man so ignorant but that he may<sup>c</sup> consider howe His Maiestie might alwaies secretlie have had<sup>d</sup> at his pleasure nombres of faire women, Englande being as it is<sup>e</sup> reaplenysshed with the fairest creatures of all<sup>f</sup> the worlde. But, he did it first for the reverence of God<sup>g</sup>, whose commandementes eche creature principally<sup>h</sup> is bounde to obey, and afre ffor<sup>i</sup> the common wealth of his realme, the inhabitants<sup>j</sup> whereof arr of all others<sup>k</sup> most enclynable unto seadition upon everie least occasion. So that in tyme to come whan so ever any great man [*l4v*] shulde have rebelled ageinst the royall bloudde, alledging the Kinges children in this<sup>l</sup> cace not to be boaren in lafull matrymonie, it<sup>m</sup> shulde have been liek enough to have mooved mortall cyvile warres<sup>n</sup>, as the semblable<sup>o</sup> small occasions in tyme<sup>p</sup> past have yelded manyfest prooffe. Whereas nowe, having had by the ondoubted Quene Jane, his lafull

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<sup>a</sup> to *f*

<sup>b</sup> *om.* his *C d*

<sup>c</sup> might *H*

<sup>d</sup> always might have had secretly *H* how that he always might have ha *f*

<sup>e</sup> were *f*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* all *H f C d B*

<sup>g</sup> with reverence to God *H f* of reverence to God *C d B*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* principally *H f C d B*

<sup>i</sup> *om.* for *H f C d B*

<sup>j</sup> inhabitants *f C d B*

<sup>k</sup> other *f*

<sup>l</sup> their *f*

<sup>m</sup> that *H*

<sup>n</sup> war *H f C d B*

<sup>o</sup> *om.* the semblable *H f*

<sup>p</sup> ties *H f C d B*

wief, a most gratiouse sonne named Edwarde, who laufullly hath receaved the crowne<sup>a</sup>, the hole realme must needes persever in happie peace and ioye. And therefore me thinketh him much to blame that for so reasonable a doing wolde defame so circumspect a prince.

{II} Nowe unto that you saye that bicause<sup>b</sup> Pope Clement wolde not dispense with his seconde matrimonie, His Maiestie extirped out of Englande the Papall auctoritie, a thinge of most annient and godly reverence as you take it. I answer that after the Kinges Highnes had so appeared in person before the Carnall<sup>c</sup> Campegio, oon of the princes of his realme named the Duke of Suffolke, a great wise man, and of more familiaritie with the [15r] King then any other person, asked His Maiestie howe this matter might come to passe that a prince in his owne realme shulde so humble himself before the feete of a vyle, strannge<sup>d</sup>, vitiousse priest<sup>d</sup> (ffor Campegio there in Englande demeaned himself in veray dede most carnally; in hunteng of hoores, plaieng at dice and<sup>e</sup> cardes and haunteng<sup>f</sup> such other cardinall exercises). Whereunto the King answered, he coulde not tell, but only that it seemed unto him the<sup>g</sup> spirituall men ought to iudge the<sup>h</sup> spirituall matters. And yet as you saye, saied the King, me seemeth there shulde be somewhat in it, and I wolde<sup>i</sup> right<sup>j</sup> gladly undrestande why and howe, were it<sup>k</sup> not that I wolde be lothe to appeare more curyouse<sup>42</sup> then other princes. Why Ser, saied the Duke, Your Maiestie may cause the matter to be discussed secretlie by your learned men without any rumor at all. Veray

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<sup>a</sup> the crown the crown B

<sup>b</sup> *om.* bicause H

<sup>c</sup> Cardinal H *f* C *d*

<sup>d</sup> vile stranger, a vicious priest H

<sup>e</sup> or *d*

<sup>f</sup> sundry *f*

<sup>g</sup> that *f*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* the H *f* C *d* B

<sup>i</sup> could *f*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* right C *d*

<sup>k</sup> *om.* it H

well, saied the King, and so shall it be. And thus inspired of God, called he<sup>a</sup> diverse of his trustie and great<sup>b</sup> doctors unto him, chardgeng them distinctelie to examyn what [15v] lawe of God shulde direct so carnall a man as Campegio, under the name of spirituall, to iudge a king in his owne realme. According unto whose comandement these doctors reasorteng togethers<sup>c</sup> into an appointed place disputed this matter *large et stricte*<sup>43</sup> {*marg.* theologically termes}<sup>d</sup> as the case required. And, as the black by the white is knowen, so, by conferreng<sup>e</sup> the oppositions together, it appeared that the Evangelicall Lawe varied much from the Canon Lawes<sup>f</sup> in this point. So, that in effect, bicause twoo contraries cannot stande *in uno subiecto eodem casu et tempore*<sup>44</sup>, they were constrayned to recurre unto the Kinges Maiesties pleasure, to knowe wheather of those twoo lawes shulde be preferred, who smyleng at the ignorance of so fonde a question, answered that the Gospell of Christ ought to be the absolute rule unto all others. Comandeng them, therefore, to folowe the same without regarde<sup>g</sup> either unto<sup>h</sup> civile, canon or what so ever other lawe<sup>i</sup>.

'And here beganne the quycke, ffor these doctors had no sooner taken the Gospell for their absolute rule, but that<sup>j</sup> they [16r] founde this<sup>k</sup> popish auctorite over the kinges<sup>l</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> And thus inspired by God he called H *f*

<sup>b</sup> great and trusty H *f*

<sup>c</sup> so by conference H so by conference of *f*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* gloss H *f* C *d*

<sup>e</sup> conference H conference of *f*

<sup>f</sup> law *f*

<sup>g</sup> regarding H

<sup>h</sup> unto the H *f* C *d* B

<sup>i</sup> whatsoever law *d*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* that *f* C *d* B

<sup>k</sup> the C *d*

<sup>l</sup> King C

and<sup>a</sup> princes of [t]he earthe to be usurped. Ffor Peter himself {*marg.* 1:Peter:2<sup>45</sup>} (whose successor the Pope presumeth to be) commanndeth all Christians<sup>b</sup> to obey and honor the<sup>c</sup> kinges and<sup>d</sup> princes with feare and reverence bicause the kinges of the earth arr ordeyned of God. And so saieth Paule, so saieth Salomon and so Christ {*marg.* Rom:13<sup>46</sup>, Sapien:6<sup>47</sup>, Math:17<sup>48</sup>} himself by example hath commannded, whan entreng into Capharnavin<sup>49</sup>, he humbled himself unto the payment of the Prince his customs<sup>e</sup>. And if<sup>f</sup> Peter, Paule, Salomon and Christ himself, saied they), have directed us unto<sup>g</sup> the obedience of kinges in the tyme whan there was no Christian king in the worlde, howe much more nowe ought all Christians to obey their princes absolutelie, whan they. the kinges themselves, arr not only members of the self<sup>h</sup> bodie of Christ, but also mynisters<sup>i</sup> of the Christian iustice? And what greater dishonor (saied they) can a king receave then in his owne realme to be made a subiect, and to appeare, not before another vertuose king or emperour, but before a vyle vytiouse beast [*16v*] growen out of a<sup>j</sup> donge hyll? And agein, what more can be doon unto<sup>k</sup> a murderer as<sup>l</sup> a theif then to bringe him to answer in iudgement? This, saied they, procedeth<sup>m</sup> not of the divine lawe, but rather contrarie, fforasmuch as the spirituall office of the Christian religion procedeth altogether by

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a or C d

b Christians whatsoever they be H f

c *om.* the f C d

d or C d

e custom H f C d B

f that H

g to H

h self-same H f

i members f

j grown out of the f grown of the C d B

k to H

l and C d or B

m proceded C d

charitable counsaill of the humble breatherne quietlie emongest themselves, and not by prowde iudgement specially over the kinges of the earth.

'And having thus enformed the Kinges Maiestie and his counsaill<sup>a</sup> of their iust and evangelicall conclusion, His Highnes resolved of that<sup>b</sup> he had to do with patience of his passed error, licenced the saied Cardinall Campegio to retorne unto<sup>c</sup> Rome, not so highlie rewarded as the same<sup>d</sup> Cardinall looked for, nor yet with such comission as Pope Clement thought shulde have amended<sup>e</sup> his hungrie purse for the newe licence that<sup>f</sup> he had prepared unto the Kinges seconde mariage. Ffor incontinentlie<sup>g</sup> afre Campegio his departure, the Kinge, assoiled<sup>h</sup> in conscience of his first devorsed matrimonie, both by the lawe of God and also by [17r] the publike consent of the hole Churche of Englande and of his Baronie and<sup>i</sup> Comons, proceded unto his seconde matrimonie<sup>j</sup> without further brybe or sute unto the Pope. So that Clement seing his lyne broaken and the fyshe eskaped with the hooke and<sup>k</sup> bayte, like a madde raageng dogge vomited his fulmynations, and by consistoriall sentence<sup>l</sup> excommunnycated both King and cuntrey, affirmeng that the King beganne to rebell ageinst the Romayn See ffor the<sup>m</sup> none other

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* of the humble breatherne quietlie emongest themselves, and not by prowde iudgement specially over the kinges of the earth. NP And having thus enformed the Kinges Maiestie and his counsaill H f C d B

<sup>b</sup> what H

<sup>c</sup> into *d*

<sup>d</sup> said f C *d*

<sup>e</sup> would have mended H should have mended f C *d* B

<sup>f</sup> *om.* that H

<sup>g</sup> immediately H *f*

<sup>h</sup> assailed C *d*

<sup>i</sup> and his f C *d*

<sup>j</sup> mariage *f* (marriage crossed out and replaced with matrimony B)

<sup>k</sup> or *d*

<sup>l</sup> censures *f*

<sup>m</sup> *om.* the H f C *d* B

but bicause His Holy Fatherheade<sup>a</sup> wolde not grannt him the licence of this<sup>b</sup> newe mariage. And with this newe leasinge, brought the King in sklannder<sup>50</sup> of the ignorannt superstitiouse worlde<sup>c</sup>. And here may you see howe the moltitude<sup>d</sup> is blynded.

'But to latt you witt with howe much reason he hath exturped<sup>e</sup> the Papall authoritie, I doubt not<sup>f</sup> everie humble hert doth knowe that oon infinite God is he who governeth all, both heaven and earthe, and that otterly nother the name nor the<sup>g</sup> glorie of God can be attributed unto any creature, so that by consequence the Pope is no earthelie God as the canon lawes<sup>h</sup> witnessse [17v] him to be, and then howe foolish a thinge it is to believe that he hath Goddes power by Christ, I shall reaporthe me unto you whan I have saied my reason.

The Pope alledgeth himself to be Christ his vicare, Peters successor, and by Peters kayes to have power to loose and bynde in heaven, earthe and<sup>i</sup> hell. Ffirst, as<sup>j</sup> for Christes vicare, it is manyfest<sup>k</sup> that in all the Holy Scriptures<sup>l</sup> there is not oon woorde mentioned howe Christ ordeyned vicare or substitute<sup>m</sup> here in earthe to be his broaker or factor in maters of salvation or dampnation. But the expresse contrarie is founde that he the self Christ<sup>n</sup> is only the Waye, the Veritie and the Lief {*margin.* Joan:6<sup>51</sup>}, without whom none

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<sup>a</sup> Fatherhood *f* H B

<sup>b</sup> the *d*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* world H ignorant and superstitious world *f*

<sup>d</sup> world C *d*

<sup>e</sup> disannulled H *f* adnulled *d* B admitted C

<sup>f</sup> I doubt not but that *f* I doubt not but C *d*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* the H

<sup>h</sup> law C *d*

<sup>i</sup> or *d*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* as H *f* C *d* B

<sup>k</sup> certain *f*

<sup>l</sup> whole Scripture *f* C *d* whole Scriptures B

<sup>m</sup> any vicar or subject *f* any vicar or substitute C *d*

<sup>n</sup> that Christ himself H *f* C *d* B



can<sup>a</sup> accesse unto<sup>b</sup> the Father {*marg.* Joan:15<sup>52</sup>}. And agein, none knoweth the Father, but the Sonne, and he<sup>c</sup> to whom the Sonne vouchesaufeth to reveale Him {*marg.* Joan:5<sup>53</sup>}. Nor none<sup>d</sup> cometh to<sup>e</sup> the Sonne but he<sup>f</sup> whom the Father draweth {*marg.* Luc:10<sup>54</sup>}. And<sup>g</sup> more over, Christ saieth that he is the gate by which all they that<sup>h</sup> be saved must enter, and besides<sup>i</sup> Him there is none other foundation, nor none other name of health, saieth Peter. And<sup>k</sup> Paule cryeth [*18r*] out that Christ is only iustification and only mediator betwene God and man, and saieth not betwene God and the Pope. So that it is impossible to prove by the Holy Scriptures the Pope to be an other mediator to distribute the mearites that Christ saieth he woll distribute himself. Ffor if Christ be perfect God, and God everie wheare, then God in Christ doth continually woorke his perfection. That is to saye, salvation in the faithfull, and iudgement to<sup>l</sup> the infidelles, as the Holy Scriptures ondoubtedly do affirme, without any neede of the Popes helpe in that behalf. And if Christ were but man only and so imperfect<sup>m</sup> as the Pope wolde make<sup>n</sup> him to be, in this cace wheare he pretendeth to be his vicare or attorney, then our faith being vayne in

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a have H *f*

b to H

c *om.* he H *f* C *d*

d No man H *f*

e unto H

f *om.* he H *f* C *d* B

g *om.* and H *f* C *d* B

h that will H

i beside C *d*

j nor none other name health H nor in none other name health *f*

k *om.* and H *f*

l on *f* in C *d* B H

m and imperfect H *f* B only, or unperfect C *d*

n have *d*

Christ, *a fortiori*<sup>55</sup>, must be more then<sup>a</sup> vayne in the Pope. Ffor ones<sup>b</sup> the Pope dispenseth no<sup>c</sup> earthelie thinges, neither treasure, nor healthe of bodie, as his covetouse gathering of golde, and self-infirmite of person<sup>d</sup> proveth, and as ffor celestiall thinges, I speake of the sowle, being a carnall man, though well he had the spirite of prophecie, yet coulede [18v] he nought iudge thereof.

'Nowe unto that he preasumeth of Peters succession, it can not be founde in the Holy Scriptures that ever Peter came in<sup>e</sup> Roome, but dwelled in Antyoche preaching there<sup>f</sup> the woorde of God all the daies of his lief. So that<sup>g</sup> the Busshopp of Antyoche shulde of reason<sup>h</sup> be rather Peters successor then the Busshop of Rome, and the kayes that were given unto<sup>i</sup> Peter appere not by the Gospelli to be given unto any successor, but unto Peter only, who had no lesse of the Holye Ghoste then the Pope hath of the devill. And what effect those kaies have, it may well be seen<sup>k</sup>, whan we woll<sup>l</sup> consider our owne miserable synnes which you believe lyeth in him to bynde or loose. If I never synne, howe can he binde me? And if I synne, I binde myself. If it please God by<sup>m</sup> Christ to pardon me my synnes<sup>n</sup>, what devill can annoy me? And if God woll not forgive me,

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* then C d

<sup>b</sup> one C d

<sup>c</sup> not H f C d

<sup>d</sup> reason H f

<sup>e</sup> to H f

<sup>f</sup> there f C d B

<sup>g</sup> *om.* that H f

<sup>h</sup> *om.* of reason H

<sup>i</sup> to H

<sup>j</sup> *om.* by the Gospell C d

<sup>k</sup> it may well seem H

<sup>l</sup> *om.* woll H f C d B

<sup>m</sup> in f

<sup>n</sup> *om.* my synnes C d

what creature can bring me unto heaven? So that onlesse you woll saye<sup>a</sup> the Pope is greater than God, and can enforce Christ and God<sup>b</sup> to make and marre as he woll, you must [19r] needes confesse the Popes auctoritie to be utterly vayne<sup>c</sup>, and<sup>d</sup> superstitiouse. But (my duetie of reverence reserved towards religion) speaking by protestation, I shall tell you merilie<sup>e</sup> howe those kayes came unto<sup>f</sup> Peter.

'Christ having locked<sup>g</sup> the gates of heaven and barred the doore on the inner<sup>h</sup> side, badde Peter keepe those kaies sauf<sup>6</sup> untill the daie of iudgement, before which<sup>i</sup> tyme he wolde that none shulde corporally enter<sup>j</sup> there by the gate, but flee in spirite over the walles. So that Peter all the daies of his lief sought to leade the<sup>k</sup> true Christians thither by<sup>l</sup> lively faith, as his maister taught him, and not by oapening the gates, and therefore hidde the kaies in his habitation in<sup>m</sup> Antioche, wheare they laye many yeres onknown, till<sup>n</sup> at leingth, in the tyme of Phoca<sup>o</sup> Emperor of Constantinople, a symple priest, founde them, and mervaileng at the curyouse workemanship being (as they were) of divine operation, to gratifie his Lorde the Emperor with so rare<sup>p</sup> a thinge, went and presented them unto

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* you will say that *d*

<sup>b</sup> God and Christ *H f* Christ or God *C d*

<sup>c</sup> vain utterly *H*

<sup>d</sup> or *C d*

<sup>e</sup> merely *f*

<sup>f</sup> to *H*

<sup>g</sup> bolted *f C d*

<sup>h</sup> inward *H f C d B*

<sup>i</sup> that *H f*

<sup>j</sup> enter in *H f*

<sup>k</sup> all the *H f*

<sup>l</sup> by a *H*

<sup>m</sup> at *H f*

<sup>n</sup> *om.* till *H f C d B*

<sup>o</sup> Phocas the *H f C d*

<sup>p</sup> rich *C d*

His Maiestie, who not knowing [19v] howe to use them, gave them aftrewardes<sup>a</sup> unto Pockieface (I wolde saie) Boniface the Thridde, by whom they were first brought into the Roman Church. But in effect this Boniface, seeking the gates of heaven fayled of his waye, and by misfortune, happened on the gates of hell, wheare, onwitenglie<sup>b</sup>, he put those kaies in use, and in veray dede at ones oapened them *quia porte inferi non prevalebant adversus eum*<sup>57</sup> in such wise that the devilles<sup>c</sup> gate<sup>58</sup>out, and by plaine force, after they had drawen Boniface in, kept the gate so wyde oapen that all they who have folowed Boniface in the Papisticall belief, thinking to clymbe unto<sup>d</sup> heaven, arr fallen there by the waye.

'Ffinally, to conclude of this<sup>e</sup> Popish auctoritie. It was not only founde that the Pope was a false prophete, a deacever and begiler of the humayne sowles, but also the self<sup>f</sup> same Antechrist whom<sup>g</sup> John paincteth<sup>h</sup> in so many figures of his Apocalipse<sup>i</sup>, fforasmuch as Antechrist can none otherwise be expounded, but Christ his contrarie<sup>j</sup>. And the Pope unto Christ is so contrarie<sup>k</sup> by [20r] diameter<sup>l</sup> {*marg.* diameter is the iust extremities<sup>m</sup>} that the mater was to to evident<sup>n</sup>. Ffor whereas Christ was humble, patient,

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<sup>a</sup> after H *f* afterward C *d* B

<sup>b</sup> *om.* onwitenglie H

<sup>c</sup> devil H C *d*

<sup>d</sup> to *f*

<sup>e</sup> the C *d*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* self H *f*

<sup>g</sup> that H

<sup>h</sup> accuses *f*

<sup>i</sup> appocalypses C

<sup>j</sup> can be no otherwise expounded but Christ's contrary H *f* can be none otherwise expounded but by Christ his contrary C *d*

<sup>k</sup> and the Pope is so contrary unto Christ H *f*

<sup>l</sup> by Daniel C *d* *f*

<sup>m</sup> *om.* gloss H *f* C *d*

<sup>n</sup> was toto evident (*italicized toto suggests latin*) *f* was to too evident H was to evident C *d*

chaste, poore, constant and obedient, seeking alwaies the fulfilleng of his fathers will and not of<sup>a</sup> his owne, the Pope cleane contrarie was prowde, impatient, leacherouse, ryche, inconstant and disobedient, not seeking the fulfilleng of any parte of Goddes wyll, but of<sup>b</sup> his owne will only, in despite of all<sup>c</sup> the worlde. As for prooffe, Christ humbled himself to the wassheng of his apostelles feete, patientlie suffered the Scribes and Pharisees to contende with him, chastely resisted the worldely possessions of the devilles temptation in the deserte, lyved poorely without any habitation of his owne, was constant in fulfilleng<sup>d</sup> the Lawe ffor the synnes of his fathers elected and last of all, obedientlie suffered death, offering himself alone, crowned with thorne<sup>e</sup>, on the tree of the crosse for the redemption of all the nombre off<sup>f</sup> true Christians. And the Pope most<sup>g</sup> arrogantlie maketh<sup>h</sup> not the meane people, but the self emperors<sup>i</sup> to kysse his feate, impatientlie can<sup>j</sup> abide any man that wolde [20v] speake ageinst his tyrannie and abhominacion<sup>k</sup>, resisteth not, but rather embraceth, the onchaste, develish temptations that is to wete, *omnia regna mundi*<sup>59</sup>, lyveth most richely in high<sup>l</sup> sumptuose and imperiall palaices of his owne, hath no kinde of constantie in doing of<sup>m</sup> any good thinge that Goddes lawe commanndeth, but hath so much to do with the merchandise of other mennes synnes that

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* of C d B

<sup>b</sup> *om.* of H f C d B

<sup>c</sup> *om.* all C f

<sup>d</sup> in fulfilleng of H in the fulfilleng of f

<sup>e</sup> thorns f

<sup>f</sup> of the true H f B

<sup>g</sup> And the Pope that must f

<sup>h</sup> maketh maketh B

<sup>i</sup> Emperor himself H f self Emperor C d self Emperors B

<sup>j</sup> Impatient cannot H impatiently can he f C d

<sup>k</sup> abhominacions C d

<sup>l</sup> his H f C d B

<sup>m</sup> *om.* of H f C d

he can not see to reaken with his owne, ffor that litle constantie that he hath is only in persecuteng of<sup>a</sup> Christ his<sup>b</sup> faithfull and finally, is disobedient both unto God and also unto<sup>c</sup> nature, offering himself crowned with so many crownes of golde to the destruction of so many nombres of men, as daily be slayne of all handes for his only cause. And it was not only proved that the Pope was thus<sup>d</sup> contrarie unto Christ in his doinges, but also in his doctrine and cerymonies from the first to the last, to longe nowe to rehearse. Yea, and that not this lyveng Pope alone, but all they that arr deade, being comprehended under that name, specially from the tyme of the saied Boniface<sup>e</sup> the Thridde [21r] forwardes. Ffor though the popes have been diverse<sup>f</sup> in outwarde customes, some lesse wicked then other<sup>g</sup>, yet in the<sup>h</sup> inwarde hipocrisie they have all folowed the devilles dannee<sup>i</sup>. But what neede I to saye thus<sup>j</sup> much, sync I here saye there is a tragedie, entitled Ffree Wyll<sup>60</sup>, which so well descryeth<sup>k61</sup> his colours that there needeth no more doubt of this<sup>l</sup> matter.'

'As you saye,' saied my contrarie, 'I have hearde much reasonneng of this tragedie. But the learned men condempne it, and saye<sup>m</sup> it hath nother forme nor fation of a tragedie.'

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* of H *f* B

<sup>b</sup> Christ's H *f* C *d*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* also unto H *f*

<sup>d</sup> this *d*

<sup>e</sup> of that Boniface *d*

<sup>f</sup> devils H

<sup>g</sup> others H *f*

<sup>h</sup> their H *f*

<sup>i</sup> devil's dam *f*

<sup>j</sup> so *f* C *d*

<sup>k</sup> describes H *f* B

<sup>l</sup> the H

<sup>m</sup> say that H *f* C *d* B

'And wote you why?,' quod I. 'Bicause the tragedie condempneth the abhominati<sup>a</sup> of those your lerned men, and therefore nowe that they can finde none<sup>b</sup> answe<sup>r</sup>e to deface the trowthe thereof, they only contende with the proporti<sup>o</sup>n. And these arr<sup>c</sup> the membres of your Holy Moother Churche<sup>d</sup>?

'Why,' saied he, 'what can you saye by our Holy Moother Churche<sup>e</sup>?'

'I say,' quod I, 'that she is an arrant whoore, a ffornicatrix and<sup>f</sup> adulteresse with the princes [21v] of the earthe, and an expresse ennemye of the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost and of the lauffull Churche, of<sup>g</sup> the espouse of Christ. Ffor as Christ, the Sonne of God, in lauffull matrimonie engendreth on<sup>h</sup> his Holy Churche, by the spawnne<sup>i</sup> of his bloudde spredde on the crosse, all the lauffull begoaten children of salvation in faith and charitie, so the Pope, sonne of the devill, your God in<sup>j</sup> earthe, in fornication engendereth on<sup>k</sup> your whoorish Mother Churche all the bastardes of perdition that believe remissyon of synnes<sup>l</sup> in him by ignorannce and<sup>m</sup> superstition.

