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## Faithful Translators

Goodrich, Jaime

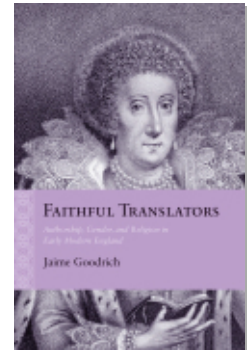
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## NOTES

### Introduction

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### Chapter One

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34. John More, preface to *The Legacye or Embassate of the Great Emperour of Inde Prester John*, by Damião de Góis, trans. John More (1533; STC 11966), 3v.

35. *Ibid.*, 12v–15r.

36. Friedrich Nausea, *A Sermon of the Sacrament of the Aulter*, trans. John More (1533; STC 18414), C4v, E1r–E1v.

37. For Erasmus and Luther, see Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 151–200.

38. As Erasmus himself quoted the Franciscans on his relationship with Luther, “I laid the egg, and Luther hatched it.” Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 10, *Correspondence of Erasmus*, trans. R. A. B. Mynors and Alexander Dalzell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 464.

39. Carl R. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and the English Reformers, 1525–1556* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); James Edward McGoldrick, *Luther's English Connection: The Reformation Thought of Robert Barnes and William Tyndale* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1979). For the relationship between Erasmus's *Paraphrases* and later religious reform in England, see Gregory D. Dodds, *Exploiting Erasmus: The Erasmian Legacy and Religious Change in Early Modern England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

40. Erasmus, *Collected Works*, 10:285. Interestingly, Eugenio M. Olivares-Merino notes that Vives's acquaintance with Roper occurred during this period and that Vives probably encouraged Roper to publish her translation: “A