At the which woordes<sup>n</sup>, my saied<sup>o</sup> adversarie all swollen ffor<sup>a</sup> anger, approached<sup>b</sup> with his dagger to have stryken<sup>c</sup> me. But the other gentlemen present helde him<sup>d</sup>, and in

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<sup>a</sup> abhominations C d

<sup>b</sup> no H f

<sup>c</sup> are these H f

<sup>d</sup> your Mother, the Holy Church f your mother holy church H C d B

<sup>e</sup> Mother the Holy Church H Mother Holy Church f C d B

<sup>f</sup> and an H f

<sup>g</sup> om. of C d B

<sup>h</sup> one H

<sup>i</sup> span C d

<sup>j</sup> on H f

<sup>k</sup> over H

<sup>l</sup> sin f

<sup>m</sup> or C d

<sup>n</sup> At which words H At these words d

<sup>o</sup> om. saied H

my quarell threatened him, assuring him<sup>c</sup> they wolde take my parte whan<sup>f</sup> there shulde happen me any neede and so pacified him sooner then me, who for the present feare<sup>g</sup> remembered not well<sup>h</sup> where I was, ffor his soddaine furie<sup>i</sup> gave occasion of many woordes and much a doo<sup>62</sup>. And longe it was or<sup>j</sup> ever my spirites were quieted. Ffinally, [22r] my memorie retorned, and required of those gentlemen<sup>k</sup> to proceade unto the rest of my purpose, seing them earnestlie<sup>l</sup> attentive to heare me in manner of an<sup>m</sup> explanation<sup>n</sup>, thus beganne I to saye<sup>o</sup>:

'O ffree wyll wheare art thou? O patience, O humanitie<sup>p</sup>, O discretion, what<sup>q</sup> have I offended you? And yet ywys<sup>63</sup> I litle neede hereat<sup>r</sup> to mervaile, syns common experience yeldeth me an approved answer. Ffor whan I regarde the discourse of philosophie, all saied and<sup>s</sup> reakened, I finde the wyll of man in the boosome<sup>64</sup> of his appetite.

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<sup>a</sup> swollen with H swelling with *f* swelling for C *d*

<sup>b</sup> approached me *f*

<sup>c</sup> smitten C *d*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* held him *f*

<sup>e</sup> him that H *f* C B

<sup>f</sup> where H

<sup>g</sup> *om.* feare *d*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* well *f* C *d* B

<sup>i</sup> fume C *d*

<sup>j</sup> ere *f*

<sup>k</sup> returned and being required of these gentlemen *f* returned and required of these gentlemen C *d*

<sup>l</sup> earnest H

<sup>m</sup> *om.* an H *f* C *d* B

<sup>n</sup> exclamation C *d*

<sup>o</sup> thus I began to say *f*

<sup>p</sup> Humility *f* C *d*

<sup>q</sup> in what *d*

<sup>r</sup> *om.* hereat H *f* C *d* B

<sup>s</sup> *om.* and H *f*



Notwithstanding that the wise, beastly<sup>a</sup> philosophers have ever coveted to place the wyll betwene reason and the appetite, indifferentlie enclinable unto either<sup>b</sup> parte at the mannes free election. But<sup>c</sup>, to prove that the appetite ageinst reason draweth no lesse the will unto him, then<sup>d</sup> the<sup>e</sup> substannce of thearth and water ageinst the fyre and ayre<sup>f</sup> draweth the bodie unto the heavie center, I woll seeke none<sup>g</sup> other witsesse but this gentlemannes owne soddayne motion ageinst me. Ffor you [22v] all can testifie there was no man interupted him whilist he saied what he wolde<sup>h</sup> ageinst the honor of my Sovereigne Lorde the King deceased, of whom he hath used thextreamest termes he coulde devise. And agein, I preasumed not to defende him untill, with oon voyce, you all had given me the chardge and<sup>i</sup> commission so to do. So<sup>j</sup> that reason wolde he shulde semblablie have given me quiett audience, not to speake as an indifferent person<sup>k</sup>, but as his plaine contrarie. But whan his appetite hangeng heavie in the balannce, had drawen his wyll so lowe that reason was cleane out of sight, then wrought his colorr the venyme that he wolde have vouched<sup>l</sup> ageinst my trouthe<sup>m</sup>. Ffor this woll I offer, that if I be proved a lyer, I am contented to abide not only<sup>n</sup> your sentence, but also that punishment that he himself

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* beastly *fC d*

<sup>b</sup> whether H

<sup>c</sup> But not H But now *fC d B*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* then H B

<sup>e</sup> *om.* the *fC d*

<sup>f</sup> aire and fire H *f*

<sup>g</sup> no H *f*

<sup>h</sup> could *f*

<sup>i</sup> *om.* and C *d*

<sup>j</sup> for H

<sup>k</sup> *om.* person *fC d B*

<sup>l</sup> vomited H *fC d B*

<sup>m</sup> tenets C *d*

<sup>n</sup> I am content not only to abide H *fC d B*

woll<sup>a</sup> iudge me woorthie.' With which woordes I pawsed. So that they, fearing I wolde saye no more, beganne of newe to assure me from hurte, and to pray<sup>b</sup> me not to leave of<sup>65</sup> so lightelie, but to [23r] retorne unto myne<sup>c</sup> entreprised matter.

'Well,' saied I, 'to satisfie you I wolde take on me a<sup>d</sup> much more labor then this. {III} And therefore, folowing my reason as toocheng the Busshopp of Rochester and Thomas Moore, whom the Kinges Maiestie caused to be beheaded, if I shulde saye they were not learned I shulde repugne<sup>e</sup> the veritie. But in veray dede their<sup>f</sup> learneng was much more grounded<sup>g</sup> on the Tomisticall, Aristotelicall and Scotisticall<sup>h</sup> philosophie, then in the Gospell of Christ, as hereafter you shall perceave. Ffor whan the Kinges Highnes was fully persuaded to undrestande the Popes usurped power, not by these my rehearsed authorities, but by more proofes<sup>i</sup> then a hole byble wolde conteigne, and by the consent<sup>j</sup> of the greatest learned mennes opinions of all the universities in Christendome, as these<sup>k</sup> be diverse alyve unto this howre<sup>l</sup> in Parys, Pavia, Padoa, Bononye<sup>m</sup> and elsewheare can testifie, whose counsaill His Maiestie examined or ever he wolde attempt the adnulleng<sup>n</sup> and extirpeng thereof, [23v] His Highnes than, I saye, called his generall Parliament,

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<sup>a</sup> which he himself shall H *f* that he himself shall C *d*

<sup>b</sup> and prayed H *f*

<sup>c</sup> to my H *f*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* a H *f*

<sup>e</sup> impugn H *f*

<sup>f</sup> But sure their H

<sup>g</sup> *om.* grounded H

<sup>h</sup> Scholasticall H *f* C *d* B Interestingly Lambeth here presents the only serious departure from the Bodley and includes Scotistical in accordance with the Additional.

<sup>i</sup> proof H

<sup>j</sup> consents H C

<sup>k</sup> there H *f* C *d* B

<sup>l</sup> *om.* unto this howre H *f* C *d* B

<sup>m</sup> Padua, Pavia, Bologna, Paris H *f*

<sup>n</sup> disannulling *f*

without the<sup>a</sup> which he determineth<sup>b</sup> no great matter<sup>c</sup>. And this<sup>d</sup> Parliament, to latt you<sup>e</sup> witt, is divided in<sup>f</sup> twoo counsaillies: thone of the nobilitie and prelates, and the other of the commons of the realme; that is to saye, twoo<sup>g</sup> the wisest men of everie citie, of everie great borough, and<sup>h</sup> of everie province of his domynion<sup>i</sup>. Nowe, emongest thee<sup>66</sup> counsaillors<sup>j</sup> this<sup>k</sup> popyshe matter was proponed<sup>l</sup>, and there was *pro et<sup>m</sup> contra* holde and keepe<sup>n</sup> more then a hole yere long, ffor in the Parliament the lawe permitteth all men without danner to speake<sup>o</sup> as well ageinst as<sup>p</sup> with the King. So that the olde superstition having more auctoritie in the<sup>q</sup> obstinate<sup>r</sup> hertes then the present veritie, wolde not give place unto the Kinges purpose, untill by oapen preachinges<sup>s</sup> thoroughout the realme the blynde people beganne so manifestly to see that many of them who before most earnestlie favored the Pope became than his greatest enemies. Whereof there folowed a [24r]

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a *om.* the *fC d B*

b determined *C d*

c matters *C d*

d the *C d*

e you to *C*

f we will divide into *H* is divided into *f*

g two of *H fC d B*

h *om.* and *H*

i dominions *d*

j these councils *H fB* those counsels *C d*

k the *C d*

l propounded *H f*

m and *H*

n held and kept *H fC d*

o to speak without danger *H f*

p or *C*

q their *H f*

r obstacle *C d B*

s preaching *fC d*

statute, made by the said<sup>a</sup> Parliament, that no man upon paine of death shulde call the Pope other then<sup>b</sup> Busshopp of Rome, nor in any wise maintengne his quarrel. And thus ceased<sup>c</sup> the Popes reveniwe of Peaterpense, of jubilees, of indulgences and pardons, of dispensations and such his<sup>d</sup> other baggaige<sup>e</sup> as before<sup>f</sup> tyme advaild the Popes purse<sup>g</sup> better then an hundreth thousande ducates a year out of Englande<sup>h</sup>.

'You must nowe, neverthesse, undrestande that though this acte past so in the Parliament, yet all the parties of<sup>i</sup> the same consented not unto it, ffor the iudgement in the Parliament<sup>j</sup> caces is given by divideng the<sup>k</sup> personnes, all that saye yea on thone side of the howse and all that saye naye<sup>l</sup> on the other side, and the most nombre do ever obteigne<sup>m</sup> the sentence. And so to<sup>n</sup> the purpose this<sup>o</sup> Busshopp of Rochester and Moore, emongest the rest, helde with<sup>p</sup> the negative<sup>q</sup> parte, according unto<sup>r</sup> their consciences<sup>a</sup> (as I

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<sup>a</sup> same *f C d*

<sup>b</sup> then the *C d B*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* ceased *H*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* his *H C d B*

<sup>e</sup> baggages *H*

<sup>f</sup> before that *H*

<sup>g</sup> purpose *H f C d B*

<sup>h</sup> nor in any wise maintain-and thus ceased the Pope's revenue- his quarrel of Peterpence, of jubilees, of indulgences, of pardons and dispensations, and such other baggage as beforetime availed the Pope's purpose better than 100,000 ducats a year out of England *f*

<sup>i</sup> in *H f*

<sup>j</sup> parliament house *C d*

<sup>k</sup> all the *C d*

<sup>l</sup> no *H*

<sup>m</sup> do always attain *H f C d B*

<sup>n</sup> *om.* to *f*

<sup>o</sup> the *H f C d B*

<sup>p</sup> against *d*

<sup>q</sup> regalyne *C d*

<sup>r</sup> to *H*

suppose). Ffor whan they sawe the contrarie to have place, then hanged they downe the heade<sup>b</sup> and mormored [24v] ageinst the King, provokeng his displeasor otherwise then as<sup>c</sup> became true<sup>d</sup> subiectes to do. And yet<sup>e</sup>, His Maiestie thinkeng neverthelesse by reason and faire meanes with<sup>f</sup> tyme to persuade them, supported<sup>g</sup> their ignoranncce more then nyne moonethes. But whan their predestinate mischief wolde not suffer his benignitie to overcome their hardened hertes, and that the King at leingth perceaved their invincyble obstinancie to have a beginneng of operation, ffor the cardinall<sup>h</sup> hatt was alreadie upon the waye from Rome<sup>i</sup> comeng towards the<sup>j</sup> saied<sup>k</sup> Busshop of Rochester, not only as a worthie rewarde of his mearite, but also for<sup>l</sup> a buckler<sup>67</sup> under the<sup>m</sup> which the Pope thought to handle his crewell swearde, His Highnes, I saie, fearing theexample of his predecessor King John, or ever the hatt<sup>n</sup> arrived, shaved the busshoppes crowne by the shuldres, to see aftrewarde wheare the Pope wolde<sup>o</sup> bestowe his cardinall<sup>p</sup> hatt, and served Moore of the same<sup>q</sup>, after he had kept<sup>a</sup> them both iiii moonethes in pryson, and used the meanes<sup>b</sup> [25r] possible to dissuade them from their error<sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> conscience C d

<sup>b</sup> their heads H f

<sup>c</sup> it H f C d B

<sup>d</sup> *om.* true H f

<sup>e</sup> *om.* yet H f C d B

<sup>f</sup> and f

<sup>g</sup> supported supported H

<sup>h</sup> Cardinal's H f C d

<sup>i</sup> *om.* from Rome H f C d B

<sup>j</sup> to the H f to toward the C d

<sup>k</sup> same C d

<sup>l</sup> as H f

<sup>m</sup> *om.* the H

<sup>n</sup> or ever they had C d

<sup>o</sup> could f

<sup>p</sup> Cardinal's H f

<sup>q</sup> same sauce C d

Here oon of the gentlemen asked me was<sup>d</sup> that King John that I had named? To whom I answered, it<sup>e</sup> was oon that being King of Englande more than three hundreth yeres agoon<sup>68</sup>, sought that tyme to confounde the Popes usurped auctoritie liek as this<sup>f</sup> last King hath doon, but bicause his busshoppes at the<sup>g</sup> tyme had more power in his owne realme then he, after seven yeres excommunication he was per force<sup>h</sup> constrayned to renounce his royall crowne into the Popes handes, and<sup>i</sup> remaineng private a certein space, at<sup>j</sup> leingth came on his knees before the Popes legate to be assoyled, and there thankefully, receaved his crowne agein. Was he not (trowe you) well entreated? That<sup>k</sup> he was forsoothe, and finally well rewarded, ffor a holy monke poysoned him, and to<sup>l</sup> his miserable reconsilement had a miserable ende.

{III} 'And as ffor the Kinges usurpeng of the papall auctoritie in dispensation of theclesiasticall<sup>m</sup> busshoprickes and benefices, I am sure it is not onknowen [25v] unto<sup>n</sup> you that everie seculer lorde (as you call them)<sup>o</sup> in most places of their dominions, tyme out of mynde, have disposed<sup>p</sup> and given the private benefices to what priestes it hath

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a left *f*

b all the means *H f C d B*

c errors *H f*

d what was *H f C d B*

e that he *H f*

f the *H f C d B*

g that *H C d B* that had at that *f*

h *om.* per force *H f C d B*

i *om.* and *H f*

j he at *f*

k I wot *f*

l so *C d B*

m the Papal ecclesiastical *f C d*

n to *H*

o as they call them *f C d*

p have disposed time out of mind *H f*

pleased them by<sup>a</sup> auctoritie of the name of patrones of those benefices. So that the King, having tryed the substance of the papall<sup>b</sup> auctoritie with no lesse diligence then the alchymistes do the metalles<sup>d</sup> at the fyre, fyndeng himself absolute patrone of his private Christian domynion, thought it meeter<sup>69e</sup>, as prince and apostle, to attende himself unto the making and ordering<sup>f</sup> of the busshoppes of thenglish Church, then to suffer oone<sup>g</sup> foreyn busshop to make another<sup>h</sup> by the<sup>i</sup> only enformation of the great carryer Master<sup>j</sup>. Mooney, and therefore entreprised he<sup>k</sup> to knowe both the person and busshopricke, or ever he wolde dispose the golden myter and sylver pastorall.

'But in the other thinges he hath nothings folowed the papall dignitie. Ffor whereas the Pope<sup>l</sup> by his indulgences, and iubilees draweth the personnes<sup>m</sup> unto idolatrie [26r] to trust remission of synnes in his beastly auctoritie, and by<sup>n</sup> dispensations encouraigeth men to commit periurie, adulterie, fornication, usurie, murder and infinite other such contrarie unto<sup>o</sup> Goddes commandementes<sup>p</sup>, the King hath not willed to transforme himself into the idoll of neither of those twoo caces by promiseng pardon of

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a by the H f C d B

b Pope's C d

c *om.* the H f B

d metal C d

e more meet f

f *om.* and orderyng d

g some H

h *om.* to make another C d

i *om.* the H f C d B

j Mister H f B

k *om.* he H f C d B

l popes H

m person f C d B

n by his H

o to H

p commandment H f

synnes to them that believe in him<sup>a</sup>, or by dispensing with the dampnable doinges of the wicked, but hath willed<sup>b</sup> all men to be obedient unto the lawes of iustice, knowledgeng<sup>c</sup> himself to be lesse then a perfect man, and not more then a godly Christ<sup>d</sup>, as the Pope presumeth to be. The tryall whereof is evident by thanswere of Christ himself unto the mooter of the sonnes<sup>e</sup> of Zebedei whan he saied it laye not in<sup>f</sup> him to grannt the sitteng in heaven on his right or lifte hande<sup>g</sup> unto John or<sup>h</sup> James, ffor they must sytt there whan<sup>i</sup> God the Father had<sup>j</sup> ordeyned thereunto {Math:20<sup>70</sup>}. And the Pope remitteng both<sup>k</sup> *pena* and *culpa*<sup>71</sup> taketh out of heaven, and throweth<sup>l</sup> into hell, and out of hell by the waye of his<sup>m</sup> purgatorie carieth unto<sup>n</sup> heaven who pleaseth him<sup>o</sup>, so they pay well ffor it<sup>p</sup> [26v], placeng this saint in<sup>q</sup> the queere<sup>72</sup> of martyrs, and that other emongest the virgynes, confessors, and holy fathers, patryarkes and false prophetes as he lyst to canonyse them, of which canonymsates<sup>r</sup> {V} our Saint Thomas of Canterburie is oon, whose spoyled shryne and burned boanes seemeth so greatly to offende your conscience.

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* him H C d

<sup>b</sup> wished C d

<sup>c</sup> acknowledging H f C d

<sup>d</sup> Christian f

<sup>e</sup> son d

<sup>f</sup> with f

<sup>g</sup> on His right or on his left hand H on His right hand or on his left f

<sup>h</sup> and H f B

<sup>i</sup> whom H f C d B

<sup>j</sup> hath f

<sup>k</sup> *om.* both f

<sup>l</sup> thrusteth f C d

<sup>m</sup> *om.* his C d

<sup>n</sup> into H f

<sup>o</sup> whom it pleaseth him f C d

<sup>p</sup> *om.* so they pay well for it H f C d B

<sup>q</sup> amongst f

<sup>r</sup> canonizantes H canonization f canonymsate B



'And it is true, I cannot denie, but that the Kinges Maiestie founde a wonderfull<sup>a</sup> treasure about the same, ffor in the space of more then CCL yeres, I think, there have been fewe kinges or princes christened<sup>b</sup> that did not either bringe or sende some of their rychest<sup>c</sup> iewells<sup>d</sup> thither, and I reaporte me unto you then what the recourse was of the common people<sup>e</sup> to see that holy<sup>f</sup> sepulture, being so pretiously adorned with golde and stoane that at the<sup>g</sup> mydde night you might in<sup>h</sup> maner have discerned<sup>i</sup> all thinges as well<sup>j</sup> as at noone daye.

'But nowe to speake of this saintes lief and<sup>k</sup> hoalynesse in fewe wordes, I shall rehearse<sup>l</sup> unto you theeffect<sup>m</sup> of his storie. His father was an English merchannt, but his moother was a payinem<sup>73</sup>, I wote not of [27r] what parte of Barbarie, and he the saint<sup>n</sup>, was brought up at schole wheare he studied so longe that at leingth he became well learned in the Canon Lawes, and then growen unto mannes yeres, he was<sup>o</sup> brought by frendeshap unto the Kinges courte<sup>p</sup> and made the Kinges chapeigne. This King was named Henrie the Thridde<sup>q</sup>, and in processe of tyme beganne so<sup>a</sup> to favor this blessed

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<sup>a</sup> wonderful great H *f*

<sup>b</sup> of Christendom H *f*

<sup>c</sup> chiefest H

<sup>d</sup> jewels *f* C *d* B

<sup>e</sup> recourse of the common people was H *f* B

<sup>f</sup> *om.* holy C *d*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* the H *f* C *d* B

<sup>h</sup> in some H *f*

<sup>i</sup> discovered H *f* described C *d*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* as well H

<sup>k</sup> or *d*

<sup>l</sup> relate H *f*

<sup>m</sup> the effects C *d*

<sup>n</sup> the said saint *f*

<sup>o</sup> *om.* was B

<sup>p</sup> to the Court of the King H *f*

<sup>q</sup> Henry the Second H *f* C *d*

Sainct Thomas ffor his courtelie behavyor, that, by litle and litle, he exalted him from chapleigne to<sup>b</sup> counsaillor, from counsaillor to busshopp and from busshopp unto<sup>c</sup> the highest degree next<sup>d</sup> himself, that is to saye, Channcellor of Englande<sup>e</sup>. Finally, this Harry the Second<sup>f74</sup>, by<sup>g</sup> good occasion, beganne to perceave the error<sup>h</sup> of this malignannt church that raigneth here still<sup>i</sup> emongest you, and like a good Christian prince wolde gladly have reformed it, first with correction<sup>j</sup> of the mynisters abhominable lief, and after with the due consequent remeadies. But this holy saint having for his parte the archebusshopricke of Cannterburie, metropolitaine of all the others, with as good as a L thousande [27v] ducates<sup>k</sup> yearly reveniewe, valiantly resisted him, and had that couraiged<sup>l</sup> that, apparailed in *Pontificalibus*<sup>m</sup> with the myter and golden crosse, in the Kinges presence he accursed all them<sup>n</sup> that, in woorde or dede<sup>o</sup>, wolde offende his Holy Moother<sup>p</sup> Church, or any mynister of the same, insomuch that the King kendled by iust<sup>q</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* so H

<sup>b</sup> to a H *f*

<sup>c</sup> to H

<sup>d</sup> next unto H *f*

<sup>e</sup> Lord Chancellor of England H *f*

<sup>f</sup> Henry the second H *f d* Henry the third C B

<sup>g</sup> began C *d B*

<sup>h</sup> errors C *d*

<sup>i</sup> still here H *f*

<sup>j</sup> correcting *f*

<sup>k</sup> ducats of H *f*

<sup>l</sup> courage H *f C d B*

<sup>m</sup> in his pontificals *f*

<sup>n</sup> of them *f*

<sup>o</sup> that in deed or word H *f*

<sup>p</sup> mother holy H

<sup>q</sup> his iust H *f C d B*

disdaigne, banished him out of his sight, and aftrewarde<sup>a</sup> remembering howe villaynouslye his onkinde slave in his owne realme sought of a kinge to make<sup>b</sup> a subiect, sent<sup>c</sup> of his officers<sup>d</sup> to laye hande on him. But this saint, advised thereof<sup>e</sup> by waye of trayterouse intelligence, eskaped out of the realme and fledde unto Roome, wheare of the Pope he was worthiely receaved, *quia manus manum fricat*<sup>f</sup>.<sup>75</sup> And hereupon the Holy Romayn Consistorie excommunicated the King and all his parte takers, and oapenly interdicted the realme of Englande, which interdiction had so much the more effect, by as much as the other busshoppes that remaigned at home were of more authoritie then the King. So that in terme of foure yeres there was no masse songe, nor [28r] none other like<sup>g</sup> good thinge saied in their churches. Ffinally, the Pope wrought so much with the most Christian King, and the most Christian with the lesse Christian, that the saint was reconsiled unto his saied busshopricke, the Kinge and realme assoiled<sup>h</sup><sup>76</sup>, the priestes licenced to consecrate, and the Holy Moother Church in peace. But there was a triomphe with<sup>i</sup> ringeng of belles (I trowe).

'Well Ser<sup>j</sup>, in conclusion, this blessed Saint Thomas coulde not thus be contented, but after a certein tyme his color<sup>r</sup><sup>77</sup> beganne so<sup>k</sup> to worke that he shaamed<sup>l</sup> not

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<sup>a</sup> after H f C d B

<sup>b</sup> make him H f

<sup>c</sup> sent some H f

<sup>d</sup> offices d

<sup>e</sup> hereof f

<sup>f</sup> Quia mutuo militabant H f quia mutuo uniti stabunt C d quia mutilo uniti stabunt B

<sup>g</sup> nor other like f om. like H C nor none other good thing like B

<sup>h</sup> om. unto his saied Busshopricke the Kinge and realme assoile H f C d B

<sup>i</sup> of C d

<sup>j</sup> om. Ser H

<sup>k</sup> om. so H f C d B

<sup>l</sup> ashamed H f C d B

oapenly to use I wote not what obprobryouse woordes against the King, which on a daye<sup>a</sup> were referred unto<sup>b</sup> his Grace as he sate at his<sup>c</sup> meate. Yea, saied the King, have I<sup>d</sup> brought him<sup>e</sup> up of naughtes<sup>f</sup> to dryve me out of my realme? If I were served of men<sup>g</sup> as I am of<sup>h</sup> women, he shulde not thus contende with me in myne owne howse. These woordes were marked of them that wayted at<sup>i</sup> the table in such wise that without more adoo, iiiij<sup>j</sup> of those gentlemen wayters conferred<sup>k</sup> togethers<sup>l</sup> and straight waies<sup>m</sup> tooke their iorney towardes<sup>n</sup> Cannterburie, [28v] wheare, tarieng their tyme, on an<sup>o</sup> evening fyndeng this<sup>p</sup> busshopp in the common cloyster, after they had asked him certein questions, whereunto<sup>q</sup> he most arrogantlie made answeere, they slewe him. And here<sup>r</sup> beganne the hoalynesse. Ffor incontiently as these<sup>s</sup> gentlemen were departed, the moonkes of that<sup>t</sup> monasterie locked up the church doores, and persuaded the people that the belles fell on

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a which one day *f*

b to H

c *om.* his H *f*

d I have H B

e thou B

f nought H *f* C *d* B

g If I were thus served with men H If I were served with men *f*

h with H *f*

i on C *d*

j even four *f* seven C *d*

k confederated C *d*

l together H *f* C *d*

m straight way H *f*

n journeys to H journey to *f* C *d* B

o one H *f*

p the H *f*

q whereto H *f*

r thus H *f*

s those H

t the H

ryngeng by<sup>a</sup> themselves and there<sup>b</sup> was cryeng of 'myracles', 'myracles', so earnestlie that the develish moonkes, to noorysh the superstition of this newe martired saint, having the place longe tyme separate unto themselves, *quia propter sanguinem suspenduntur sacra*<sup>78</sup>, corrupted the freshe water of a well there by<sup>c</sup> with a certein mixture that many times it appeared blouddie, which they persuaded shulde proceade by miracle of the holy martyrdome. And this<sup>d</sup> water mervailouselie cured all manner of<sup>e</sup> infermities, insomuch that the ignorant moltitude came rennyng<sup>f</sup> thither<sup>g</sup> of all handes<sup>h</sup>, spetially after that these false<sup>i</sup> myracles were confirmed by the Popes canonysation, which folowed within [29r] fewej yeres after, as sone<sup>79</sup> as the Romain See had ratified this<sup>k</sup> saintes glorie in heaven. Yea, and more, these fayned myracles had such creadite at leingth that the poore King himself was persuaded to believe them, and in effect came in person to visite the holy place, with great repentance of<sup>l</sup> his passed well doing, and ffor<sup>m</sup> satisfaction of his sinnes, gave many faire and great<sup>n</sup> possessions unto the monasterie of the foresaied religieuse. And thus finally was this<sup>o</sup> holy martyr sanctified of<sup>p</sup> all handes. But the

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* by H

<sup>b</sup> here C *d*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* by *f*

<sup>d</sup> the C *d*

<sup>e</sup> *om.* of H *f*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* reenying *d*

<sup>g</sup> togethers C *d*

<sup>h</sup> lands H *f*

<sup>i</sup> Specially after the false C *d*

<sup>j</sup> four *f*

<sup>k</sup> the *f*

<sup>l</sup> for H *f*

<sup>m</sup> for the H *f*

<sup>n</sup> great and fair H *f* C *d* B

<sup>o</sup> the *d*

<sup>p</sup> on C *d*

Kinges Maiestie that nowe is deade, findeng the maner of this saintes lief to agree yll<sup>a</sup> with the<sup>b</sup> proportion of<sup>c</sup> a veray saint, and mervaileng at the vertue of this<sup>d</sup> water that healed all infirmitie<sup>e</sup> as the blinde worlde believed<sup>f</sup>, determined to see the substantiall prooffe of this thinge<sup>g</sup>, and<sup>h</sup> in effect founde those myracles to be utterlie false. Ffor whan the superstition was taken away from the ignorannt moltitude, then ceased also<sup>i</sup> the vertue of this<sup>j</sup> water, which nowe remaiginth plaine water as all<sup>k</sup> other waters do. So that the King, moved of [29v] necessitie, coulde no lesse do then deface the shryne that was auctor of so much idolatrie. Wheather the doing thereof hath been the ondoing of the canonised saint or not<sup>l</sup> I cannot tell. But this is true that his boanes arr spredde emongest the boanes of so many deade men that without some great myracle they woll never<sup>m</sup> be founde agein.

'By my trowthe,' saied oon of the gentlemen, 'in this your King did as I wolde have doon.'

'What,' quod<sup>n</sup> mine adversarie, 'do you creadite him?'

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a evil C d

b om. the f

c to H f

d the C d

e diseased H diseases f

f om. believed C B said d

g determined to see substantial proof of these things H determined to have substantial proof of this thing f

h om. and C d

i all C d

j the d

k om. all H

l no f

m not H f C d B

n said H f

'Within a litle,' saied that other, 'ffor his tale is sensible and I have knowen of the like false miracles here in Italie proved before my face.'

'No<sup>a</sup>,' quod<sup>b</sup> I, {VI} 'hearken well unto me in this myne answer ageinst myracles, and you shall heere thinges of another sorte. In tyme<sup>c</sup> passed Englande hath been occupied with moo<sup>80</sup> pilgrimages then Italie is nowe. Ffor as you have here Our Ladie in so many places: *De Loretto*, *De gratia*, *De miracoli*, *Lannuntiata di Firenze*, *San Rocho*, *Santo Antonio di Padoa* that presented [30r] Goddes bodie to an asse, and so many others as you knowe. Even so had we our Ladie of<sup>d</sup> Walsingham, of<sup>e</sup> Penrise, of Islington, Saint Thomas, Saint John of Sulston that coniured the devill in a boote<sup>f</sup>, and so many holy roodes that it was a woonder. And here and there ranne all the worlde, yea, the King himself, till God oapened his eye<sup>g</sup>, was<sup>h</sup> blinde and obstinate as the rest. I meane in the tyme whan he wrote ageinst Martyne Luther. And these roodes and these our Ladies were all of another sorte then<sup>i</sup> your sainctes be, ffor there were fewe of them but that with thengines<sup>j</sup> that were in them coulde becken either with their heades or<sup>k</sup> handes, or move their eyes, or manniage some parte of their bodies to the purpose that the freres and priestes wolde use them, and specially oon Christ Italionate that with the heade answered yea and naye unto<sup>l</sup> all demanndes.

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<sup>a</sup> now *f*

<sup>b</sup> quoth *Hf*

<sup>c</sup> times *HfCdB*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* of *H*

<sup>e</sup> our *H*

<sup>f</sup> book *f*

<sup>g</sup> eyes *HfCdB*

<sup>h</sup> was as *Hf*

<sup>i</sup> then these *H* than these *fCdB*

<sup>j</sup> with engines *HfCdB*

<sup>k</sup> and *Hf*

<sup>l</sup> at *Hf*

'But emongest the rest, oon thinge I shall tell you<sup>a</sup> specially. In a certein monasterie called Hailes, there was a great offering unto<sup>b</sup> the bloude of Christ, brought thither many yeres agoon out of the holy lande of [30v] Ierusalem. And this bloude had such vertue, that as longe as the pilgryme<sup>c</sup> were<sup>d</sup> in dedely synne<sup>e</sup> his sight wolde not serve him to regarde it, but incontientlie as he were<sup>f</sup> in the state of grace he shulde clearelie<sup>g</sup> beholde it. See here the crafte of these develish<sup>h</sup> sowle qwellers. It behoved eche person that came<sup>i</sup> thither to see it, first to confesse himself, and then paieng a certein<sup>j</sup> to the common of that<sup>k</sup> monasterie, to enter into a chapell, upon the aulter whereof this blessed<sup>l</sup> bloude shulde be shewed him. This<sup>m</sup> meane while, by a secret waye behinde the aulter came the moonke that had confessed him, and presented upon the aulter a pixe of christall great and thicke as a bowle<sup>n</sup> on thone side and thynne as a glasse on the other side, in which this bloude<sup>o</sup> on the thinne side was cleare and oapen<sup>p</sup> to the sight, and on the thicke<sup>q</sup> side impossible to be discerned. Nowe, if this holy confessor thought by the confession that he had hearde that the qualitie of the partie confessed

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<sup>a</sup> I shall tell you one thing *Hf*

<sup>b</sup> to *H*

<sup>c</sup> pilgrims *H*

<sup>d</sup> was *f*

<sup>e</sup> crime *f*

<sup>f</sup> was *Hf* here were *B*

<sup>g</sup> plainly *C d*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* develish *d*

<sup>i</sup> ran *H*

<sup>j</sup> certain sum *d*

<sup>k</sup> the *Hf*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* blessed *HfC d B*

<sup>m</sup> there *f*

<sup>n</sup> ball *fC d*

<sup>o</sup> in the which the blood *HfC d B*

<sup>p</sup> open and clear *HfC d B*

<sup>q</sup> other *C d*



wolde yelde him<sup>a</sup> more mooney, then shewed he foorthe the thicke side of the pixe, thorough the<sup>b</sup> [31r] which the bloude was invisible, so that person<sup>c</sup> seing himself remaineng<sup>d</sup> in deadely synne, must torneand retorne unto his confessor, till by paieng ffor masses and other such almes he had purchased the sight<sup>e</sup> of<sup>f</sup> the thynne side of the christall, and then was he sauf in the favor of God untill he fell in synne agein. And what bloude trowe you was this? These moonkes (ffor there were twoo spetially and secreatlie appointed<sup>g</sup> unto this office) everie Saturdaie killed a ducke, and<sup>h</sup> renewed therewith this consecrate<sup>i</sup> bloude, as they themselves confessed not only in secret but also oapenly before an approved audience.

'And was this myracle thinke you alone? No, no, helas if I wolde<sup>j</sup> trayne<sup>k</sup> you with the rehersall of spetiall<sup>k</sup> miracles, I coulde<sup>l</sup> tell you thousandes<sup>m</sup> as thycke as this or rather better<sup>n</sup>. Ffor we had holy maydens that lyved not by manna as the Iewes in the deserte, but by foode of the<sup>o</sup> unpalpable spirite<sup>p</sup>, and such as coulde tell all the secretes of

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<sup>a</sup> some H

<sup>b</sup> *om.* the H *fC d B*

<sup>c</sup> the person *fC d B*

<sup>d</sup> remain H *fC d*

<sup>e</sup> light *f*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* the sight of H

<sup>g</sup> pointed H

<sup>h</sup> *om.* and H

<sup>i</sup> received with this consecrated H revived therewith this consecrated *f* renewed therewith, this consecrated blood *C d*

<sup>j</sup> if I should H *fC d B*

<sup>k</sup> spiritual H *f*

<sup>l</sup> should H *f*

<sup>m</sup> of thousands *fC d*

<sup>n</sup> as good, nay better tricks then these H as true as this, or rather better *fC d*

<sup>o</sup> *om.* the H *fC d*

<sup>p</sup> impalpable spirits *fC d*

God, and howe all mennes matters went in heaven. Whereunto this your<sup>a</sup> galannt auriculer confession was so diligent a mynister [31v] that it were a wonder to tell. And can you blame the King though he hanged and burned these hipocrite knaves and whoores<sup>b</sup> that were authors of so much abhominacion and superstition? And did he not as good service unto God in destroieng the places<sup>c</sup> of those ymaginable<sup>d</sup> saintes that drewe the people unto the<sup>e</sup> belief and trust of these false myracles, as the good Ezechias King of Iuda did in the<sup>f</sup> destroieng of<sup>g</sup> the moisaicall brasen serpent and overthroweng theccelses, thymages and halowed woodes consecrated unto their idolles?<sup>{marg. 2 Reg:18<sup>83</sup>}</sup> Yea, undoubtedlie did he. Ffor all the miracles that the blinde people conceave to<sup>h</sup> proceade by<sup>i</sup> these ymages, or by meane<sup>j</sup> of these represented saintes arr cleane repugnant unto<sup>k</sup> the Christian faith. And also unto Goddes perfection. And the reason is this: God is only divine and perfect, who by his divinitie of naughtes<sup>l</sup> hath created all thinges, and in is perfection conteigneth and governeth all thinges, to that ende that he immutablie<sup>m</sup> hath determined. And everie anngell, everie devill, and everie man is a creature, without either deitie or perfection, syns everie thinge [32r] that hath beginneng or ende is imperfect. And where as God is present everie wheare and worketh all in all

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<sup>a</sup> sure C d

<sup>b</sup> hipocrites, knaves and whores H hypocritical knaves and whores f C d

<sup>c</sup> place C d

<sup>d</sup> these imaginary H f

<sup>e</sup> there C d

<sup>f</sup> om. the B

<sup>g</sup> om. of f C d B

<sup>h</sup> do H

<sup>i</sup> from H f

<sup>j</sup> means H f C d B

<sup>k</sup> to H

<sup>l</sup> nought H f C d B

<sup>m</sup> inevitably C d

things (as Paule<sup>a</sup> affirmeth) the creature contrarywise<sup>b</sup> is present only unto<sup>c</sup> the place of his service, as the anngell<sup>d</sup> in heaven, the devyll<sup>e</sup> in hell and the man<sup>f</sup> in earthe. Nowe unto<sup>g</sup> my purpose, if the saintes who arr creatures be in heaven, and wante (as they do in dede) the perfection of Goddes deitie<sup>h</sup>, howe is<sup>i</sup> it possible that absent from thearth, the saint<sup>j</sup>, whom thearthelie man ymagineth for his advocate<sup>k</sup>, shulde here<sup>84</sup> the mannes praier though well he coulde<sup>l</sup> crye with a trumpets<sup>m</sup> voice towardses heaven *Sancta Maria ora pro me.*<sup>n85</sup> And agein, nowe knoweth the mannes thoughtes<sup>o</sup> but God alone; nother anngell, saint, nor devill, ffor the Scriptures affirme God to be the only searcher of the hertes<sup>p</sup>. So that nother hearing me, nor knowing my hert, it is impossible howe the<sup>q</sup> saint<sup>r</sup> shulde be meane<sup>s</sup> of my relief. And as it is proved before, the Holie Scriptures affirme Christ to be only only<sup>86</sup> mediator betwene God and man, prohibiteng all faithfull

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a S. Paul C d

b contrarily H f

c to H

d angels H f

e devils H f

f men f

g to H

h Divinity f

i om. is B

j saints f

k advocates f

l would H f C d B

m trumpets trumpets B

n Sancta Maria ora pro nobis C d (nobis crossed out in Bodley)

o And again no man knows mans thoughts H f And again, none knows mans thought C d B

p heart H f

q these H

r saints f C d

s means H f

Christians [32v] to seeke other meane<sup>a</sup>. Ffor who reccureth unto<sup>b</sup> the saint cannot denye that<sup>c</sup> he trusteth sooner to speede that waye then by the immediate<sup>d</sup> going unto Christ, and so doubteth of<sup>e</sup> him in whom he ought only<sup>f</sup> to trust. Ffor mayntenance of which their infidelitie, these develish canonistes<sup>g</sup> have made them a God of glasse, wherein they ymagine the saintes<sup>h</sup> to beholde our necessities, appointeng eche<sup>i</sup> oon of them unto a private office. Liek as Thomas of Acquyne<sup>j</sup> hath placed the offices of anngelles, thus<sup>k</sup> to the cherubymes, and that to the fleeying seraphines, that other to the dominations and so forth<sup>l</sup>, after his owne fantasticall ymaginations<sup>m</sup> contrarie unto the doctrine of Paule, who, being ravished unto<sup>n</sup> the thridde heaven<sup>o</sup>, sawe thinges not lafull to be spoaken, whereas this blessed Thomas, ravished in his owne consayte<sup>87</sup> above all the heavens, hath spoaken of the<sup>p</sup> celestiall spirites thinges that<sup>q</sup> he never hearde nor sawe. But the

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<sup>a</sup> means H *f*

<sup>b</sup> to H

<sup>c</sup> but that H *f* C *d* B

<sup>d</sup> mediate C *d*

<sup>e</sup> in *f*

<sup>f</sup> only ought H only he ought *f* C *d* B

<sup>g</sup> these sophistical theologians H *f* C *d* B

<sup>h</sup> saint C *d*

<sup>i</sup> every *f*

<sup>j</sup> like as first one Demius and after him Thomas of Aquine H like as first one Dennis, and after him Thomas Aquinas *f* like as first one Deius, and after him Thomas of Aquina C *d* like as first one Denys, and after him Thomas of Aquyne B

<sup>k</sup> this C *d* B

<sup>l</sup> this to the cherubims, that other to the dominations, and that to the flying seraphims H this to the cherubim and that to the flying seraphim, that other to the dominations, and so forth *f*

<sup>m</sup> imagination *f*

<sup>n</sup> to H

<sup>o</sup> heavens H *f*

<sup>p</sup> *om.* the *d*

<sup>q</sup> which C *d*

ignorant multitude alwaies<sup>a</sup> more enclynable unto error then unto the<sup>b</sup> trowthe, have tasted such a savor in these<sup>c</sup> ymaginations that [33r] because God commonly granteth them<sup>d</sup> not<sup>e</sup> the thinges that they most<sup>f</sup> desire, they therefore have phrased goddes that woll do for<sup>g</sup> them whan thay be praied<sup>h</sup>, believing better<sup>i</sup> to attaigne their purposes by many then by oon.

'And hereof hath it folowed that whan some person hath eskaped an<sup>j</sup> emynent peryll<sup>k</sup>, recovered healthe from<sup>l</sup> a grevowse sickines, or cure of a sore woounde, passed some daungerowse tempest<sup>m</sup> of the see, or obteigned some victorie in armes, or some richesse or possession, incontinentlie he hath<sup>n</sup> yelded<sup>o</sup> thanks therfore unto his devoute<sup>p</sup> famyliar advocate in heaven by whose meane<sup>q</sup> he ymagineth to have receaved such benefite<sup>r</sup> which otherwise the mutable Gods<sup>s</sup> (as he believeth) wolde never have granted

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<sup>a</sup> are always H that are always *f* that always are C *d* always are B

<sup>b</sup> *om.* the H

<sup>c</sup> their *f*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* them *f*

<sup>e</sup> not them C *d* B

<sup>f</sup> *om.* most H

<sup>g</sup> that wills for H

<sup>h</sup> prayed unto *f*

<sup>i</sup> believing the better *f*

<sup>j</sup> any H *f* C *d* B

<sup>k</sup> danger H *f*

<sup>l</sup> for H

<sup>m</sup> tempests H *f* C *d*

<sup>n</sup> *om.* hath *f*

<sup>o</sup> he yields *f*

<sup>p</sup> *om.* devowte H *f* C *d* B

<sup>q</sup> means H *f*

<sup>r</sup> benefits H *f* C *d*

<sup>s</sup> *om.* God C *d*

him, and therefore renneth unto this and<sup>a</sup> that ymage with candelles, tooches, lampes<sup>b</sup>, incense, belles and a thousande other tryckes affirmeng this and that myracle which in effect arr none<sup>c</sup> other but their false and ignorannt ymaginations. And as to the burneng of lights<sup>d</sup> before those images, it is so foolish a thinge that me seemeth it<sup>e</sup> rather [33v] meariteth<sup>f</sup> to be laughed at then to be<sup>g</sup> spoaken ageinst. But this take I to be the reason that therunto mooveth them<sup>h</sup>. Bicause the light of the sonne suffiseth not to direct the eyes of those their blynde and dombe ydolles by the daye<sup>i</sup>, therefore in the daytyme do they serve them with the<sup>j</sup> enforced light that shulde serve ffor the night. Or elles they do it to bleamysh withall the brightnes of the sonne, whose light perchance may<sup>k</sup> be no lesse ennemye<sup>l</sup> unto their<sup>m</sup> nature then contrarie unto<sup>n</sup> the sight<sup>o</sup> of the night owle. For by night<sup>p</sup> they agree so well with<sup>q</sup> the derke that till the sonne<sup>r</sup> ariseng they neede no light

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<sup>a</sup> or *f d*

<sup>b</sup> and lamps *H f*

<sup>c</sup> no *H f*

<sup>d</sup> light *H*

<sup>e</sup> that it *H*

<sup>f</sup> merits rather *C d*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* to be *H f*

<sup>h</sup> that moveth them thereunto *H f C d B*

<sup>i</sup> of their dumb idols by the day *H* of those their dumb blind idols by the day *f*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* the *H f B*

<sup>k</sup> may chance *H* may perchance *f*

<sup>l</sup> even *H*

<sup>m</sup> their their *H*

<sup>n</sup> to *H*

<sup>o</sup> light *f*

<sup>p</sup> right *f C d*

<sup>q</sup> in *C d*

<sup>r</sup> sun's *f*

at all. This I speake of<sup>a</sup> the formall saintes, ffor that deformed<sup>b</sup> bodie, which of all others, is supposed to have most lief, may in no wise wante light in the night, least perchance he shulde happen to<sup>c</sup> arise at some inconvenient howre. But what neede I thus t<o> occupie myself with these<sup>d</sup> foolish saintes and pilgrimages<sup>e</sup>, syns the thinge is nowe so manifest unto all them<sup>f</sup> that have eyes, that who is he almost<sup>g</sup> that can not with reason, besides<sup>h</sup> the authoritie<sup>i</sup> of the Scriptures, [34r] confounde this ignorannce?

{VII} Wherefore nowe I woll<sup>j</sup> dispose<sup>k</sup> me to speake of the monasteres which His Maiestie suppressed to thentent you<sup>l</sup> may undrestande what was the iust<sup>m</sup> occasion thereof.

'And thus, whan His Highnes had founde out the falsest<sup>n</sup> of these iuggelers who ledde the people unto<sup>o</sup> this idolatrie of worshipping of saintes, believeng of miracles, and going on pilgrimage here and there, as unto this howre you see it<sup>p</sup> used here in Italie, being persuaded by the presumption of those<sup>q</sup> speciall thinges that I have rehearsed and of infinite others to longe nowe to be mentioned, that these abhominable freres were the

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<sup>a</sup> for H *f*

<sup>b</sup> disformed C *d*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* happen to H

<sup>d</sup> those H

<sup>e</sup> pilgrims H *f* C *d* B

<sup>f</sup> men H *f*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* almost *f*

<sup>h</sup> beside *f*

<sup>i</sup> authorities C *d*

<sup>j</sup> I will now H *f* C *d*

<sup>k</sup> despite *f*

<sup>l</sup> that you H *f*

<sup>m</sup> first *f*

<sup>n</sup> falseness H falsehood *f* C *d* B

<sup>o</sup> into H

<sup>p</sup> is H

<sup>q</sup> these *d*

veray<sup>a</sup> false prophetes and ravenyng<sup>b</sup> wolves whom Christ prophesieth {*marg.* Math:7} in the Gospell shulde come under the apparail of lambe<sup>c</sup> and<sup>d</sup> devowre the flocke of true Christians, His Maiestie, ffor the better discovering of these hipocrites, sent foorthe comissioners unto<sup>e</sup> all the provinces of his realme to examyn particulerlie the maner of lyving that these rybauldes<sup>f</sup> used. And<sup>g</sup> here<sup>h</sup> came the matter fully to light. Ffor whan the comissioners had taken upon them [34v] the chardge of this<sup>i</sup> examination, and beganne by oon and oon<sup>j</sup> to examyn these ffreeres, moonkes, and nonnes, upon their oathes swoaren by<sup>k</sup> the Evangelistes, there were discovered hipocrisies, murders, ydolatries, myracles, sodomies, adulteries, fornycations, pryde, envye<sup>l</sup> and not seven, but more then seaven hundred thousande deadely synnes.

'Helas, myne hert maketh<sup>m</sup> all my members<sup>n</sup> to tremble with another maner of feaver then is<sup>o</sup> the quartan<sup>99</sup>, whan I remember the<sup>p</sup> abhomination that their was tryed out. O Lorde God (speaking under correction), what canst Thou answeere unto<sup>q</sup> the five

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* veray H

<sup>b</sup> roaring *f*

<sup>c</sup> lambs H *f* C *d* B

<sup>d</sup> to H *f* C *d* B

<sup>e</sup> into H *f* C *d* B

<sup>f</sup> ribaulders C *d*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* and H *f*

<sup>h</sup> Now *f*

<sup>i</sup> the C *d*

<sup>j</sup> began one by one H *f*

<sup>k</sup> upon *f* C *d*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* envye H *f*

<sup>m</sup> make H

<sup>n</sup> other members H

<sup>o</sup> with C *d*

<sup>p</sup> all the H *f*

<sup>q</sup> to H



cities consumed<sup>a</sup> with celestiall fire, whan they shall alledge before the<sup>90</sup> the iniquities of these religiose whom thou hast so longe supported? 'Note well these fewe woordes,' saied I, 'that<sup>b</sup> I shall tell you. In their derke and sharpe prysonnes<sup>c</sup> there were founde deade so many of their breathern that it was a wonder; some crucified with moo tormentes then ever were herde of and some famished unto the death<sup>d</sup> only ffor breaking of their<sup>e</sup> superstitiows silence, or for some like tryfle<sup>f</sup>, and specially [35r] in<sup>g</sup> some children there was used a creweltie not to be spoaken<sup>h</sup> with humaine tonge. There was of the heremytes some oon that<sup>i</sup>, under colour<sup>j</sup> of confession, had used carnally with moo then twoo or three hundreth gentlewomen and women of reputation, whose names, enrolled by commandement, they shewed unto the saied<sup>k</sup> commissioners. Insomuch that some of the self same commissioners founde of their owne wiefes titled emongst the rest, with what conscience I reaporte<sup>l</sup> me unto you. There was workeng of wonders. The freeres and nonnes were as whoore and thief in the oapen stewes<sup>m</sup>, and there<sup>n</sup> were saintes that made the barayn women<sup>o</sup> bringe foorthe childern, unto whom there wanted

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<sup>a</sup> confounded C d

<sup>b</sup> Note well (I said) these few words and H *f om. and C d*

<sup>c</sup> prison H

<sup>d</sup> *om.* unto the death H *f C d B*

<sup>e</sup> the H

<sup>f</sup> or some little trifles H or some like trifle *f C d B*

<sup>g</sup> on H *f*

<sup>h</sup> spoken of C d

<sup>i</sup> *om.* that H

<sup>j</sup> the colour C d

<sup>k</sup> *om.* saied H *f C d B*

<sup>l</sup> may I reorte H

<sup>m</sup> whores and thieves in the open street *f*

<sup>n</sup> these H

<sup>o</sup> barren womb H

no reasorte from all partes of the realme<sup>a</sup>. Helas what shulde I saye<sup>b</sup> whan Ptolome his discourse, Plinie his memorie, and Augustine his penne, ioigned in oon man, shulde not suffise<sup>c</sup> to make him an apte auctor of so detestable an historie as this abomination requireth?

'Well, to my purpose. In conclusion<sup>d</sup>, upon the retorne of these commissioners<sup>e</sup>, whan [35v] the King was fully enformed of the cace, incontinentlie he<sup>f</sup> called his Parliament, but or ever the counsaillors of the same coulde assemble togethers here came that abbott, and there came that prior, nowe came that abbesse, and than<sup>g</sup> came that ffreere<sup>h</sup>, from all partes<sup>i</sup> of the realme unto the King offering their monasteries into his handes, beseching him to pardon them their synnes, *de pena*<sup>91</sup> only, and not *de culpa*<sup>92</sup>, insomuch that His Maiestie accepted many of them and pardoned them all<sup>j</sup> except a fewe only of the most notable rybauldes, whom for the others example he caused to suffer death in divers wise<sup>k</sup> as their<sup>l</sup> horrible caces diversly mearited. And thereupon folowing the saied Parliament (in the which all these matters were not only publissed but also confessed by the self<sup>m</sup> religiose personnes brought oopenlye in iudgement), it was concluded both by the Barons and also by the<sup>n</sup> Commons of the same<sup>a</sup> Parliament that

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<sup>a</sup> kingdom H *f*

<sup>b</sup> Alas what should, what should I saye C *d*

<sup>c</sup> satisfy *f*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* in conclusion H

<sup>e</sup> commissions H

<sup>f</sup> he incontinently H

<sup>g</sup> there *f*

<sup>h</sup> prioress H *f*

<sup>i</sup> parties C *d*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* all H

<sup>k</sup> ways H *f*

<sup>l</sup> the H

<sup>m</sup> false H *f* C *d* B

<sup>n</sup> *om.* the B

these monasteries shulde be extirped, and the goodes and reveniewes<sup>b</sup> thereof<sup>c</sup> disposed as the King and his counsaill shulde<sup>d</sup> thinke [36r] it expedient. And yet for all this wolde not the King put hande unto it untill<sup>e</sup> he hade<sup>f</sup> made his learned doctors to searche out the groundes<sup>g</sup> of these<sup>h</sup> many sortes<sup>i</sup> of religion, who, conferring the same substantially<sup>j</sup> with the Gospell, founde it to be cleane contrarie unto<sup>k</sup> the Christian religion, by many moo reasons then I can well remembre. Neverthelesse for your satisfaction I shall here rehearse oon or twoo of them to thentent you may the better taste what wickednesse such<sup>l</sup> superstitious<sup>m</sup> religion doth comprehend.

'First, these<sup>n</sup> religiouse do professe themselves to lyve much more holylye<sup>o</sup> then the seculer people do, and by as much as they can, woll persuade the worlde that they arr no synners, but rather<sup>p</sup> iust and upright personnes, by which reason they have wyped themselves cleane out of Christes vocation who saith He came not to call the iust personnes<sup>q</sup> but the<sup>r</sup> synners<sup>a</sup> {*marg.* Math:9<sup>93</sup>}. And then the good workes that they

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<sup>a</sup> said H f C d B

<sup>b</sup> revenue C d

<sup>c</sup> thereof should be H

<sup>d</sup> did H

<sup>e</sup> *om.* And yet for all this wolde not the King put hande untill H f C d B

<sup>f</sup> *om.* hade d

<sup>g</sup> grounds H f

<sup>h</sup> this H

<sup>i</sup> evils f

<sup>j</sup> conferring it substantially H

<sup>k</sup> to H

<sup>l</sup> that H f what C d B

<sup>m</sup> superstitions C d

<sup>n</sup> the H f C d

<sup>o</sup> nobly f

<sup>p</sup> *om.* rather H f

<sup>q</sup> *om.* personnes H person f

<sup>r</sup> *om.* the H

pretende<sup>b</sup> to do arr all outwarde woorkes, as apparaileng themselves in religiouse habite<sup>c</sup>, syngeng and roareng out in their<sup>d</sup> qweeres, saieng of their<sup>e</sup> [36v] service in Latein, with mateins and masse<sup>f</sup>, and holie abstinence from fleshe this daye and that morowe<sup>g</sup>, whan they have<sup>h</sup> filled their bealies with good<sup>i</sup> fysh, fructe and wyne. And such other arr their holie outwarde operations, whereas Christ exhorteth us to beware<sup>j</sup> that we worke not our iustice before men<sup>k</sup>, but secreatelie in giveng of<sup>l</sup> almes that the oon hande knowe not of the other<sup>m</sup>. in quyett and hertie praier<sup>n</sup>, in fasteng<sup>o</sup>, in patience<sup>p</sup>, and charitie and so foorth<sup>q</sup> {*marg.* Math:6<sup>94</sup>} Of which inwarde vertues these<sup>r</sup> religiouse arr<sup>s</sup> knowen to be utterlie voyde.

'Furthermore, the vowes<sup>t</sup> that these religiouse<sup>u</sup> make and that they teache others to make<sup>a</sup> arr cleane<sup>b</sup> repugnantt unto<sup>c</sup> Christes doctrine who teacheth his faithfull<sup>d</sup> evermore

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a sinner *f*

b pretended *f C D*

c habits *f*

d the H *f*

e *om.* their H

f masses *f*

g day H

h *om.* have H

i *om.* good H

j *om.* to beware H

k man *f*

l *om.* of H

m not what the other doeth H *f*

n prayers H *f*

o fastings *f*

p *om.* in patience H *f*

q *om.* and so forth H

r those H C *d*

s this religion is H

t oaths H

u religious men H

evermore humblie<sup>e</sup> to submitt themselves unto<sup>f</sup> the wyll of the Father, as by<sup>g</sup> example, of his praier in the gardein<sup>h</sup> the night before his death, it is manifest. Ffor whan the fleshe had praied the Father to deliver him from the<sup>i</sup> present passion, incontinentle<sup>j</sup> the spirite rebuked himself saieng, 'No Father, not as I woll, but as Thou wolt.' {*marg.* Math:26<sup>95</sup>} [37r] And yet these religiose promiseng unto God that which they arr alreadie<sup>k</sup> bounde to observe, that is to saye chastitie<sup>l</sup>, obedience and povertie, which in effect the infirmytie of the fleshe alloweth no creature to performe, woll<sup>m</sup> not that God deale with them as he woll, but as they themselves woll<sup>n</sup>, who with their superstitious holy<sup>o</sup> woorkes woll enforce God to give them not only health and wealth in this worlde, but paradise also<sup>p</sup> in the other worlde. And, by their example have taught the ignorannt moltitude not to<sup>q</sup> content themselves with<sup>r</sup> the infirmyties, adversities, poverties<sup>s</sup>, persecutions and passions

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<sup>a</sup> and that they cause to be made H

<sup>b</sup> *om.* clean H

<sup>c</sup> to H

<sup>d</sup> faithful H

<sup>e</sup> *om.* humblie H

<sup>f</sup> to H

<sup>g</sup> by the *f C d*

<sup>h</sup> which he made in the garden H *f*

<sup>i</sup> that H *f*

<sup>j</sup> incontinent H *f*

<sup>k</sup> already they are H *f*

<sup>l</sup> chastity, charity *f*

<sup>m</sup> they will H

<sup>n</sup> will themselves H *f*

<sup>o</sup> *om.* holy H *f C d B*

<sup>p</sup> also paradise H *f C d B*

<sup>q</sup> *om.* to *d*

<sup>r</sup> of H

<sup>s</sup> poverties *f*

that God sendeth them in this worlde, but with vowes of ymages, of tables<sup>a</sup>, of pilgrimages<sup>b</sup>, of change of apparaill and of<sup>c</sup> such<sup>d</sup> other baggaige to enforce God by his saintes and<sup>e</sup> not by Christ to give them health, prosperitie, riches, and ioye<sup>f</sup> according to their inconstant wylls<sup>g</sup> and not according unto his divine determination and pleasure<sup>h</sup>. And hereof hath folowed the buyldeng of monasteries, sinagoges, chapelles, and<sup>i</sup> chanteries, with [37v] burneng of lightes, incense, singeng of masses, and ryngeng of belles, whan the blynde people have believed with these worldly tryfles to gratifie the divine maiestie. But what saieth the prophete? {*marg.* Isaiah 66<sup>96</sup>} What saith Stephan? {*marg.* Act 7<sup>97</sup>} And<sup>j</sup> what saieth Paule? {*marg.* Act 17<sup>98</sup>} God, saye they, dwelleth not<sup>k</sup> in temples made with hande<sup>l</sup>, nor can receave nothing of any earthelie matter. Ffor what thinge have we here that he hath not created? And what advayleth unto<sup>m</sup> God our foolish sacrifices? As David saieth, 'If Thou Lorde woldest have sacrifices, I wolde offer them unto the<sup>n99</sup>, but the<sup>o</sup> incenses<sup>p</sup> please<sup>q</sup> the<sup>100</sup> not.' The true sacrifice unto God, therefore<sup>a</sup>, is

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<sup>a</sup> candles C d

<sup>b</sup> pilgrimage H f C d

<sup>c</sup> *om.* of C d

<sup>d</sup> *om.* such H

<sup>e</sup> *om.* and H

<sup>f</sup> riches and joy H f C d B

<sup>g</sup> pleasure H f C d B

<sup>h</sup> *om.* and not according unto his divine determination and pleasure H f C d B

<sup>i</sup> *om.* and f C d

<sup>j</sup> and f

<sup>k</sup> they cannot dwell H

<sup>l</sup> hands H f C d B

<sup>m</sup> it unto H f C d B

<sup>n</sup> would have offered them unto thee H f

<sup>o</sup> these H

<sup>p</sup> incense f C d

<sup>q</sup> pleases f C d B

the humble, contrite and contented spirite, and not these temples, incense<sup>b</sup>, ymages<sup>c</sup>, fleshe, fyshe or fruicte. And so much founde<sup>d</sup> these doctors to saye ageinst those religiose that, in conclusion, they<sup>e</sup> condempned them to be more<sup>f</sup> infidelles and ennemyes unto God then the idolatrers<sup>g</sup> Caffranes<sup>101</sup> of the<sup>h</sup> India founde out by the Portingalles<sup>102</sup>.

'Caffranes,' saied oon of the gentlemen, 'what be [38r] they I pray you<sup>i</sup>?'

'They be,' saied I, 'certein people that worship<sup>j</sup> the devill in images<sup>k</sup> as you here do<sup>l</sup> the sainctes.'

'And by what reason,' saied he, 'shulde they worship the devill?'

'By such a reason,' saied I, 'as woll make you to wonder. Ffirst they believe oon perfect<sup>m</sup> vertuose God to be the universall creator of all thinges, who in his perfection, must needes be iust. And then, by the only lawe<sup>n</sup> of nature, and by the malice that raigneth in the fleshe, they knowledge<sup>o</sup> themselves in envye and other such to be contraries<sup>p</sup> unto that<sup>q</sup> divine vertue, so that the iustice, as<sup>a</sup> they believe, can no<sup>b</sup> lesse do

<sup>a</sup> therefore unto God *H f*

<sup>b</sup> incences *H f*

<sup>c</sup> images, incense *C d*

<sup>d</sup> for *H*

<sup>e</sup> then *C*

<sup>f</sup> worse *f*

<sup>g</sup> idolater *f* idolatrous *C d*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* the *f*

<sup>i</sup> what I pray be they *H*

<sup>j</sup> a certaine people that do worship *H f C d B*

<sup>k</sup> image *C d*

<sup>l</sup> do here *H f*

<sup>m</sup> *om.* perfect *H f C d B*

<sup>n</sup> laws *H*

<sup>o</sup> acknowledge *H f*

<sup>p</sup> contrary *f d*

<sup>q</sup> the *H f*

then condempne them unto perpetuall dampnation, wherof the devill is mynister. And so ymagineng that who most devowtelie serveth the devill in this worlde, of reason must<sup>c</sup> receave of him<sup>d</sup> most favor when he cometh into<sup>e</sup> the other worlde. They therefore most<sup>f</sup> diligentlie observe<sup>g</sup> infinite<sup>h</sup> their ceremonies unto the devill with fastinge, almes and<sup>i</sup> praier in hope that their present penance [38v] shal be a mitigation of their paine<sup>j</sup> to come. Tell me nowe<sup>k</sup> (I pray you) howe like you this'?

'As I do all the rest,' saied my contrarie, 'ffor in this cace you preferre them that serve the devill before the servantes<sup>m</sup> of God.'

'No,' saied I, 'there<sup>n</sup> you mistake me ffor your monkes, freeres and nonnes, I saye, serve not God, but serve<sup>o</sup> themselves proudelie presumeng ageinst God to be iust, holy and rightwise<sup>p</sup> of themselves. Whereas, the other poore idolatrrers confesse<sup>q</sup> God only to be vertuouse and themselves to be synners, and therefore woll I so preferre them that if they had<sup>r</sup> knowledge of Goddes mercye in Christ, as we have, I feare me their woorkes

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* as H

<sup>b</sup> cannot *f*

<sup>c</sup> must of reason H *f*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* of him H

<sup>e</sup> he cometh to him in H *f* when he cometh unto him in C *d*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* most H

<sup>g</sup> observe diligently H

<sup>h</sup> infinitely *f*

<sup>i</sup> *om.* and C B

<sup>j</sup> pains H *f* C *d* B

<sup>k</sup> *om.* now C *d*

<sup>l</sup> I pray how you like all this *f*

<sup>m</sup> servant C *d*

<sup>n</sup> *om.* there H *f* B

<sup>o</sup> *om.* serve H

<sup>p</sup> righteous H *f* C *d*

<sup>q</sup> confessed C *d*

<sup>r</sup> if their H



shulde<sup>a</sup> prove much more Christian then ours do<sup>b</sup>. But come we to an ende<sup>c</sup> with these our religiouse. Ffinally, these doctors founde that Paule, in his Epistles, had reprov'd the Corinthians<sup>d</sup> for divideng themselves after the names<sup>e</sup> of those Christian preachers, who had been mynisters unto their conversion, bicause some oon saied, 'I am<sup>f</sup> Paule.' An<sup>g</sup>other saied, 'I am<sup>h</sup> of Apollo,' 'I<sup>i</sup> of Cepha,' and 'I of Christ.' [39r] What saied Paule? 'Was I crucified for you? Is Christ divided emongest you? {*marg.* Cor:1<sup>103</sup>} No, saied he, I have taught you to be oon self thinge in Christ without division<sup>j</sup> either of name or of doing. So that in conclusion these orders of Ffrances, of<sup>k</sup> Domynycke, of Benet, of<sup>l</sup> Brygide and of so many others were condempned by these doctors as thinges cleane contrarie unto the true Christian religion, in which all the faithfull in<sup>m</sup> Christ bounde togethers with the knott<sup>n</sup> of charitie, in the<sup>o</sup> belief of cleane remission of synnes, arr regenerate unto<sup>p</sup> oon self order and rule without difference either of name, habite or colour<sup>q</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> would *Hf*

<sup>b</sup> Christian yours do *H*

<sup>c</sup> contend *H*

<sup>d</sup> Christians *f*

<sup>e</sup> manner *Hf*

<sup>f</sup> I am of *HfC dB*

<sup>g</sup> and an *fC dB*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* saied I am *H*

<sup>i</sup> another *H*

<sup>j</sup> in those divisions *f*

<sup>k</sup> and (for of) *Hf*

<sup>l</sup> and (for of) *Hf*

<sup>m</sup> to *f*

<sup>n</sup> bound together in one knot *H* bound in one knot *f*

<sup>o</sup> *om.* the *Hf*

<sup>p</sup> in *H*

<sup>q</sup> order or colour *f*

Wherefore<sup>a</sup>, the King being cleerelie persuaded of all handes that this onhappie, ydle and develish generation was necessarie<sup>b</sup> to be rooted out of the<sup>c</sup> worlde, proceeded then to the iust<sup>d</sup> destruction of those sinagoges with the self same diligence that<sup>e</sup> Titus and Vaspasian<sup>104</sup> used towards the destruction<sup>f</sup> of Ierusalem. And did not therein<sup>g</sup> as he shulde do, trowe you?

'Yea<sup>h</sup>,' saied oon of those<sup>i</sup> gentlemen, 'if he had disposed those thinges to the use of the poore and needefull, and [39v] not taken it unto his owne private comoditie.'

'Ageinst the poore,' saied I, 'I woll not speake. But this<sup>j</sup> much woll I<sup>k</sup> saye, that if all<sup>l</sup> that<sup>m</sup> substannce had been converted unto<sup>n</sup> the poore, the poore shulde have becomen<sup>o</sup> rycher then the princes and nobles. Ffor our religiose in Englande were *quasi nihil habentes et omnia possidentes*<sup>105</sup> not in spirite but in dede. I wote not<sup>p</sup> howe your ffreeres here in Italie observe their swoaren povertie. And yet this is well<sup>q</sup> true that His Maiestie in diverse provinces<sup>r</sup> of the realme hath convirted parte of those<sup>a</sup> monasteries

<sup>a</sup> Therefore H

<sup>b</sup> *om.* necessarie H f

<sup>c</sup> this C d

<sup>d</sup> *om.* iust H f C d B

<sup>e</sup> *om.* that f C d

<sup>f</sup> destroying H

<sup>g</sup> And did he not then H And did he not there f And did he not therein C d B

<sup>h</sup> Then H

<sup>i</sup> the C d

<sup>j</sup> thus H f

<sup>k</sup> I will H f C d B

<sup>l</sup> *om.* all C d

<sup>m</sup> the H f C d B

<sup>n</sup> to H

<sup>o</sup> should have been become H

<sup>p</sup> *om.* not H f C d B

<sup>q</sup> most H

<sup>r</sup> places H

towardes the bringeng up of orphanes and sustenation<sup>b</sup> of the poore, though well that parte be but a small quantitie in respect of the hole.

'And thus bicause I woll not be teadyouse having saied enough as me seemeth unto this<sup>c</sup> point, {VIII} I woll nowe answeere unto the insurrection of the Northe which was cause of the death of those noble men that my contrarie hath here spoaken of.

'True it is that whan those<sup>d</sup> commissioners who had the chardge of inquysition in<sup>e</sup> these frarie<sup>f</sup> matters had passed throughout the realme, here and there [40r] whereas their commissions<sup>g</sup> ledde them, these our holy spirituall religiouse, who had been shryven of the laye personnes<sup>h</sup> with another maner of auricular confession<sup>i</sup> then the Lentlie<sup>106</sup> penitentiall sacrament requireth, suspecting the sequele of that that iustlie<sup>j</sup> folowed in dede, beganne with sowing of seadition<sup>k</sup> here and there to corrupt the myndes of the ignorannt and inconstannt people. Insomuch that a cobler (marke this beginneng<sup>l</sup>) encouraiged by the presumptuouse audacitie of oon private moonke in the cite of Lincolne, gathered unto him certein<sup>m</sup> other artysanes<sup>n</sup>, and villaynes, such as he was himself<sup>o</sup>, and in lesse then<sup>a</sup> iiii<sup>b</sup> daies made him an heade<sup>c</sup> of better then three thousande

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<sup>a</sup> converted divers of these H *f*

<sup>b</sup> instruction *f*

<sup>c</sup> the *d*

<sup>d</sup> the C *d*

<sup>e</sup> on *f*

<sup>f</sup> few C *d*

<sup>g</sup> commission H

<sup>h</sup> men H

<sup>i</sup> confessions *f*

<sup>j</sup> of it which truly H of that which justly *f*

<sup>k</sup> seditions H *f*

<sup>l</sup> these beginings H *f* the begining *d*

<sup>m</sup> *om.* certein H

<sup>n</sup> Artificers C *d*

<sup>o</sup> himself was H

men, and under the name of Capitaigne Cobler beganne a brave<sup>d</sup> rebellion, laieng hande<sup>e</sup> on diuerse of the Kinges mynisters, and<sup>f</sup> putting some of them<sup>g</sup> unto death, with robbing and spoyleng some others<sup>h</sup> as it seemed them to make for their purpose that<sup>i</sup> had not the gentlemen been<sup>j</sup> who, by faire meanes, by auctoritie and by<sup>k</sup> frendship, pacified this<sup>l</sup> ignorannt furie<sup>m</sup>. No doubt of it, [40v] there shulde have folowed such effusion of bloude, such roberies and flambe<sup>n</sup> as an hundreth thousande flatering freeres with their catalogue<sup>o</sup> sermons {marg: Cataloge is the legend of Saincts liefes<sup>p</sup>} coulde never have recompenced. Beholde here the peryll of this nation, who, ffor a cobler and a knavish freere, not knowing any cause why and without either mooney or provision<sup>q</sup>, wolde thus soddanielie dispose themselves to warre against their owne bloude. What, trowe you, wolde they have doon under a<sup>r</sup> nobleman upon<sup>s</sup> some grounde with meane<sup>t</sup> and mooney?

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* less then H

<sup>b</sup> 3 H *f* C *d* B

<sup>c</sup> made himself a head H *f*

<sup>d</sup> great C *d*

<sup>e</sup> hands H *f* *d*

<sup>f</sup> with H

<sup>g</sup> *om.* of them H

<sup>h</sup> *om.* some others H

<sup>i</sup> so that *f*

<sup>j</sup> had not there been gentlemen *f*

<sup>k</sup> *om.* by H *f*

<sup>l</sup> the H *f* C *d* B

<sup>m</sup> ignorant multitude H *f*

<sup>n</sup> flames *f*

<sup>o</sup> catalogic *f* B

<sup>p</sup> *om.* gloss H *f* C *d*

<sup>q</sup> provisions *f*

<sup>r</sup> some H *f*

<sup>s</sup> with H

<sup>t</sup> men H *f* C *d* B

No no, I shall tell you more. If this cobler had had the knowledge howe to governe these men whan he<sup>a</sup> had them together<sup>b</sup>, to have goon forwardes towardes some enterprise<sup>c</sup>, within lesse then twoo daies more he shulde have founde better then twentie thousande men to<sup>d</sup> have folowed him. But whan they were togethers<sup>e</sup> they wüst<sup>107</sup> not what to do, and therfore thauthoritie, and<sup>f</sup> wisdome of the gentlemen the Kinges freendes, without force or strype<sup>g</sup>, so confounded them that they fledde everie oon<sup>h</sup> unto his home<sup>i</sup> with more diligence then they came foorthe [41r]. And so the mater quieted, and a fewe of the principalles<sup>j</sup> taken and hanged, the nombre was pardoned without moore<sup>108</sup> adoo.

'But see nowe<sup>k</sup> what mischief<sup>l</sup> folowed of this<sup>m</sup> possibilitie. Those<sup>n</sup> our religieuse men perceaving<sup>o</sup> right well what this Capitaigne Cobler coulde<sup>p</sup> have doon, and not regarding what became of him indede, disposed themselves of newe<sup>q</sup> to prove their fortune, being assured that if the Kinges Maiestie shulde contynue there was none other but wracke<sup>109</sup> with them, and therfore in the furthest parte of the Northe beganne another rebellyon, the capitaigne whereof was named Aske, a man of meane degree. And this

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<sup>a</sup> they C d

<sup>b</sup> togethers C d

<sup>c</sup> some other prize C d

<sup>d</sup> men more to H

<sup>e</sup> together H f

<sup>f</sup> and the H f

<sup>g</sup> stripes H f

<sup>h</sup> man B

<sup>i</sup> every man to his own home H f every man to his home C d

<sup>j</sup> principalest H f

<sup>k</sup> But see so H om. nowe f

<sup>l</sup> om. mischief C d

<sup>m</sup> the H

<sup>n</sup> These C d

<sup>o</sup> Those our religius knowing H Those our religious men knowing f

<sup>p</sup> would f C d

<sup>q</sup> themselves anew H f C d

seconde rebellion was of another sorte then the first. Ffor in fewe daies they had made an armye of sixtene or seventene<sup>a</sup> thousande men. Whereof there were certein noble personnes and many men of reputation, spetially of the prelates of your Moother Church, ffor whose whoorishe defence all this seadition was moaved. And this armye came on, iorney by iorney<sup>b</sup>, towardes the hert of the realme little lesse then an hundreth myles, [41v] untill by force of flouddie<sup>c</sup> waters, and not by<sup>d</sup> resistence of men, they were staid before<sup>e</sup> Dongecastell<sup>110</sup> in the Countie of Yorke. And marke well<sup>f</sup> here the iudgement<sup>g</sup> and providence of God. The King was than at Windesor<sup>h</sup>, besides<sup>i</sup> London, making of men and putting of order here and there ffor his defence, as the cace required, but<sup>j</sup> his people came so slowelie unto him, his secret superstitiouse ennemies within his realme were so many, and the furie and power of this<sup>k</sup> newe raised armie so great and soddayn, that he wist not well whom to trust nor what to do, so that for extreame reamedie, he sent his chieft<sup>l</sup> counsaillors unto Dongecastell to treate with the rebelles, to heare what they wolde demande and to promise them what they wolde aske. Which counsaillors used all diligence to arryve at the appointed place, wheare they treated with those<sup>m</sup> adversaries

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a 18 *d*

b *om.* by iorney C *d*

c flood C *d*

d by the H

e at H

f *om.* well H *f* C *d* B

g judgements H

h Windsor Castle *f*

i beside C *d*

j But as *d*

k his C *d*

l chief *f* C *d*

m the H

according unto<sup>a</sup> their commission<sup>b</sup>. But had it not been that the waters letted them so longe of their passaige<sup>c</sup> that their vitailles<sup>ll</sup> and mooney were cleane consumed, those rebelles for that tyme, [42r] had<sup>d</sup> given finall<sup>e</sup> audience unto any treatie<sup>f</sup>. Ffinally, the presence of those counsaillors had so much authoritie emongest the ennemies that with reason and faire promises they were appeased. Ffor whan they came to the<sup>g</sup> reasonnyng, in veray dede<sup>h</sup> they wist not well what to demannde, except the preservation only<sup>i</sup> of their Holy Moother Church, which their prelates and religiose did evermore beate in<sup>j</sup> their heades. And so in effect the King at that tyme pardoned them all as you have alledged. Nowe here cometh the matter that offendeth you. Diverse of these<sup>k</sup> personnes, as well nobles as others, whan they were returned unto their quiett howses and sawe plainelie that the Kinge did constantelie folowe the reformation of this<sup>l</sup> abhominable church, coude not for all this be contented to see the thinges passe ageinst their superstitious belief, but incontinentlie renewed<sup>m</sup> their<sup>n</sup> olde practise to rebell agein<sup>o</sup>; and in oon place there were<sup>p</sup>

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a to H

b commissions *f*

c them of their passage so long C *d*

d at that tyme had H had for that time *f*

e small H *f* C *d* B

f audience to treaty H

g *om.* the *f* C *d*

h *om.* in veray dede H

i *om.* only H *f* C *d* B

j into H *f* C *d*

k those H

l the H *f* *d*

m received H

n the H *f*

o of rebeling again H *f*

p was H B

gathered together CC men<sup>a</sup>, in another an C<sup>b</sup>, here L, there XX, and there X, so that all the cuntrey was in a newe [42v] rumor. But the garrysons of men that<sup>c</sup> the King had this meane while sprede thorough those cuntreys, incontientlie overcame these fewe<sup>d</sup> commotions, in such wise<sup>e</sup> that for feare eche man withdrewe him to his howse. And the matter afre substantially examined, the principalles<sup>f</sup> were taken and certein of them hanged and beheaded, that is to saye the Capitaigne Aske, the Lorde Darcy a baron, iiii or v knightes of accompte and<sup>g</sup> eight or nyne gentlemen, besides<sup>h</sup> certein religieuse moonkes that were the tycklers of<sup>i</sup> all this mischief. So that they that<sup>j</sup> were put unto<sup>k</sup> death suffered not for their first rebellyon, that they were pardoned for, but for their<sup>l</sup> seconde commotion wherein was founde a contynuance of their prepensed<sup>m</sup> malice, not so much (as I believe) ageinst the Kinges person, as ageinst the light of the veritie, which their superstitiouse consciences coulde<sup>n</sup> not allowe. And howe saye you nowe? Knowe you any prince that wolde have doon lesse then this in so importantt a cace?

'I cannot tell you,' saied my adversarie, 'howe [43r] well here is manifest effusion of Christian bloude.'

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<sup>a</sup> *om. men f*

<sup>b</sup> *in another place 100 f*

<sup>c</sup> *om. that C d*

<sup>d</sup> *small H f*

<sup>e</sup> *om. in such wise H*

<sup>f</sup> *the principalest of them H f*

<sup>g</sup> *om. and H*

<sup>h</sup> *beside C d*

<sup>i</sup> *at H*

<sup>j</sup> *they who f*

<sup>k</sup> *to H*

<sup>l</sup> *the H f*

<sup>m</sup> *pretended H*

<sup>n</sup> *would f*



'Helas,' quod I, 'can that hardened hert of yours relent unto no reason? Tell me, I pray you, but your opinion in this this oon question I shall aske you. Whan the man<sup>a</sup> is burdened with an extreame feaver, or other sicknes thorough the corruption of superflouise<sup>b</sup> bloudde, the contyuance whereof shulde put him in danngier of his life, doth the phisicien well, by incision of the vayne<sup>c</sup>, to drawe awaye that<sup>d</sup> bloudde that is ennemye of the<sup>e</sup> mannes health, or were it better that<sup>f</sup> by suffering it to contynue he shulde let the man abide in peryll of destruction of his hole<sup>g</sup> bodie?'

'O,' saied my contrarie, 'what a question is this?'

'Why than<sup>h</sup>,' saied I, 'you must needes grannt me that better it was to drawe the<sup>i</sup> bloudde of a fewe personnes who were the corruption of a hole realme then to suffer the hole realme to perish. Ffor if they might have had their wylles, the least thinge that coulde have folowed must needes have been the bloudde sheading of a stryken [*43v*] cyvile<sup>j</sup> battaile. And whan well they had overcomen<sup>k</sup> the King, there coulde<sup>l</sup> have folowed none other but perpetuall confusion<sup>m</sup>, ondoing of themselves and of their neighbors, to bringe their cuntrey in praye<sup>n12</sup> unto strange nations. But with<sup>o</sup> you there

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<sup>a</sup> this man H B this body *f* the body C *d*

<sup>b</sup> corrupt H *f*

<sup>c</sup> of his vein H of his veins *f*

<sup>d</sup> the C *d*

<sup>e</sup> this H *f*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* that H *f* C *d* B

<sup>g</sup> *om.* hole H *f* C *d* B

<sup>h</sup> this C *d*

<sup>i</sup> *om.* the *f* C *d*

<sup>j</sup> sudden H

<sup>k</sup> overcome H *f* C *d*

<sup>l</sup> would H *f*

<sup>m</sup> contention *f* C *d*

<sup>n</sup> a prey *f*

<sup>o</sup> But unto *f*

helpeth nother reason nor argument<sup>a</sup>, and therefore, syns I see I cannot satisfie you, I woll dispose myself<sup>b</sup> to satisfie those other<sup>c</sup> gentlemen as neere as I can.

{IX} Nowe as toocheng the Kinges so many wiefes, whom he chopped and channged at his pleasure as you saye, the trouthe is that he hath had a great many of<sup>d</sup> wiefes, and with some of them hath had perchance<sup>e</sup> as yll<sup>f</sup> lucke as some other poore men<sup>g</sup>. And I shall tell you plainelie<sup>h</sup>, from oon to oon howe the maters have passed.

That gentle and vertuouse Ladie Katherine, his first wief, was divorced from him as you have hearde, bicause she had been wief unto his elder<sup>i</sup> broather, and in effect within twoo yeres or thereaboutes aftre that the King was newe<sup>j</sup> married<sup>k</sup>, wheather it were by consumption of [44r] thought or by course of nature I cannot tell, she yelded her spirite unto God, leaving none other fructe behinde her but her doughter, that curteise Ladie Marie, whom we have so often mentyoned. Nowe, incontinentlie aftre that divorce, the King married, as I have saied, his seconde wief<sup>l</sup> named<sup>m</sup> the Ladie Anne Boleyn, whose liberall lief were to shamefull to<sup>n</sup> rehearse. Ones she was as wise a woman, endewed<sup>l13</sup> with as many outwarde<sup>o</sup> qualities<sup>a</sup> in plaieng on instrumentes, singeng and

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<sup>a</sup> arguments H *f*

<sup>b</sup> *om.* myself H *f*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* other H *f* C *d* B

<sup>d</sup> *om.* of H *f* C *d*

<sup>e</sup> *om.* perchaunce H *f* C *d* B

<sup>f</sup> evil C *d*

<sup>g</sup> as any other poor man H *f*

<sup>h</sup> plainly tell you H *f* C *d* B

<sup>i</sup> eldest C *d*

<sup>j</sup> newly C *d*

<sup>k</sup> within two or three years after that the King was married anew H *f*

<sup>l</sup> married his second wief as I said H married his second wife as I have said *f*

<sup>m</sup> *om.* his second wief named *d*

<sup>n</sup> too H

<sup>o</sup> outwards C

such other courtelie graces as fewe women were of her tyme, with such a certein outwarde<sup>b</sup> profession of gravitie as was to be mervailed at. But inwardelie<sup>c</sup> she was all another dame then she seemed to be. Ffor in satisfieng of her carnall appetite, she fledde not so much as the companie of her owne naturall broather, besides the companie of<sup>d</sup> three or foure others of the galanntest gentlemen that were nere<sup>e</sup> aboutes<sup>f</sup> the Kinges proper person, who were all so famyliarlie drawn into her trayne by her owne develish devises that it shulde seeme [44v] she was alwaies<sup>g</sup> well occupied. The busie doing whereof gave the King great cause of suspition. So that findeng by searche the ymaged mischief<sup>h</sup> to have effect, he was enforced<sup>i</sup> to proceade therin by waye of oapen iustice, wheare the mater was manifested unto the hole worlde, and the sentence given against them. Insomuch that both she and her broather with the other foure<sup>j</sup> gentlemen were beheaded. Ffor adulterie in a Kinges wief waieth no lesse then the wronge raigne of a bastarde prince, which thinge ffor a common wealth ought spetiallie to be regarded. And besides this, it was laied<sup>k</sup> unto<sup>l</sup> her chardge that she, with some of the rest, had conspired the Kinges<sup>m</sup> death to advoide the danngier of their<sup>n</sup> wickednesse which they perceaved

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<sup>a</sup> good qualities *Hf*

<sup>b</sup> outwards *C*

<sup>c</sup> inward *d* inwards *C*

<sup>d</sup> of some *f*

<sup>e</sup> *om.* nere *Hf*

<sup>f</sup> about *HfC d B*

<sup>g</sup> alway *C d*

<sup>h</sup> mischiefs *C d*

<sup>i</sup> forced *Hf*

<sup>j</sup> brother and the four other *f*

<sup>k</sup> layen *H*

<sup>l</sup> to *H*

<sup>m</sup> Prince's *C d*

<sup>n</sup> the *Hf*

coulede not longe be kept secret. And this seconde wief lyved with the King aboutes<sup>a</sup> the terme<sup>b</sup> of foure yeres, having issue by him a doughter<sup>c</sup> named the Ladie Elizabeth, which is at this present<sup>d</sup>, of<sup>e</sup> the aage of xiiii yeres or thereaboutes, a veray wittie and gentle yonge ladie.

'Nowe whan the first [45r] wief was deade, and the seconde beheaded, then was the King ondoubtedlie cleere of all handes<sup>f</sup>, and {*interlin. in*} that astate tooke unto<sup>g</sup> wief the Ladie Jane Seymore, oon of the humblest and chastest maydens of<sup>h</sup> the worlde, replete of all beaultie and wisedome, who, lyveng in perfect and loving matrimonie with His Maiestie the terme of xviii monethes or thereaboutes, brought unto<sup>i</sup> the worlde that happie Prince Edward that nowe succedeth the father unto the crowne, in whose byrthe she died. A death surelie so<sup>j</sup> much lamented of all the Kinges subiectes, as fewe the liek ffor a woman, hath ever been hearde of.

'But to be brief. After her death the King remained wedower well most<sup>k</sup> twoo yeres, till at leingth, upon agreement, he cowpled with the suster of the Duke of Clevois<sup>l</sup>, with whom he continued a half yere<sup>m</sup><sup>14</sup> untill enformation was brought him that she, this<sup>n</sup> Ladie Anne of Clovois, had been trowthe plight before with the Duke of Loreyn his

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<sup>a</sup> about H f C d B

<sup>b</sup> space f

<sup>c</sup> having issue a daughter by him H f C d B

<sup>d</sup> *om.* present C d

<sup>e</sup> at H f

<sup>f</sup> sides H f

<sup>g</sup> a H B to f C d

<sup>h</sup> in f

<sup>i</sup> into H f

<sup>j</sup> *om.* so H f

<sup>k</sup> widower almost H a widower almost f C d B

<sup>l</sup> sister of the Cleves C d

<sup>m</sup> half a year H f C d B

<sup>n</sup> the H f C d B

sonne. And this reaporthe went sore unto<sup>a</sup> the Kinges hert who loved the<sup>b</sup> woman [45v] out of measure. Ffor why? Her personnaige, her beaultie and gesture did no lesse mearite<sup>c</sup>. But whan he undrestode howe<sup>d</sup> she was in dede another<sup>e</sup> mannes wief, what for his<sup>f</sup> owne conscience and what for the<sup>g</sup> respect of thinconvenience<sup>h</sup> that in these caces<sup>i</sup> might folowe unto his succession, he called his<sup>j</sup> Parliament. Wheare, after longe reasonnyng and prooffe, concludeng that the truth and promise<sup>k</sup> betwene man and woman is it that maketh the mariage betwene husbände<sup>l</sup> and wief, and not the cerymonies<sup>m</sup> of the temple, His Maiestie was there<sup>n</sup> oopenly divorced from her. Howbeit for the singler love he bare unto her, he offered ffor<sup>o</sup> libertie to remaigne in Englande at his honorable provision<sup>p</sup>, or to retorne into her cuntrey with woorthie rewarde<sup>q</sup>. So that she electeng Englandes provision, was appointed by<sup>r</sup> His Maiestie unto foure excellent faire<sup>s</sup> palaices with all

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<sup>a</sup> to H

<sup>b</sup> this H *f* B

<sup>c</sup> merit it *f*

<sup>d</sup> that H *f*

<sup>e</sup> anothers C

<sup>f</sup> her *d*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* the *f*

<sup>h</sup> of inconveniences H C *d*

<sup>i</sup> that in this case H *f*

<sup>j</sup> the C *d*

<sup>k</sup> concluding that the promise made H *f*

<sup>l</sup> man C *d*

<sup>m</sup> ceremony H *f*

<sup>n</sup> here C *d*

<sup>o</sup> her H *f* C *d* B

<sup>p</sup> promotions H

<sup>q</sup> rewardes C *d*

<sup>r</sup> *om.* by H

<sup>s</sup> *om.* faire H

kinde<sup>a</sup> of comodities and better then XX thousande crownes<sup>b</sup> of yerelie reveniewe, whereon<sup>c</sup> she lyveth like a princesse as she is. And thus separated from her, he [46r] married his fiftē wief, named Katherine of the house of Norfolke, a veray beautyfull gentlewoman and to the<sup>d</sup> worldelie iudgement a veray vertuose, and chaste creature, though in effect the contrarie was founde aftrewards. For or<sup>e</sup> ever she contynued two yeres the Kinges wief, it was tried<sup>f</sup> that before her mariage she had contamynated her virginitie, and aftrewards had<sup>g</sup> committed, or at the least<sup>h</sup> sought meane<sup>i</sup> to<sup>j</sup> commit adulterie. So that in conclusion she and twoo other gentlemen with her, after oapen<sup>k</sup> condempnation before the iustice, were therfore<sup>l</sup> beheaded. And finally, this his last wief, likewise named Katherine, was married unto him a weedowe after that she had been wief unto twoo noble Barons of the realme deceased. And it is thought that His Maiestie married her<sup>m</sup> more for the fame and prooffe<sup>n</sup> of her constant vertue then for any carnall desire. Ffor remembreng the dishonor that he had receaved<sup>o</sup> by the lightnes of his<sup>p</sup> other

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<sup>a</sup> kinds *f*

<sup>b</sup> 2000 crownes H

<sup>c</sup> where in H *f* wherof C *d*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* the *f*

<sup>e</sup> ere *f*

<sup>f</sup> heard *f*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* had *f* C *d* B

<sup>h</sup> leastwise H *f*

<sup>i</sup> means H *f* C *d*

<sup>j</sup> how to C *d*

<sup>k</sup> *om.* oapen H *f* C *d* B

<sup>l</sup> *om.* therefore H *f*

<sup>m</sup> *om.* her H *f* B

<sup>n</sup> more for the prooffe H more for the same proof *f* C *d* B

<sup>o</sup> reaped H

<sup>p</sup> the H

twoo wiefes beheaded, he thought nowe good for him<sup>a</sup> to fasten upon an approved dame as he did in dede. Ffor this<sup>b</sup> ladie hath lyved 33 [46v] or 34 yeres without spott of blame. Howe well she is right faire and excellentlie proportionate<sup>c</sup> of bodie, beloved of all creatures and curteyse as may be, whose fortune hath had place<sup>d</sup> to see the death of that husbände that had seen the death of so many wiefes. And emongest all the happie successes that the saied<sup>e</sup> King hath had in his<sup>f</sup> lief, I reaken this oon of the espetiall, that after so many channges his gloriouse channce<sup>g</sup> hath brought him to dye in the armes of so faithfull an<sup>h</sup> espouse.'

'The discourse of these wiefes,' saied oon of those gentlemen, 'is a wondrefull historie. But<sup>i</sup> oon thinge maketh me to mervaile,' saied he, 'that when those wiefes had so offended the King, he did not<sup>j</sup> rather rydde them by some faire meane<sup>k</sup> secreatelie out of the waye<sup>l</sup>, then so oopenly to manifest his owne dishonor unto<sup>m</sup> the worlde.'

'I shall tell you why,' saied I.<sup>n</sup> 'In such thinges His Maiestie had as<sup>o</sup> upright a conscience as any lyving man, and I darr<sup>15</sup> saye wolde not have consented unto the

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* for him H *f* C *d*

<sup>b</sup> the C *d*

<sup>c</sup> excellently proportionable H excellent proportionable *f* excellent proportioned C *d*

<sup>d</sup> hath had place H *f* B

<sup>e</sup> *om.* saied H

<sup>f</sup> this *f*

<sup>g</sup> change C *d*

<sup>h</sup> a H *f* C *d* B

<sup>i</sup> for H

<sup>j</sup> nor B

<sup>k</sup> means H *f* C *d* B

<sup>l</sup> ride them out of the world by some secret meanes H out of the way secretly *f* C *d*

<sup>m</sup> to H

<sup>n</sup> you said I, why C *d*

<sup>o</sup> so H

murder of oon of them secretlie ffor all the good<sup>a</sup> of the worlde. And, agein, he [47r] esteemed not the dishonor of the mater, syns the faulte proceaded of<sup>b</sup> the woman, who for the same suffered oopen punishment. So that he accompted himself<sup>c</sup> alwaies clere both<sup>d</sup> before God and man. And thus hath he had sixe wiefes, wherof twoo have died in their beddes, twoo have suffered ffor adulterie, and twoo arr yet on live<sup>e</sup> (as you saye). But<sup>f</sup> the oon of them, you must consider, was the iust<sup>g</sup> wief before God of the Duke of Loreyn his sonne<sup>h</sup> (as I have saied<sup>i</sup>) and not unto the King. So that he who woll<sup>j</sup> learne the trouthe of matters must covett to knowe as well the *contra* as the *pro*<sup>l16</sup>, or ever he can iudge well, for he that giveth creadite unto the first enformation<sup>k</sup> without hearing thansweres<sup>l</sup> is most commonly deceaved. And so were you maister myne,' saied I to my contrarie.

'Good faith,' saied he, 'I cannot tell what I shulde saye, ffor the reaportes<sup>m</sup> that I have rehearsed I have hearde them of credible personnes, and of men of good intelligence, who persuaded me ondoubtedlie to believe (as I have saied). [47v] And though I have nowe well hearde your answeres<sup>n</sup>, yet am I not fullie persuaded ffor me

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<sup>a</sup> goods H *f*

<sup>b</sup> from H *f*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* himself *d* him C B

<sup>d</sup> *om.* both *f*

<sup>e</sup> are yet living H *f*

<sup>f</sup> but but H

<sup>g</sup> first *f*

<sup>h</sup> Duke of Lorraine's son H *f*

<sup>i</sup> said before H *f*

<sup>j</sup> he that would H *f* he which will C *d*

<sup>k</sup> informations H

<sup>l</sup> the answer H *f* C *d* B

<sup>m</sup> report H

<sup>n</sup> answer *f*



thinketh you have sett many thinges foorth<sup>a</sup> at the largest, wheather they be true or not God knoweth, ffor they passe my capacitie.'

'At the largest,' quod I, 'that is true, ffor I speake without respect. But here may you<sup>b</sup> see what difference there is betwene knowing<sup>c</sup> and hearing saye. Bicause<sup>d</sup> I knowe indede, therefore am I sure of that I speake<sup>e</sup>, and bicause you knowe none otherwise but by reaporte, therefore arr you from your suretie commen<sup>f</sup> nowe to doubt of your trowthe. Wherefore I pray God (if<sup>g</sup> it be his will) so to oapen your hert, that you rest<sup>h</sup> not emongst the nombre of them to whom God giveth eyes without sight, and eares without hearing, to thende they shulde not understande the reamedie of his grace. {*marg.* Isa:6<sup>117</sup>, Math:13<sup>118</sup>, Joan:12<sup>119</sup>}

'As for that,' saied he, 'let God do with me what<sup>i</sup> him pleaseth, but I promise you of oon thinge, I wolde it had cost me fortie crownes on the condicon, I had been xx myle<sup>j</sup> hense<sup>k</sup> this night'. [48r]

'And<sup>l</sup> why?,' saied I.

'Bicause,' saied he, 'before this reasonneng, I was as constannt a Catholicke man as any was on lyve<sup>a</sup>, and nowe that I have hearde those many argumentes, I am brought into a laberinthe that I wote<sup>b</sup> not which<sup>c</sup> waye to gett me out.

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<sup>a</sup> to *f*

<sup>b</sup> you may *H f*

<sup>c</sup> knowledge *H f*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* bicause *H*

<sup>e</sup> therefore I am sure of it that I speak *f*

<sup>f</sup> come *f C d*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* it *H*

<sup>h</sup> be *f C d*

<sup>i</sup> as *f C d*

<sup>j</sup> miles *H f C d*

<sup>k</sup> of here *C d*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* and *H f*

'A Catholicke man,' saied I, 'naye God grannt you were<sup>d</sup> not worse then a Iewe, ffor whereas the Iewe trusteth in his owne good woorkes and ceremonies<sup>e</sup>, and neverthesse believeth in the true divine God alone, you not only trusted in your<sup>f</sup> good workes (as you call them), and in the foolish ceremonies of your stepmother church, but also had<sup>g</sup> made you an earthelie god of the Pope, in whose pardons<sup>h</sup> you trusted more then in Christ his death. But this pleaseth me that you nowe arr comen to the doubt<sup>i</sup>, ffor so bohoveth it him that out of an error wolbe persuaded to knowe the trowthe.

'And therefore retorneng unto my matter, {X} nowe woll I<sup>j</sup> answeere unto the persecution of Cardinall Poole, and [48v] unto the death of his moother and freendes, which in effect, is nothinge so mervaylouse nor so crewell as it is made here in Italie. And so (I doubt not) you shall well confesse by that tyme you have hearde howe the thinges have passed. I cannot denye but that this Cardinall Poole, in veray dede, is both vertuouse and learned as you have commended him. Ffor by all mennes reaportek that knowel him, I have hearde such lawde<sup>l20</sup> and praise of his contynent, temperate<sup>m</sup>, patient, and charitable lief and of his great and profounde doctrine, that<sup>n</sup> against his person I woll<sup>o</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> as any was living H *f*

<sup>b</sup> know H *f*

<sup>c</sup> what *f*

<sup>d</sup> are *f*

<sup>e</sup> cerimony H

<sup>f</sup> your own *f*

<sup>g</sup> have H *f*

<sup>h</sup> pardon *d*

<sup>i</sup> that you are come to your doubt *fC d*

<sup>j</sup> I will H

<sup>k</sup> reports H *f*

<sup>l</sup> knew H *f*

<sup>m</sup> *om.* temperate H *fC d B*

<sup>n</sup> and C *d* (for that)

<sup>o</sup> will I H *fC d B*

saye nothinge. But ageinst his being this woll I saye, that it had been better he had died in his cradell, then lyved to be occasion<sup>a</sup> of so much mischief as hath folowed for his sake, and as is yet liek<sup>b</sup> to folowe.

'Bewarre,' saied my contrarie, 'speake none<sup>c</sup> yll<sup>d</sup> of him ffor here be of his freendes that woll not heare him sklanndered.'

'As for my parte, saied I, I am not his perticler foo.<sup>121</sup> But you must consider that nowe I defende [49r] not only a Kinges honor<sup>e</sup>, but also the quyett of a hole realme ageinst such lewde and false reaportes as arr sufficient to corrupt a worlde<sup>f</sup> of good consciences, and to move seadition betwene brother and brother. So that bicause the defence of this cace enforceth me somewhat to touche the quycke, I shall pray you to pardon me if I happen<sup>g</sup> to offende you, assureng you I woll for your sakes<sup>h</sup> forgett some thinges that shulde be to homely to be spoaken.

'In the tyme the<sup>i</sup> Kinges Maiestie extirped and adnulled<sup>j</sup> the Busshop of Romes usurped power (as here before I<sup>k</sup> have rehearsed), this Raynolde Pole that nowe is cardinall, practiced here in Italie, sometyme at studie<sup>l</sup> in the Universitie of Padoa, and

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<sup>a</sup> an occasion H *f*

<sup>b</sup> and as is yet likely H and is yet likely *f* and is yet like B

<sup>c</sup> not *f* no C *d*

<sup>d</sup> evil C *d*

<sup>e</sup> But you must consider that I not only will defend a King's honour H But you must consider that I now defend not only a King's honour *f* B But now you must consider that I defend not only a King's honour C *d*

<sup>f</sup> a whole world H *f*

<sup>g</sup> happe H

<sup>h</sup> sake H *f* C *d*

<sup>i</sup> that the H *f*

<sup>j</sup> disanulled H *f*

<sup>k</sup> as heretofore I H *f*

<sup>l</sup> sometimes studied H *f* sometime study C *d* B

sometimes<sup>a</sup> in Venice, bearing the porte of a gentleman, as the nobilitie of his howse required; and was from tyme to tyme well advertised out of Englande of all thoccurrentes there so that the lawe of the Parliament<sup>b</sup> ageinst the Papistes was right well knowen unto him. Nowe, Ser, being in Venice the great Contaryne [49v] (who late daies by the Popes meanes was poysoned<sup>c</sup> in Bononie for subscribeng tharticle of Iustification unto the Allemaignes) before his vocation unto the cardinalate<sup>d</sup>, fell in<sup>e</sup> such a wonderfull amytie and knott of frendeshipp with this our Poole, that thone of them was never well without the other. And here beganne this mischief ffor Contaryne was no sooner crowned with the redde hat, but that importunatelie<sup>f</sup> he sewed unto the Pope to bringe Poole<sup>g</sup> unto the same degree. So that with much adoo the Pope consented, and thus was our Poole placed in the Holie<sup>h</sup> Consistorie. Wheather it were thearnest love of Contaryne, his companie<sup>i</sup>, that blynded him, or the obstinate superstition of the papall dignitie that perswaded him, or elles the ambition<sup>j</sup> of the carnall<sup>k</sup> glorie that allured him, or what other devill moved him I cannot tell. But ones no man knewe better than he that the<sup>l</sup> unyteng of himself unto the whoorish Church of Roome shulde bringe him<sup>m</sup> and all his freendes out of the Kinges favor, [50r] out of the good will of his cuntrey and in perpetuall excommunication of the

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<sup>a</sup> some time *C d B*

<sup>b</sup> parliaments *H*

<sup>c</sup> who of late days was by the popes means poisoned *H f* prisoned *C d*

<sup>d</sup> Cardinality *H C d B*

<sup>e</sup> into *H f*

<sup>f</sup> unfortunately *f*

<sup>g</sup> poople (play on poope and poole?) *B*

<sup>h</sup> whole *H*

<sup>i</sup> Contarene's company *H f C d B*

<sup>j</sup> superstition *C d*

<sup>k</sup> Cardinal *H*

<sup>l</sup> the *H*

<sup>m</sup> himself *f*

Churche of Englande. And what true man towardes his prince or cuntrey (if he were not madde) wolde than have entered into such a furie seing the example of the Busshopp of Rochester and Moore with the present astate<sup>122</sup> of the realme before his face, unlesse he thought with the papall power to overcome the Kingely<sup>a</sup> puissancc? Helas, suffised it not for a yonger brother as he is to have an honorable entretaignement at hoame emongest his kynne and freendes wheare his vertue and learneng might have founde occasion<sup>b</sup> to have doon great and high service not only unto his prince and kynne<sup>c</sup> but also unto his hole natyve cuntrey, the contrarie whereof hath been the ondoing of himself and of all his bloudde?

'Of himself,' saied my contrarie, 'that is not so, ffor he liveth as honorablie, and in as good reputation as any other cardinall what so ever he be.'

'And if he were an Emperour,' saied I, 'being ennemie unto his owne cuntrey<sup>d</sup> as he is, I can [50v] reaken him no better then most onhappie. Ffor if the proverbe be true that<sup>e</sup>, 'Sweete is the love of the<sup>f</sup> cuntrey,' by consequence the hate of the<sup>g</sup> cuntrey must needes be sowre. But to<sup>h</sup> my purpose. This, our Poole, had not the redde hat warme on his heade, but the Pope sent him in post, nowe to the Ffrenche King, nowe into Spaigne to the Emperour<sup>i</sup>, nowe into Fflannдрес, nowe here and<sup>j</sup> nowe there, to sollicite the warres against his owne naturall Soveraigne Lorde and nation<sup>k</sup>. Offering himself alwaies to be a

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<sup>a</sup> King by C d

<sup>b</sup> *om.* occasion *f*

<sup>c</sup> king H *f*

<sup>d</sup> being enemy to his country H being erring to his country *f*

<sup>e</sup> *om.* that *f*

<sup>f</sup> his H *f*

<sup>g</sup> his H *f*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* to H

<sup>i</sup> now to the Emperour into Spain C d

<sup>j</sup> *om.* and *f d*

<sup>k</sup> against his own native country and his sovereign lord and king H *f*

mynister of that effect, and not contented with these outwarde provocations, he also secreatlie wroate<sup>a123</sup> unto<sup>b</sup> his moother and elder<sup>c</sup> broather<sup>d</sup> to woorke seadition at home, and some of his letters had so ignorant *recapito* that they came unto the Kinges handes<sup>e</sup>, who moaved not only therebie, but also by many other sensible<sup>f</sup> presumptions to examyn the matter, at leingth founde<sup>g</sup> out the trouthe, more by myracle then by humayn discourse. Ffor<sup>h</sup> having retaigned the cardinalles younger<sup>i</sup> broather, named Ser Geoffrey Poole, only upon mistrust, [51r] without any approved matter to laye unto his chardge, he in the prison desperateli wolde have mischiefed himself<sup>124</sup>, which by<sup>j</sup> diligence of his readie keeper, was defended him<sup>k</sup>. And so being straicteli examined wherfore<sup>l</sup> he wolde<sup>m</sup> have attempted so wicked an acte at last he confessed all the hole conspiracie. Ffor the which his mother, his<sup>n</sup> broother and those other nobles suffered, which also or ever the yere passed, was by diverse other wayes discovered in the prooffe of moo<sup>125</sup> effectes then you wolde believe. Ffor the holy religiouse<sup>o</sup> abbottes of Reading and Glastonburie had coniured with<sup>p</sup> the said cardinalles elder broother, named the<sup>a</sup> Marques Monntagne, and

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<sup>a</sup> wrote secretly H f C d B

<sup>b</sup> to H f

<sup>c</sup> eldest H f C d B

<sup>d</sup> bretheren C d

<sup>e</sup> hand H f

<sup>f</sup> *om.* sensible d

<sup>g</sup> he found H

<sup>h</sup> for he f

<sup>i</sup> youngest H f

<sup>j</sup> by the H f B

<sup>k</sup> *om.* him H f

<sup>l</sup> whereupon f

<sup>m</sup> could f

<sup>n</sup> and H f

<sup>o</sup> and religious d

<sup>p</sup> *om.* with H f C d B

that Marques<sup>b</sup> with the other Marques of Exceter, and so ferre was the mater goon from hande to hande that some of the Kinges most famyliar freendes, of<sup>c</sup> His Maiesties Privie Chamber and of his Privie<sup>d</sup> Counsaill were corrupted with this<sup>e</sup> malitiose poyson<sup>f</sup>. Yea and moreover, it passed conspiratie to come unto effect. Ffor parte of those rebelles, to the nombre of eight hundreth [51v], in the seconde insurrection of<sup>g</sup> the Northe, were paied with mooney sent them from these abbottes<sup>h</sup> out of the Southe. Howe saye you nowe? Was in<sup>i</sup> tyme (trowe you) ffor the King to looke about him?

'These be thinges,' answered<sup>j</sup> my contrarie, that I never hearde of.'

'No,' saied I, 'there blowe so many wyndes betwene the Alpes and the ocean see that the true aire of Englande can never arrive oncorrupted here in Italie<sup>k</sup>.'

'O,' saied he, 'and well remembered. Tell me, I pray you, next<sup>l</sup> unto the Kinges children, ought not the crowne to come<sup>m</sup> unto Cardinall Poole?'

'And why to Cardinall Poole?,' saied I.

'Bicause he is the first<sup>n</sup> of the Kinges bloudde,' quod he.

'It is true,' saied I. 'He is descended of the<sup>a</sup> Kinges bloudde, but it is so longe agoo that he is further of from this<sup>b</sup> King then the<sup>c</sup> lyving Iustinians of Venice arr from the

<sup>a</sup> *om.* the C d

<sup>b</sup> *om.* and that marques f

<sup>c</sup> and of H f

<sup>d</sup> *om.* privie f

<sup>e</sup> that f

<sup>f</sup> person H f

<sup>g</sup> in f

<sup>h</sup> from those Abbeys H from those abbots f by these Abbots d from Abbots C

<sup>i</sup> it H f C d B

<sup>j</sup> said H f C d B

<sup>k</sup> never arrive here into Italy uncorrupted H f never arrive here in Italy uncorrupted C d B

<sup>l</sup> and next H

<sup>m</sup> have come H f

<sup>n</sup> *om.* the first H f C d B

deade<sup>d</sup> anncient Emperor Iustinian, and as neere is he to the crowne as they<sup>e</sup> to the Empire.'

'O Lorde,' saied he, 'howe this gheare<sup>f</sup> ioigneth with the<sup>g</sup> fame of Italie.'

[52r] 'And thus may you see,' saied I, 'howe ignorannce and error raigneth emongest the moltytude. And were it not ffor your sakes I coulde tell howe<sup>h</sup> the cardinall secreatlíe professeth to be a Protestannt and oapenlie mainteigneth the Papacie with a litle more hipocrisie yet then that cometh to.'

'But I woll ffor this tyme forgett him, bicause of his newe<sup>i</sup> election<sup>j</sup> unto the legation of Englande, and woll speake of Irlande and Scotlande which you saie the King hath<sup>k</sup> wrongfullie enforced<sup>l</sup>. {XI} You must understande that the Kinges of Englande have had domynion over a great parte of Irelande these CCC<sup>m</sup> yeres past<sup>n</sup> and more, by reason whereof both the cuntrey and nation<sup>o</sup> hath been divided into twoo sundry partes, that is to saie thenglish pale<sup>126</sup>, and the wyld Irishe. And liek they<sup>p</sup> of thenglish pale alwaies<sup>q</sup> used the self same religion, customes, lawes and maner<sup>a</sup> of cyvile lyving that we

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<sup>a</sup> a H f C d B

<sup>b</sup> the C d

<sup>c</sup> om. the f C d

<sup>d</sup> om. deade H f C d B

<sup>e</sup> they be C d

<sup>f</sup> om. gheare C d

<sup>g</sup> om. the B

<sup>h</sup> tell you how H f

<sup>i</sup> next C d

<sup>j</sup> elections H

<sup>k</sup> om. hath H f

<sup>l</sup> enferred C d

<sup>m</sup> 200 d

<sup>n</sup> om. past f

<sup>o</sup> nations H

<sup>p</sup> And likewise as they H and like as they f C d B

<sup>q</sup> om. alwaies H



use in Englande, so contrarywise they of the wilde Irishe, as onreasonable beastes lyved without<sup>b</sup> knowledge of God or good maner<sup>c</sup>, in common of [52v] their goodes, cattail, women, children and everie other thinge in such wise that almost there was no<sup>d</sup> father<sup>e</sup> who<sup>f</sup> knewe his sonne, nor no<sup>g</sup> doughter that knewe her father nor yet any iustice executed<sup>h</sup> for murder, roberie, or any other like mischief<sup>i</sup>, but the more force had ever<sup>j</sup> the more reason. And hereof it folowed that bicause their<sup>k</sup> salvaige<sup>l27</sup> and ydle lief coulde not be satisfied with the only fructe of the naturall onlabored earthe, therfore continually they invaded the fertile possessions of their civile<sup>l</sup> neighbors that inhabited the saied English pale, reaping and moweng the come that they sowed not and carieng awaye the cattell that they noorished not. And this beastlie furie which so longe had raigned in this Irish nation, hath many tymes moved this<sup>m</sup> Kinges predecessors, with all their forces<sup>n</sup>, and with great and puissannt armies, to seeke their destruction. But liek as oon poore foxe in a thickett maketh the hunter with twentie cowple of houndes to travaile sometimes a hole daie, and at leingth to loose his labor, so a fewe of these wilde Irishe<sup>o</sup> [53r] made those kinges, with their huge nombres of men to beate so longe the wilde woodes and

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<sup>a</sup> manners *Hf*

<sup>b</sup> without any *Hf*

<sup>c</sup> man *H B* manners *fC d*

<sup>d</sup> few *C d*

<sup>e</sup> fathers *C d*

<sup>f</sup> which *Hf* that *d*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* no *H*

<sup>h</sup> exempted *H*

<sup>i</sup> murders, robberies or any or any like mischief *H*

<sup>j</sup> ever had *C d*

<sup>k</sup> the *H*

<sup>l</sup> Irish *fC d*

<sup>m</sup> the *H*

<sup>n</sup> force *d*

<sup>o</sup> so of these wild Irish *H B* so these wild Irish *fC d*

marisshes, that at leingth they were fayne to recule with the only gayne of famyne and wearynesse. And therefore the Kinges Maiestie that nowe is deade wrought another wyle<sup>a</sup> with them, ffor he laied me<sup>b</sup> such substantiall garrysons in the straictes of his borders that they coulde no more enter into<sup>c</sup> the English pale<sup>d</sup>, onlesse they<sup>e</sup> wolde either be slayne or taken prisoners. So that being prived<sup>f</sup> of their accustomed libertie to robbe and spoile, necessitie constrained them to humble themselves not only unto a perpetuall peace, but also unto a quiett obedience<sup>g</sup> and order. Yea, and whan<sup>h</sup> His Maiestie, by policie and by the good diligence of his faithfull deputie there, Ser Anthonye Sellenger, had thus overcomen<sup>i</sup> them, to confirme his force with mercie he rewarded diverse of those wilde men with great somes of his owne mooney, appointeng them places of civile honor as erles, barons, knights, esquiers and such other<sup>j</sup> [53v] as the qualities<sup>k</sup> of those personnes seemed unto him most convenient. And by this meane<sup>l</sup> hath brought that<sup>m</sup> nation from rude<sup>n</sup>, beastlie, ignorant, crewell and onrewlie infidelles to thastate<sup>o</sup> of cyvile, reasonable, patient, humble and well governed Christians. Not ffor desire of domynyon<sup>p</sup> or for

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<sup>a</sup> way H *f*

<sup>b</sup> laid in H *f* laid me C B *om.* me *d*

<sup>c</sup> unto *f*

<sup>d</sup> enter into the borders of the English pale H

<sup>e</sup> unless that they H

<sup>f</sup> So that long prevented H So that being prevented *f* so that being deprived C *d*

<sup>g</sup> but also to obedience H

<sup>h</sup> then H

<sup>i</sup> overcome H *f* C *d* B

<sup>j</sup> others H

<sup>k</sup> quality H *f*

<sup>l</sup> means H *f* C *d* B

<sup>m</sup> the *f*

<sup>n</sup> under H

<sup>o</sup> the state *f*

<sup>p</sup> dominions H

avarice of reuiewe, but for Goddes honor and for a Christian peace, at His Maiesties owne cost and chardge, in thexpense of so many thousande crownes as were to longe nowe to tell. And looke howe the wilde Irishe before tyme warred against the taane<sup>a</sup>, even so have the Scottes ever doon, and yet do against the Englishemen, like for like. By parangon, I saye, in the warres only, ffor in their lyveng the Scottes observe<sup>b</sup> a certein order both of religion and customes, though well it be some what barbarouse. But if God had given this<sup>c</sup> King his lief oon twoo<sup>d</sup> yeres longer, you shulde surelie have seen the same successe of Scotlande that you have hearde me rehearse of Irelande. Ffor His Maiestie was resolved, either by force or by<sup>e</sup> love, to have gotten [54r] into<sup>f</sup> his handes that yonge doughteer that nowe<sup>g</sup> is heire unto the Scottish crowne, and by mariage of her unto<sup>h</sup> his sonne Edwarde, that nowe is our king, to have made of oon self divided nation and<sup>i</sup> realme, oon self perpetuall united people and peace. Not for the wealth of the Scottyshe domynion which in respect of Englande is of as good<sup>j</sup> a<sup>k</sup> comparison, as the barain mountaignes of Savoie unto the beaultie of the pleasannt Toscane<sup>128</sup>, but for the uniforme quiett of their approved anncient contention. In veray dede, if His Maiestie in this cace had folowed thexample of Josue<sup>129</sup> to have brought his people out<sup>l</sup> of the deserte

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<sup>a</sup> the wild Irish warred before time against the Tanne H B against the same *f*tame C *d*

<sup>b</sup> have C *d*

<sup>c</sup> the H *f* C *d* B

<sup>d</sup> but one or two *f*

<sup>e</sup> *om.* by C *d*

<sup>f</sup> in H *f*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* nowe H

<sup>h</sup> to H

<sup>i</sup> a (for and ) H *f*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* good C *d*

<sup>k</sup> *om.* a H *f*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* out H *f* C *d* B

into<sup>a</sup> the champaigne<sup>130</sup>, I wolde never have goon about to excuse him, but syns, contrariwise, his travaile hath been to bringe his people owt<sup>b</sup> of the champaigne into the deserte, which is a manifest witsse against his defamed avarice, me seemeth they<sup>c</sup> arr much to blame that therfore wolde burden him with tyrannie.

{XII} 'And as for his conscience in the motion of warre against Ffrance, I woll<sup>d</sup> give themperor place to answer, whose [54v] importunate<sup>e</sup> persuasions were occasion<sup>f</sup> thereof. And what knowe I of the practices betwene the Turke<sup>g</sup> and the Ffrenche King? But as to<sup>h</sup> the usurpeng of Boloigne<sup>131</sup>, I saie that not the Boloignoise alone but the most parte of all Picardie is not sufficient to satisfie the debtes that the Ffrenche King did owe unto our Kinges Maiestie. What for the mooney lent him to paie his rannsme withall unto themperor whan his sonnes laye therfore prysonners in Spaigne? What for the restitution of the cities<sup>i</sup> of Tournaye<sup>132</sup> and Tirwane which our Kinges Maiestie conquered upon the Frenche King in his youthe? What for the trybute, what<sup>j</sup> for oon thinge and for<sup>k</sup> another that it were a mervaile to reaken the infinite sommes of mooney in creadite betwene them?'

'Trybute,' saied<sup>l</sup> oon of them, 'why, doth the Ffrenche King paye tribute unto Englande?'

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<sup>a</sup> in C d

<sup>b</sup> out out H

<sup>c</sup> that they f C d

<sup>d</sup> would H f C d B

<sup>e</sup> unfortunate f

<sup>f</sup> occasions H C d B

<sup>g</sup> Duke f

<sup>h</sup> for H f

<sup>i</sup> om. of the cities H f C d B

<sup>j</sup> and what H f C d B

<sup>k</sup> what for H f C d B

<sup>l</sup> saith H f

'Yea that he doeth,' saied I.

'And wherfore I pray you ?,' saied he.

'I shall tell you,' saied I. 'More then two hundreth [55r] yeres past, whan the right lyne of the kinges<sup>a</sup> of Ffrance fayled of heyres males<sup>b</sup>, then was Isabell, the only doughter and heire<sup>c</sup> of Franncce, wief unto Edwarde the Seconde, then<sup>d</sup> King of Englande, by whom she had issue Edwarde the Thridde, that succeded his father unto<sup>e</sup> the crowne of Englande. Nowe what did the barons of Ffrance whan they sawe that, folowing the right succession of force they must become subiectes unto Englande, the shame and servitude whereof coulde not off<sup>f</sup> the Ffrenche men be supported? They incontientlie studied a reamedie, and made a lawe that no heyre female shulde enherite the crowne of Ffrance, proceedinge fiurthwith<sup>g</sup> unto the coronation of their King Jhong<sup>g</sup><sup>134</sup> that folowed. And so rested in peace a certein tyme untill this Edwarde the Thridde, sonne of the foresaied<sup>h</sup> Isabell, came unto<sup>i</sup> the possession of Englande, who had no sooner the swearde in hande, but into Ffrance goeth he<sup>j</sup>, and there hewed and burned so longe, that at leingth in plaine battaill he tooke this King<sup>k</sup> John prysonner, and leading him into [55v] Englande, kept him there more then three yeres. Ffinalle<sup>l</sup>, seing it impossible to

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<sup>a</sup> king H *fC d B*

<sup>b</sup> heirs male *f*

<sup>c</sup> heirs *d*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* the H then *fC d B*

<sup>e</sup> to H

<sup>f</sup> in H *fC d B*

<sup>g</sup> forthwith to the crowning of Philip of Valoyes and after him of King John H forthwith to the crowning of Philip de Valois, and after him of King John *f* forthwith to the creation of Philip of Valois, and after Him of King John C *d B*

<sup>h</sup> said H C *d B*

<sup>i</sup> to H

<sup>j</sup> he goeth H *fC d B*

<sup>k</sup> *om.* King H

<sup>l</sup> Fynallinge H

gouverne Ffrance in peace, being King of Englande, he fell at a composition with the saied King John for his ransome, besides the which for a memorie of his interest, he reserved in the articles of accorde<sup>a</sup> these twoo covenntes, that is to saye, that he<sup>b</sup> the Ffrenche King and his successors shulde perpetuallie paye unto the crowne of Englande fiftie thousande crownes, or thereaboutes of yerelie tribute, and shulde leave<sup>c</sup> also the title of King of Ffrance unto the Kinges of Englande. By authoritie whereof the King of Englande unto this daie writeth<sup>d</sup> himself *Rex Anglie et Francie*,<sup>135</sup> and the Ffrenche King writeth *Rex Francorum*.<sup>136</sup> And this tribute hath the Ffrenche King forboaren to paye these xvi or xvii yeres past, so that I thought it woorth the rekenyng<sup>e</sup> emongest the<sup>f</sup> other debtes.'

'As you saye,' saied another of them, 'the honor is more woorth then the mooney.'

'It is veray true,' saied I, 'but this woll I [56r] speake ageinst myself, that a good Christian ought not<sup>g</sup> to fight neither for mooney nor<sup>h</sup> for honor. But wheare am I nowe? Good faith I remember not well, what<sup>i</sup> resteth me to answer.'

'Mary,' saied my contrarie, 'the mariage of the Kinges doughter, and the Duke of Norf<olk> his death.'

'Helas, helas,' quod<sup>j</sup> I, 'I am alreadie tyred, but bicause he that goeth to the battaill looseth by his bloude sheadinge if he feight<sup>137</sup> it not out, I woll see howe I can overcome this litle rest with as fewe woordes as I maye possible.'

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<sup>a</sup> record *f*

<sup>b</sup> *om.* he *H f C d B*

<sup>c</sup> and should have, and should leave *f*

<sup>d</sup> writeth unto this day *H f*

<sup>e</sup> receiving *f C d*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* the *H f*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* not *d*

<sup>h</sup> neither *B*

<sup>i</sup> *om.* what *B*

<sup>j</sup> said *H*

{XIII} 'If I shulde saie that the Ladie Marie, the Kinges doughter, that deade is<sup>a</sup> deserveth not an husbande, I shulde surelie prove a wittie<sup>b</sup> yonge man. And thereof<sup>c</sup> woll I nowe make you my iudges, whan for the<sup>d</sup> stature of a womannes bodie she is nother to high nor to lowe, for beaultie of face she hath fewe<sup>e</sup> felowes<sup>138</sup> that I knowe and in proportion of membres my penne cannot painct her. But what is all this? Nothing, ffor whan I come to consider her vertue her shadowe maketh me to tremble. [56v] All the prudence<sup>f</sup>, all the modestie, all the curtysie, and all the sobre smyleng cheere, that may be in a woman is surelie in her. Prompte in<sup>g</sup> invention, awares in speache, learned in the tonges, perfect in musicke, to singe and playe and<sup>h</sup> on the lute and virginalles, without maister in all<sup>i</sup> the worlde<sup>j</sup>. Yea she is so<sup>k</sup> gratefull unto all personnes that I wote not what oon lyving creature<sup>l</sup> were sufficient worthielie<sup>m</sup> to describe her. So that if an<sup>n</sup> husbande might be a rewarde unto the bountie of a<sup>o</sup> gratiouse a ladie, I woll saie she is and ever

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<sup>a</sup> that is *f om.* that dead is *d*

<sup>b</sup> silly *f*

<sup>c</sup> therefore *f C d*

<sup>d</sup> a *H f*

<sup>e</sup> no *H*

<sup>f</sup> prudency *C*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* in *H*

<sup>h</sup> *om.* and *H*

<sup>i</sup> *om.* all *C d*

<sup>j</sup> three lines crossed out "see but now to the purpose of that her father would not consent she should marry as I can imagyne and not that I know this for a surety" *B*

<sup>k</sup> *om.* so *C d B*

<sup>l</sup> yea she is grateful to all that wot not what living creature *H* yea, she is grateful to all persons that I wot not what living creature *f*

<sup>m</sup> sufficiently worthy *f*

<sup>n</sup> So, if a *C d f B*

<sup>o</sup> so *H f C d B*

hath been woorthie to have<sup>a</sup> the woorthiest husbände of the worlde. But nowe to the purpose of that her father<sup>b</sup> wolde not consent she shulde marie. As I can ymagen (not that I knowe this of<sup>c</sup> a suretie<sup>d</sup>), twoo speciall<sup>e</sup> respectes moved him thereunto<sup>f</sup>. The oon that to marie her unto any man<sup>g</sup> of meaner astate then her degree required, it<sup>h</sup> shulde have been a great blemish unto his and her honor<sup>i</sup>, and the other that to marie her in an<sup>j</sup> high personaige, untill his sonne the King that [57r] nowe is<sup>k</sup>, were established in his realme, it<sup>l</sup> might have been occasion of some cyvile seadition, or impeadyment of his sonnes quiet domynion. And were not (trowe you) these considerations good?

'Yea,' saied my contrarie, 'syns this<sup>m</sup> sonne was boaren but before.'

'Before,' quod I, 'he ever hooped<sup>l39</sup> to have a sonne, and then, also was his divorce freshe and newe, which allowed him not at that tyme to dispose her in mariage. And this<sup>n</sup> suffiseth of Her Grace.

{XIII} 'Ffinalle, unto the death of the Duke of Norfolke and of<sup>o</sup> his sonne, the Erle of Surrey, I must answere you by the same heresaye that you have<sup>p</sup> apposed<sup>q</sup> me,

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<sup>a</sup> have had *f*

<sup>b</sup> *om.* her father *C d* (he)

<sup>c</sup> for *H C B* as *d*

<sup>d</sup> this for surety *f*

<sup>e</sup> several *H f* *sundry C d*

<sup>f</sup> thereto *H f*

<sup>g</sup> one *H f*

<sup>h</sup> that *H*

<sup>i</sup> to her and her honours *f*

<sup>j</sup> to a *f*

<sup>k</sup> son that now is, King *C d*

<sup>l</sup> that *H*

<sup>m</sup> as this *C d*

<sup>n</sup> thus *H B*

<sup>o</sup> of *C d*

<sup>p</sup> *om.* have *C d*

<sup>q</sup> opposed *H f* *appose C d*



syns being in Italie myne eare in<sup>a</sup> maters of Englande hath more power then myne eye<sup>b</sup>.  
 Nowe, as I am enformed, this Erle of Surrey, who was a yonge man, that after his fathers  
 death shulde have been the greatest lorde in Englande next the King. Seing the King  
 sicklewe<sup>c</sup> and not like longe<sup>d</sup> to contynue, ymaged within<sup>e</sup> himself howe he might  
 attaigne the crowne. Ffirst [57v] he considered well howe the Prince was yonge and not  
 hable to governe himself, and then he perceaved howe the moltitude of the inconstant  
 people were diverse of religion, some Protestantes and<sup>f</sup> some Papistes, so that with a litle  
 power of his<sup>g</sup> freendes he thought it possible to drawe oon of these<sup>h</sup> partes<sup>i</sup> unto<sup>j</sup> him. and  
 by some foreyn helpe so to obteigne<sup>k</sup> his purpose. But God, that confoundeth the vayne  
 men in their vayne thoughtes, brought these, his<sup>l</sup> ymaginations, to knowledge by meane<sup>m</sup>  
 of some of his freendes, to whom in fygure he had promised the comeng of a faire daie,  
 which woordes revealed unto the King and conferred<sup>n</sup> with the suspected ambition of that  
 yonge man, and with other presumptions more then I knowe, caused His Maiestie more  
 diligenlie to examyn the matter. Insomuch that there were certein armes founde sett  
 foorthe by him, the saied Erle of Surrey, wherein the royall armes of Englande were  
 ioigned with his, and oon picture speciallie, in the which he had paincted himself with the

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<sup>a</sup> ears on H *f* eares in C *d* B

<sup>b</sup> eyes H *f* England have been more instructed than mine eye *d*

<sup>c</sup> sickly C *d*

<sup>d</sup> long like H

<sup>e</sup> with H *f* C *d* B

<sup>f</sup> *om.* and *f*

<sup>g</sup> *om.* his C *d*

<sup>h</sup> the C *d*

<sup>i</sup> parties C *d*

<sup>j</sup> to H

<sup>k</sup> help so to attain H help to attain *f*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* his *f*

<sup>m</sup> means H *f* C *d*

<sup>n</sup> compared *f*

[58r] crowne on his right hande, and the King on his lefte hande. So that whan he was brought into the oapen iudgement he coulde not denie but that he had sought meane<sup>a</sup> to bringe his purpose unto<sup>b</sup> effect. Whereunto the Duke his father was privie, who therefore encurred<sup>c</sup> the semblable danngier. And thus came they both unto their mischevouse ende, howe well as<sup>d</sup> I here saye<sup>e</sup>, the King that deade is<sup>f</sup> pardoned the olde duke his lief. And as yet none can saye that he is deade<sup>g</sup>. But if he be I warran<sup>h</sup>t, quod I, it is not<sup>i</sup> without good cause ffor a poore souldior that came even nowe right<sup>j</sup> from themperors campe, telled me in Fflorence not foure daies agoon<sup>k</sup>, that he had hearde a whispering emongest other souldiors, howe<sup>l</sup> the saied Erle of Surrey at his being with themperor before Laundersey, was entered into intelligence with diverse great capitaignes, and had goaten promise of<sup>m</sup> ayde towardes<sup>n</sup> the furniture of his entent.'

'Yea', saied he, 'and further<sup>o</sup> he shulde have becomen<sup>p</sup> themperors man for the self same purpose.' [58v]

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<sup>a</sup> devised means H f C d B (in Bodley sought is crossed out)

<sup>b</sup> to H

<sup>c</sup> encouraged H

<sup>d</sup> om. And thus came they both unto their mischevouse ende, howe well as H f C d B

<sup>e</sup> but I heare saye H But as I hear say f C d B

<sup>f</sup> is dead H f

<sup>g</sup> lief and I cannot hear for a truth he should be dead H f C d B

<sup>h</sup> But if he were I warrant you H f C d B

<sup>i</sup> it is not so H f

<sup>j</sup> om. right H f C d B

<sup>k</sup> gon H

<sup>l</sup> how that H f

<sup>m</sup> and H

<sup>n</sup> toward C d

<sup>o</sup> farther H

<sup>p</sup> been f become H C d

'I woll not saie', quod I, 'that this is true. But whan the meane private souledeors arr growen so commonlie to talke of these thinges, it is to be preasumed that emongest the great<sup>a</sup> capitaignes there shulde be somewhat of importance, ffor without some fyre there was never smooke.'

'It is possible enough,' saied oon of them, 'ffor I myself who have been in themperors campe have hearde much reasonyng<sup>b</sup> of this matter, insomuch that it was doubted wheather this yonge prince shulde be legittimate or not<sup>c</sup>.'

'Legittimate,' quod I<sup>d</sup>, 'that were a doubt in dede ffor I am sure there can no lyving<sup>e</sup> creature be legittimate if he be not. Do you not<sup>f</sup> remember howe I have shewed you that<sup>g</sup> the King that deade is<sup>h</sup>, afre the decease of his twoo first wiefes, was clere<sup>i</sup> unto all the worlde or ever he married the thridde wief, on whom he begate the yonge King Edwarde that nowe is. So that there can no kinde of reason be made<sup>j</sup> ageinst his legittimatie. Helas, saied<sup>k</sup> I, if you knewe the towardenes of that yonge Prince, your hert wolde melt [*59r*] to heare him named, and your stomacke abhorre the malice of them that wolde him yll. The beaultifullest creature that lyveth under the<sup>l</sup> sonne, the viveliest<sup>m</sup><sup>140</sup>,

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<sup>a</sup> greater *C d*

<sup>b</sup> many reasonings *f*

<sup>c</sup> Prince were legitimate or no *f*

<sup>d</sup> said I *H f*

<sup>e</sup> *om.* lyving *H f*

<sup>f</sup> *om.* not *C d* Do not you *B*

<sup>g</sup> how *H f*

<sup>h</sup> is dead *H f*

<sup>i</sup> cleared *f*

<sup>j</sup> so that there can no kind of reasons be made *H* so that there can be no kind of reason made *f*

<sup>k</sup> quoth *C d* quod *B*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* the *C d*

<sup>m</sup> wittiest *f C d*

the most amyable and<sup>a</sup> gentellest thinge of all the worlde, such a spirite of capactie in<sup>b</sup> learneng the thinges<sup>c</sup> taught him by his scholemasters that it is a wonder<sup>d</sup> to here saie and, finallie, he hath such a grace of porte and iesture in gravitie<sup>e</sup> when he cometh unto<sup>f</sup> any presence that it shulde seeme he were alreadie a father. And yet passeth he not the aage of ten yeres a thinge ondoubtedlie much rather to be seen<sup>g</sup> then believed. Helas, quod I, naye helas, againe, what creweltie shulde move these raveneng dragones to covett the devowering of so meeke an innocent lambe<sup>h</sup> with the seadition<sup>i</sup> of such<sup>j</sup> develish rumors?

'No no, I shall tell you why,' saied my contrarie. 'The King was interdicted by the Church of Roome whan he begate the Prince, and therfore, perchance it may be saied his title is not good.'

'Good faith, quod I<sup>k</sup>, and so may it as well be saied<sup>l</sup> [59v] that bicause the realme hath been there<sup>m</sup> xv yeres no lesse interdicted then the King, therfore the earthe shulde<sup>n</sup> bringe foorthe no fructe. And yet, thanked be God,<sup>o</sup> syns the worlde beganne we never had<sup>p</sup> greater plentie of all thinges then we have had in this tyme, by so much the more by

<sup>a</sup> and the C d

<sup>b</sup> for *fom.* in C d

<sup>c</sup> thing H f C d B

<sup>d</sup> world H

<sup>e</sup> such a port and grace of gesture and gravity H such a grace of port and gesture, and gravity f

<sup>f</sup> into f

<sup>g</sup> to be much rather seen f

<sup>h</sup> meek and innocent a lamb H

<sup>i</sup> seditions H f

<sup>j</sup> of so such B

<sup>k</sup> said I H f

<sup>l</sup> and so may it be as well said H f

<sup>m</sup> this H f *om.* there C d these B

<sup>n</sup> shall H shall the earth f

<sup>o</sup> thanks be to God H f

<sup>p</sup> had never H f

as much<sup>a</sup> as the ydle bealies of the great moltitude of our anncient religiose personnes have nowe no more licence to devowre, spoile and waste our plowemennes travaile. But believe me<sup>b</sup> woll,<sup>c</sup> they that make them such a churche of warme waxe to serve for<sup>d</sup> all moldes, at leingth with channge of their figures,<sup>e</sup> may happen to loose their forme. Howe nowe, saied I to my contrarie, arr you satisfied unto all your argumentes?'

'I am and am not,'<sup>f</sup> saied he.

'I wote not howe, by the holy masse,' quod<sup>g</sup> oon of them who erst had spoaken no woorde<sup>h</sup>, 'thou hast<sup>i</sup> quytt thiself like a tall<sup>j</sup> felowe and if thou wolt go with me to morowe<sup>k</sup> to dispute in a cause<sup>l</sup> of contumacie that I am called for before the Popes legate [60r], I woll seeke none<sup>m</sup> other advocate, and thou shalt have a crowne for thy labor.'

'I am no canonyst, ser<sup>n</sup>,' quod<sup>o</sup> I, nor cannot therein serve your purpose. *Quia non protestor protestationes appellandi*<sup>l41</sup>.

'No,' quod<sup>p</sup> he, 'I woll<sup>q</sup> you do no more but declare my reason<sup>a</sup>.'

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* by as much H *f* by so much the more C *d*

<sup>b</sup> *om.* me H

<sup>c</sup> well C *d* B

<sup>d</sup> *om.* for H *f* C *d* B

<sup>e</sup> figure *f*

<sup>f</sup> I am and I am not H *f* C *d*

<sup>g</sup> said H *f*

<sup>h</sup> words H *f*

<sup>i</sup> shalt H

<sup>j</sup> tale H

<sup>k</sup> *om.* to morowe H *f*

<sup>l</sup> case H *f*

<sup>m</sup> no B

<sup>n</sup> *om.* ser H

<sup>o</sup> said H *f*

<sup>p</sup> said H *f*

<sup>q</sup> I will that H I will that *f*

'Reason<sup>b</sup>,' quod I, 'before the legate? That were a waye in dede to bringe me into lymbo. Have I not telled<sup>c</sup> you that the Pope and all his mynisters arr expresse ennemyes of<sup>d</sup> all good reason and veritie?'

'In faith, in faith,' quod my contrarie, 'if the legate did knowe of your reasonneng here this night<sup>e</sup>, I wolde not be in your coate for an other crowne.'

'I knowe that well enough,' saied I, 'ffor the least rewarde I coulde<sup>f</sup> receave shulde<sup>g</sup> be the easiest<sup>h</sup> of oon of these three: the swearde, the poyson<sup>i</sup>, or the fyre. And whan well he had doon his worste, bicause he can no more but bringe<sup>j</sup> me to my death, thende of all my miserie and beginneng of all my true [60v] ioye, I wolde not greatlie passe of his tirannie; remembereng this saieng of Job unto the Lorde, 'Shorte be the daies of man and Thou hast with the the nombre of his moonthes; Thou hast ordeyned him his termes which he cannot passe.' {*marg.* Job:14<sup>142</sup>} Neverthelesse I woll keepe me as well out of his danngier as I may<sup>k</sup>, ffor I woll straight to Venice, wheare I trust to be free<sup>l</sup>.'

'Nay by Our Lady,' saied he, 'there arr you deceived ffor if you be knowen in Venice, the legate that liveth there woll straightwaies have you by the backe.'

'Why,' saied I, 'is it possible that the famouse libertie of that citie shulde be in so much servitude that the lordes thereof wolde suffer me for the iust defence of my Prince

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<sup>a</sup> reasons H more than declare my reasons *f*

<sup>b</sup> Reasons H

<sup>c</sup> told H *f* C *d* B

<sup>d</sup> to H *f*

<sup>e</sup> here tonight H *f*

<sup>f</sup> should H *f*

<sup>g</sup> would H *f*

<sup>h</sup> the result *f*

<sup>i</sup> prison H *f*

<sup>j</sup> put *d om.* bring C

<sup>k</sup> I will keep out of his danger as well as I may H *f*

<sup>l</sup> safe C *d*

to endure persecution under their whinges? Spetiallie syns<sup>a</sup> the amitie betwene them and my saied King hath been so perfect, that whan the Pope, with all the other princes of Europe, entered into a confederacie togethers<sup>b</sup> unto<sup>c</sup> their destruction, our saied King only<sup>d</sup> remained [61r] their freende. But lett God worke his wyll, ffor I have determined in this cace to trust more unto the iustice of their gloriouse<sup>e</sup> common wealth, then to feare the tyrannie of the Pope, who under a counterfett name, not only usurpeth the monarchie over the princes of the worlde, but also sucketh<sup>f</sup> the bloudde of the poore laborers of thearthe. And if you woll finde out a false knave by the channeng of his right name, I woll you do but marke this litle trickes<sup>g</sup> that I shall tell you. *Papa* in the Greeke tonge pronounceng the first sillable shorte, and the last longe, is understood priest<sup>h</sup> in the English tonge. And the Greekes unto this daye call their priest<sup>i</sup> *Papai*. So that *Papa*<sup>k</sup> came first unto Roome as a poore private priest and<sup>l</sup> none otherwise. But whan, in processe of tyme, after the priestes had converted emperors, they beganne to take upon them temporall busshopricks<sup>m</sup>, usurpeng all maner of worldly possessions and honors, then the gloriouse Busshopp of Roome, ashamed<sup>n</sup> of so base a title [61v] as priest<sup>a</sup>, made to<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> since since H

<sup>b</sup> together H *f*

<sup>c</sup> for H *f*

<sup>d</sup> only H *f* C *d* B

<sup>e</sup> their just H their first glorious *f* just glorious C *d* B

<sup>f</sup> seeketh *f*

<sup>g</sup> title *f*

<sup>h</sup> a priest H *f* C *d* B

<sup>i</sup> priests H *f*

<sup>j</sup> Pape *f*

<sup>k</sup> Pape *f*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* and H *f*

<sup>m</sup> Bishoprick H

<sup>n</sup> being ashamed H *f*

pronounce it<sup>c</sup> the shorte syllable for the longe, calleng himself *Paapa* insteede of *Papaa*<sup>d</sup>. And so, with torneng the wronge side outwardes<sup>e</sup> of a poore priest, he is growen to that glorie that you see him in. And to prove agein that he is no lesse counterfett<sup>f</sup> in his doinges then in his name<sup>g</sup>, he writeth himself *servus servorum dei*<sup>l43</sup>, whereas in veray dede he serveth<sup>h</sup> no true servanntes<sup>i</sup> of God, but rather utterlie persectuteth them. So that to understande this title well, I can fynde no good interpretation onlesse you wolde<sup>j</sup> saie that the devilles arr Goddes servanntes as the hangeman is mynister of the iustice, who, for his owne private gayne, wolde hange all the men of<sup>k</sup> the worlde if the iustice wolde suffer him. And as the hangeman useth the pliannt halter to strangle withall the condemped person<sup>l</sup>, so may you<sup>m</sup> saye the<sup>n</sup> devilles, Goddes servanntes, use the popes as their mynisters to bringe our sowles<sup>o</sup> unto perdition.'

'But let we<sup>p</sup> these tryfles passe to come unto a [62r] conclusion of our King, whose wisdom, vertue and bountie my wittes suffise not to declare. Ones of personnaige he was oon of the goodliest men that lyved in his tyme, veray high of stature,

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<sup>a</sup> a priest H

<sup>b</sup> them H *f*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* it H *f*

<sup>d</sup> Paapa for Papaa H

<sup>e</sup> outward C *d*

<sup>f</sup> a counterfeit H *f*

<sup>g</sup> names H *f*

<sup>h</sup> whereas he in very deed serveth H *f*

<sup>i</sup> servant *d*

<sup>j</sup> will H

<sup>k</sup> in *f* C *d*

<sup>l</sup> persons *f* C *d*

<sup>m</sup> we H *f* C *d* B

<sup>n</sup> *om.* the *d*

<sup>o</sup> poor souls H *f* B

<sup>p</sup> me *f*



in maner<sup>a</sup> more then a man and proportionate<sup>b</sup> in all his members unto that height. Of countenance<sup>c</sup> he was most amyable, curteyse and benigne in iesture unto all persons, and spetiallie unto stranngers. Seldome or never offended with any thinge, and of so constant a nature in himself<sup>d</sup> that I believe there be<sup>e</sup> fewe can saye that ever he changed his cheare for<sup>f</sup> any neweltie<sup>g</sup> howe contrarie or soddaine so ever it were. Prudent he was in counsaill and ferre casteng<sup>h</sup>. Most liberall in rewardeng his faithfull servantes, and severe<sup>h</sup> unto his enemies as it behoveth a prince to be. He was learned in all sciences, and had the gifte of many tonges; he was a perfect theologien, a good philosopher and a stronge man of<sup>i</sup> armes; a ieweller; a perfect buylder as well of forteresses as of [62v] pleasannt palaices. And so<sup>j</sup>, from oon to another there was no kinde of necessarie knowledge<sup>k</sup> from a kinges degree to a carters<sup>l</sup>, but that he had an honest sight in it. What wolde you I shulde saie of him? He was ondoubtedlie the rarest man that lyved in his time. But I saye not this to make him a god. Nor in all his doinges I woll not saie he hath been a saint, for I believe with the prophete that *Non est iustus quisquam<sup>m</sup>, non est requirens deum, Omnes declinaverunt simul inutiles facti sunt<sup>n</sup>, non est qui faciat bonum*

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<sup>a</sup> manners *f*

<sup>b</sup> proportionable *H f* proporcioned *C d*

<sup>c</sup> the *H*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* in himself *H*

<sup>e</sup> *om.* there be *H f*

<sup>f</sup> after *H*

<sup>g</sup> novelty *H f C d*

<sup>h</sup> ever *H f C d B*

<sup>i</sup> at *f*

<sup>j</sup> *om.* so *f C d*

<sup>k</sup> no necessary kind of knowledge *H f*

<sup>l</sup> carter *H*

<sup>m</sup> quisquis *C d*

<sup>n</sup> sumus *H f C d B*

*non est usque ad unum*<sup>145</sup>. {*marg.* Solomon:13<sup>146</sup>} I woll confesse he<sup>a</sup> did<sup>b</sup> many yll<sup>c</sup> thinges as the publican synner but not as a crewell tyrannt or as a pharisaicall hipocrite, for all his doinges were oapen unto the hole worlde, wherein he governed himself with so much reason, prudence, couraige and circumspection, that I wote not wheare in all the histories I have redde, to finde oon private king equall unto him, who in the space of xxxviii<sup>147</sup> yeres raigne, never receaved notable displeasure. [63r] Howe well that at oon self tyme he hath had oapen warre on three sides, that is to saye with Ffrance, Scotlande and Irelande, insomuch that being in person with his armie in Ffrance, he hath had a blouddie battaill stryken in the borders, betwene him and the Scottes, of seventie of<sup>d</sup> eightie thousande men, whereof his perpetuall good fortune grannted him most famouse victorie, with the tryomphe over his enemye the Scottishe King, slayne in the<sup>e</sup> battayll. And finallie, marke well this<sup>f</sup> prooffe. The perfect present aucthors<sup>g</sup> for an extreame example of an happie man can alledge no greater then *Policrates Samyan*<sup>148</sup>, who for all his prosperouse daies, finisshed his lief neverthelesse in mischief in the handes of his crewell enemies<sup>h</sup>. Whereas this King Harrie<sup>i</sup> the Eight not only hath lyved alwaies<sup>j</sup> most happielie, but also hath quietlie died<sup>k</sup> in the armes of his deerest<sup>l</sup> freendes, leaving ffor wnesse of his most gloriouse fame, the fructe of such an heire [63v] as thearthe is

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a that he H f B

b had H

c evil f C d

d or H f C d B

e that H f

f the C d

g author f

h cruel hands of his enemies H f

i Henry H f C d

j om. alwaies H f C d B

k hath died most quietly H f

l most dear f

skarselie woorthie to noorishe; who I trust shall with no lesse perfection performe<sup>a</sup> the true church of Christ, not permitted of God<sup>b</sup> by his saied father to be finisshed, then as Salomon did the temple<sup>c</sup> of Ierusalem, not grannted unto David in the tyme of his lief. Ffor who wolde speake against the deade King Harrie<sup>d</sup> might much better saie he did see but with<sup>e</sup> oon eye, and so accuse him for lack of putting an ende unto<sup>f</sup> the reformation of the wicked Church, then for doing of the thinges that he hath doon against the apostaticall Romayn See<sup>g</sup>.

And who woll consider well<sup>h</sup> the discourse of the trowthe shall finde the roote of all the rehearsed mischiefes<sup>i</sup> (if mischiefes<sup>j</sup> they may be called) to have growen in the boosome either<sup>k</sup> of the Pope, of the cardinalles and of their<sup>l</sup> prelates or mynisters, or elles of those superstitiouse laie people (as you call them<sup>m</sup>) who have boaren more faith unto the membres of the malignant Church then unto the true God himself. [64r] So that to make a iust exclamation you ought rather<sup>n</sup> to crye out against theexterminate tyrannie of your whoorish Moother Church, and saye, O you Romaynes, O Bolognies, O Ravennates, O Parmesanes, O Placentines, O Avignions, howe can you thus abide, not only to be oppressed with so many customs, taxes and tallages that the poore can finde no foode, but

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<sup>a</sup> reform *f*

<sup>b</sup> *om.* of God *H f C d B*

<sup>c</sup> true temple *H f*

<sup>d</sup> Henry *C d*

<sup>e</sup> with but *f*

<sup>f</sup> to *H*

<sup>g</sup> law *f*

<sup>h</sup> well consider *C d*

<sup>i</sup> mischief *H*

<sup>j</sup> mischief *H*

<sup>k</sup> *om.* either *H* either in the bosom *f C d B*

<sup>l</sup> the *C d*

<sup>m</sup> as they call them *H f C d*

<sup>n</sup> *om.* rather *f*

also to<sup>a</sup> have your bloudde drawn unto the death<sup>b</sup>? O comonwealthe of Fflorenc, why suffereddest thou Pope Clement to take from the<sup>149</sup> thy libertie? And thou Duke Cosmus di Medici, howe canst thou suffer those freres of Saint Marke, proved for oopen rybauldes, to dwell in thine owne house in thy despite?

No, no, I woll forbear to speake of many<sup>c</sup> other thinges that I coulde alledge as good, as this which in veray<sup>d</sup> dede arr so manyfest rebellyons, or rather tyrannies ageinst the<sup>e</sup> iust and lafull princes that they cannot be denyed. And yet is there no man that darr<sup>f</sup> ones speake or oopen the<sup>g</sup> mowthe [64v] ageinst these<sup>h</sup> rybauldes. But it may channce the Turke woll come oon daye to put thoffice of our<sup>i</sup> Christian princes in<sup>j</sup> execution, syns they themselves woll not attende unto it.

Howe saye you, my maisters, quod I, arr these thinges true, or not?'

'They be true,' answered they all.

And so passeng from oon matter to an other<sup>k</sup> we fell into diverse talke of thinges to longe nowe to rehearse. And albeit (gentle reader) that unto the prooffe of my purposes<sup>l</sup> in this our<sup>m</sup> disputation, I did trulie alledge many<sup>n</sup> moo reasons then in this my litle booke

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* to C d

<sup>b</sup> drawn even unto death H f drawn unto death C d

<sup>c</sup> any f

<sup>d</sup> *om.* veray H f C d B

<sup>e</sup> there H their f

<sup>f</sup> dares H

<sup>g</sup> his H f

<sup>h</sup> those H f C d

<sup>i</sup> *om.* our f C d

<sup>j</sup> in to d

<sup>k</sup> And passing from one matter to an other whilst the time of supper approached H f C d  
B

<sup>l</sup> purpose f C d

<sup>m</sup> one H f

<sup>n</sup> *om.* many H

arr writen. Which, in cace of scrupulouse doubt, might perchannce sometime more perfectelie have guyded the<sup>150</sup> unto the<sup>a</sup> true knowledge, yet shall I beseche the<sup>151</sup> in that behalf not to accuse me of slowthe. For myne<sup>b</sup> intent in this doing tendeth to none other, but unto the iust<sup>c</sup> excuse of my wrongefullie sklannered Prince, whose good renomme, fame and honor, I most hertelie comende unto the<sup>152</sup>. And thus<sup>d</sup> farewell.<sup>153</sup>

[65r] *Castigans castigavit me Dominus<sup>e</sup>*

*Et morti non tradidit me<sup>154</sup>.*

W. Thomas

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<sup>1</sup> The most useful discussion of this can be found in Thomas G. Tanselle's *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1990.

<sup>2</sup> Todd, Henry John. 1812 Catalogue: An apologie for King Henry VIII compiled in maner of a dialogue long since by W. Thomas esq. Clerke of ye Counsell. Lately transcribed and published out of a written copie extant in ye publique librarie at Oxford, of ye honorable foundation of Sir Thomas Bodley Knight by Thomas James biblioth. Dedicated to Archbishop Abbot.

<sup>3</sup> This prefatory letter does not appear in the Additional manuscript. It is found, however, in the Harley, Cotton, Bodleian, Lambeth manuscripts and both the 18th-century and 19th-century editions. It does not appear in the Italian edition. I have decided to include the letter found in the Bodleian because, as has been discussed in the thesis, it more than any of the other extant English manuscripts seems closest and possibly coeval with the Additional. In the Bodley the letter to Aretino appears at the end of the manuscript on page 102 not in its present position.

<sup>4</sup> The Additional manuscript comprises 65 rag pulp folios. It is a sixteenth-century small quarto bound leather volume measuring 208mm x 150mm bound by F. Bedford.

<sup>5</sup> Bologna

<sup>6</sup> thee

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<sup>a</sup> *om.* the *f*

<sup>b</sup> my *Hf*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* iust *C d*

<sup>d</sup> *om.* and thus *C d*

<sup>e</sup> *om.* Dominus *H*

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<sup>7</sup> thee

<sup>8</sup> whole

<sup>9</sup> whole

<sup>10</sup> one

<sup>11</sup> pumpkins

<sup>12</sup> our

<sup>13</sup> are

<sup>14</sup> Germany

<sup>15</sup> A city in Crete famous as a source of Greek wine.

<sup>16</sup> Kersey is a coarse narrow cloth woven from long wool usually ribbed.

<sup>17</sup> Dutchland (Holland)

<sup>18</sup> buy

<sup>19</sup> since

<sup>20</sup> province in northwest France

<sup>21</sup> hear

<sup>22</sup> aunt

<sup>23</sup> off

<sup>24</sup> more

<sup>25</sup> too

<sup>26</sup> through

<sup>27</sup> Dionysius

---

<sup>28</sup> Mohamed

<sup>29</sup> robbery

<sup>30</sup> The word "is" was scratched out in text and replaced by "was".

<sup>31</sup> dares

<sup>32</sup> done

<sup>33</sup> Thomas has the habit of writing xiii or xiiii and placing the word 'tene' above the line. This is repeated throughout the text. With hundreds he writes CC placing 'eth' above the line.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas places a Roman numeral in the margin for each new point (1 through 14) raised by the Italian.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas renders the possessive in this manner throughout the text.

<sup>36</sup> "ones" is used throughout the text for "once"

<sup>37</sup> Mark 6, 17-20: For Herod had sent and seized John, and bound him in prison for the sake of Herodias, his brother 'Philip's wife; because he had married her. 18. For John said to Herod, "It is not lawful for you to have your brother's wife". 19. And Herodias had a grudge against him, and wanted to kill him. But she could not, 20. for Herod feared John (1221). All biblical references are to the *New Oxford Bible Revised Standard*. New York, 1977.

<sup>38</sup> Lorenzo Campeggio (1474-1539) was nuncio and legate to five popes. He spent time in Germany and England during the challenging years 1510-1540, where he undertook the difficult task of attempting to reconcile legitimate reform with his office as an advocate for the papacy.

<sup>39</sup> Ecclesiastical ambassador. The Italian reads *legato à latere (Il pellegrino B7r)*.

<sup>40</sup> "for and against" a standard Latin juridic term for the manner in which debates are held. The Italian edition includes the Latin phrase (B7r).

<sup>41</sup> The word "strange" appears as an afterthought above the line.

<sup>42</sup> curious

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<sup>43</sup> In this sense *large et stricte* means thoroughly. The marginal gloss is too specific since the terms are primarily juridical ones. The Italian edition does not include the Latin terms providing instead the translation *con ogni diligentia e con ogni religione* (C1r).

<sup>44</sup> “in one subject in the same instance at the same time”. The Italian edition renders *in un medesimo soggetto* without mention of the *casu et tempore* (C2r).

<sup>45</sup> I Peter 2, 13-14: Be subject to the Lord’s sake to every human institution, whether it be to the emperor as supreme, 14. or to governors as sent by him to punish those who do wrong and to praise those who do right (1476).

<sup>46</sup> Roman 13, 1-2: Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God. 2. Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgement (1375).

<sup>47</sup> This is a reference to the Apocryphal book entitled The Wisdom of Solomon entitled the Book of Wisdom in the Latin Vulgate Bible hence Thomas’s designation *sapiens* from *sapientia*. Sapien 6, 1-3: I Listen therefore, O kings, and understand; learn, O iudges of the ends of the earth. 2. Give ear, you that rule over multitudes, and boast of many nations. 3. For your dominion was given you from the Lord (108).

<sup>48</sup> Matthew 17, 24-27: When they came to Capernaum, the collectors of the half-shekel tax went up to Peter and said, “Does not your teacher pay the tax?” 25. He said “Yes.” And when he came home, Jesus spoke to him first, saying, “What do you think, Simon? From who do the kings of the earth take toll or tribute? From their sons or from others?” 26. And when he said “From others,” Jesus said to him, “Then the sons are free. 27. However, not to give offence to them, go to the sea and cast a hook and take the first fish that comes up, and when you open its mouth you will find a shekel; take that and give it to them for me and for yourself” (1194).

<sup>49</sup> Capernaum

<sup>50</sup> slander

<sup>51</sup> John 6 speaks generally to the question that concerns Thomas at this point in his argument specifically 29: Jesus answered them This is the work of God, that you believe in he whom he has sent, 35: Jesus said to them, I am the bread of life; he who comes to me shall not hunger, and he who believes in me shall not thirst and, 44: No one can come to me unless the Father who sent me draws; and I will raise him up at the last day (1295).

<sup>52</sup> John 15, 1-2, 5: 1. I am the true vine, and my Father is the vinedresser. 2. Every branch of mine that bears no fruit, he takes away, and every branch, that does bear fruit he



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prunes, that it may bear more fruit. 5. I am the vine, you are the branches. He who abides in me, and I in him, he it is that bears much fruit, for apart from me you can do nothing (1309).

<sup>53</sup> John 5, 19-24: Jesus said to them, “Truly, truly, I say to you, the Son can do nothing of his own accord, but only what he sees the Father doing; for whatever he does, that the Son does likewise. 20. For the Father loves the Son, and shows him all that he himself is doing; 21. and greater works than these will he show him, that you may marvel. 22. The Father iudges no one, but has given all iudgement to the Son, 23. that all may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He who does not honour the Son does not honour the Father who sent him. 24. Truly, truly, I say to you, he who hears my word and believes him who sent me, has eternal life; he does not come into iudgement, but has passed from death to life (1293).

<sup>54</sup> Luke 10, 22: All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows who the Son is except the Father, or who the Father is except the Son and any one to whom the Son chooses to reveal him (1260).

<sup>55</sup> The term is used as it is today. In the Italian we find *à fortiori* (Cv).

<sup>56</sup> safe

<sup>57</sup> “since the doors of Hell did not prevail against him”. The Italian edition includes the same Latin phrase (Cvi).

<sup>58</sup> got

<sup>59</sup> “all realms of the world”. In this context Thomas is using “mundi” euphemistically to indicate hell. In Lewis and Short there is the following passage explaining this particular usage: “The opening into this world was at Rome, in the Comitium, and was kept covered with a stone (*lapis manalis*); three times a year, on the 24th of August, the 5th of October and the 8th of November, days sacred to the gods of the infernal regions, this round pit was opened, and all sorts of fruits were thrown into it as offerings”. The Italian edition contains the same Latin phrase (C7r).

<sup>60</sup> This is a reference to Francesco Negri’s *De libero arbitrio* (Venice, 1545).

<sup>61</sup> describes

<sup>62</sup> ado

<sup>63</sup> “ywys” an adverb meaning certainly, assuredly, indeed, truly. It is often used with a weakened sense as a metrical tag.

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<sup>64</sup> bosom

<sup>65</sup> off

<sup>66</sup> Thomas omits the 's' it should read "these"

<sup>67</sup> a small shield, or a person who shields another

<sup>68</sup> ago

<sup>69</sup> better

<sup>70</sup> This is an almost verbatim passage found in Matthew 20, 23: where Jesus responds to the mother's request with the following, He said to them, You will drink my cup, but to sit at my right hand and at my left is not mine to grant, but it is for those for whom it has been prepared by my Father. (1198)

<sup>71</sup> "punishment and guilt". In the Italian we read *pena et la colpa* (D6r).

<sup>72</sup> choir

<sup>73</sup> pagan

<sup>74</sup> The word "Second" is written above the word "thridde" which is scratched out.

<sup>75</sup> "since hand rubs with hand". This phrase is drawn from a the first part of the proverb "*Seneca manus manum fricat, et manus manum lavat*" (hand rubs hand and hand washes hand of Seneca). The Italian edition replcaes this Latin proverb with *quia mutuo muliscabunt*, more than likely *muliscabunt* should read *uniti sunt* in which case it would translate "since together they are united" (D7r).

<sup>76</sup> forgiven

<sup>77</sup> anger

<sup>78</sup> "since on account of blood sacred services are suspended". The Italian edition has the same Latin phrase (D8r).

<sup>79</sup> soon

<sup>80</sup> more

<sup>81</sup> One of Thomas's few errors of omission.

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<sup>82</sup> entertain

<sup>83</sup>2 Kings, 18: 1-6 In the third year of Hoshea son of Elah, king of Israel, Hezekiah the son of Ahaz, king of Iudah, began to reign. 2. He was twenty-five years old when he became king, and he reigned twenty-nine years in Jerusalem. His mother's name was Abi, daughter of Zachariah. 3. And he did what was right in the eyes of the Lord, according to all that David his father had done. 4. He removed the high places, and broke the pillars, and cut down the Asherah. And he broke in pieces the bronze serpent that Moses had made, for until those days the people of Israel had burned incense to it; it was called Nehushtan. 5. He trusted in the Lord the God of Israel; so that there was none like him among all the kings of Iudah after him, nor none among those who were before him. 6. For he held fast to the Lord; he did not depart from following him, but kept his commandments, which the Lord commanded Moses (481).

<sup>84</sup> hear

<sup>85</sup> "Holy Mary pray for us". The Italian edition reads "Santa Maria ora pro me" (E4r).

<sup>86</sup> The one example of duplography in Thomas's version.

<sup>87</sup> conceit

<sup>88</sup> sun

<sup>89</sup> Quartan is the pathology of a fever or ague characterized by a paroxysm every fourth day.

<sup>90</sup> thee

<sup>91</sup> de pena

<sup>92</sup> de culpa

<sup>93</sup> Matthew 9, 11-13: And when the Pharisees saw this, they said to his disciples, "Why does your teacher eat with tax collectors and sinners?" 12. But when he heard it, he said, "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick. 13. Go and learn what this means, 'I desire mercy, and not sacrifice.' For I come not to call the righteous, but sinners" (1181).

<sup>94</sup> Matthew 6, 1-4: Beware of practicing your piety before men in order to be seen by them; for then you will have no reward from your Father who is in heaven. 2. Thus, when you give alms, sound no trumpet before you, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be praised by men. Truly, I say to you, they have received

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their reward. 3. But when you give alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing, 4. so that your alms may be in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you (1177).

<sup>95</sup> Matthew 26, 39: And going a little farther he fell on his face and prayed, "My Father, if it be possible, let this this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt" (1208).

<sup>96</sup> Isaiah 66, 1-2: Thus says the Lord: "Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool; what is the house which you would build for me, and what is the place of my rest? 2. All these things my hand has made and so all these things are mine", says the Lord (905).

<sup>97</sup> Acts 7, 48-50: Yet the Most High does not dwell in houses made with hands; as the prophet says, 49. 'Heaven is my throne, and earth my footstool. What house will you build for me, says the Lord, or what is the place of my rest? 50. Did not my hands make all these things?'(1329).

<sup>98</sup> Acts 17, 24-25: The God who made the world and everything in it, being Lord of heaven and earth, does not live in shrines made by man, 25. nor is he served by human hands, as though he needed anything, since he himself gives to all men life and breath and everything (1344).

<sup>99</sup> thee

<sup>100</sup> thee

<sup>101</sup> I have been unable to identify the religious group that Thomas refers to in this passage.

<sup>102</sup> Portuguese

<sup>103</sup> Corinthians 1, 10-14: I appeal to you, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree and that there be no dissensions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same judgment. 11. For it has been reported to me by Chloe's people that there is quarreling among you, my brethren. 12. What I mean is that each of you says, "I belong to Paul," or "I belong to Apollos," or "I belong to Cephas," or "I belong to Christ." 13. Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized in the name of Paul? 14. I am thankful that I baptized none of you except Crispus and Gaius lest anyone should say they were baptized in my name (1380).

<sup>104</sup> Roman Emperors

<sup>105</sup> This phrase is taken from 2 Corinthians 6, 9-10: We seem to have nothing, yet everything is ours. (1402). The Italian edition repeats this phrase (Fv).

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<sup>106</sup> Lenten

<sup>107</sup> to know

<sup>108</sup> more

<sup>109</sup> to fight, war

<sup>110</sup> Doncaster

<sup>111</sup> victuals

<sup>112</sup> prey

<sup>113</sup> endowed

<sup>114</sup> Thomas initially wrote “and a half” after ‘yere’ then added “half” above the line before the word “a”.

<sup>115</sup> dare

<sup>116</sup> Thomas reverses the order of the Latin expression *pro et contra* meaning for and against. The Italian edition renders “*il contra, quanto il pro*” (G5r).

<sup>117</sup> Iasiah 6, 8-9: And I heard the voice of the Lord saying, “Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?” Then I said, “Here I am! Send me.” 9. And he said, “Go, and say to the people: ‘Hear and hear, but do not understand; see and see, but do not perceive’ (830).

<sup>118</sup> Matthew 13, 13-15: “This is why I speak to them in parables, because seeing they do not see, and hearing they do not hear, nor do they understand. 14. With them indeed is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah which says: ‘You shall indeed hear but never understand, and you shall indeed see but never perceive. 15. For this people’s ears heart has grown dull, and their ears are heavy of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest they should perceive with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and turn for me to heal them’” (1187).

<sup>119</sup> John 12, 38: It was that the word spoken by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled: “Lord, who has believed our report, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?” 39. Therefore they could not believe. For Isaiah again said, 40. “He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, lest they should see with their eyes and perceive with their heart, and turn for me to heal them” (1306).

<sup>120</sup> laud

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<sup>121</sup> foe

<sup>122</sup> state

<sup>123</sup> wrote

<sup>124</sup> attempted suicide

<sup>125</sup> more

<sup>126</sup> part

<sup>127</sup> savage

<sup>128</sup> Tuscany

<sup>129</sup> Joshua

<sup>130</sup> countryside

<sup>131</sup> Boulogne

<sup>132</sup> Tournai, presently a city in southwest Belgium.

<sup>133</sup> forthwith

<sup>134</sup> John

<sup>135</sup> “King of England and France”. The Italian edition includes the Latin title. (H6r)

<sup>136</sup> King of the French. The Italian again repeats the Latin title. (H6r)

<sup>137</sup> fight

<sup>138</sup> flaws

<sup>139</sup> hoped

<sup>140</sup> most energetic or lively

<sup>141</sup> “since I do not bear witness to the declarations of the thing to be called”. The Italian edition includes the same Latin phrase (I2r).

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<sup>142</sup> Job 14, 5: Since his days are determined, and the numbers of his months is with thee, and thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass (626).

<sup>143</sup> “the servant of the servants of God”. This statement, associated with the Pope, suggests a servant serving God. In the Italian edition the same phrase appears in Latin (L3r).

<sup>144</sup> forecasting

<sup>145</sup> This is taken from Romans 3, 10-12: “None is righteous, no, not one; 11. no one understands, no one seeks for God. 12. All have turned aside, together they have gone wrong; no one does good, not even one. The Italian edition includes the same passage (I5r). Interestingly, this passage in both the Additioanl ms. and the Italian edition is glossed marginally as Salomon 13. As the next note indicates, this is an error on Thomas’s part.

<sup>146</sup> This gloss is certainly mistaken. The Apocryphal book “The Wisdom of Solomon” includes no such passage and, as is evident from the preceding note, should have been glossed Roman 3, 10.

<sup>147</sup> Here again Thomas writes XXXVIII followed by ‘ ti’ above the line. In this case it would be incorrect reading thirty eight ti.

<sup>148</sup> Polycrates of Samos was a fifth century B.C. tyrant who established himself throughout the Mediterranean.

<sup>149</sup> thee

<sup>150</sup> thee

<sup>151</sup> thee

<sup>152</sup> thee

<sup>153</sup> And thus farewell appears in a box set apart from the text in the bottom righthand corner of the folio.

<sup>154</sup> “The punishing God punishes me and does not deliver me to death”. This phrase does not appear in the Italian edition. In the Bodley, Cotton and Harley mss. it appears at the end of the dialogue followed by the dedicatory letter. In both English editions it precedes the dialogue. The Italian edition bears the following passage from Psalm XI, 4 on the title page: Disperdat Dominus universa labia dolosa et linguam magniloquam (*Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatem Versionem Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1983) . In the *New*

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*Oxford Bible Revised Standard* (New York, 1977) we find this passage in Psalm 12, 3: "May the Lord cut off all the flattering lips, the tongue that makes great boasts").



## **APPENDIX**

## Pilgrims' unto the reader

Constrained by misfortune to forsake the place  
of my birth, and to walke at the seruice  
of the world. In the month of Iulie  
the year of our Lord after the conquest  
of England. by CCCCXlvj. it happened  
me to arrive in the Citie of Bononia, of the  
region of Italie; where in company of other  
gentlemen knowne to be an Englishman, I had  
amicable approach of the nature, qualities,  
and customs of the country; and specially of  
diverse particulars, by myne teaching, heauenly  
our English maister, spake the English, more  
than naturally was departed out of his proper  
tongue. And about that my small intelligence  
sparked, not unto the sufficient satisfaction of  
those important questions that were there de-  
manded of me; that to aduise myself of the  
trickes towards these English gentlemen, for  
to entyce, hee provoked me; and again to knowe  
of them some notable things, towards the summer  
being at that season men of further reputation,  
and judgement; I entreated liberally to come



1574  
1575



Handwritten text in French and English, likely a translation or commentary. The text is written in a cursive script and is partially obscured by a large, dark, irregular mark.

Handwritten text in French and English, likely a translation or commentary. The text is written in a cursive script and is partially obscured by a large, dark, irregular mark.

MUSEVM  
BRITAN  
NICVM

MUSEVM  
BRITAN  
NICVM

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or title, located at the top right of the page.

Main body of handwritten text, appearing to be a list or series of entries, located in the center of the page.

1. ...
2. ...
3. ...
4. ...
5. ...
6. ...
7. ...
8. ...

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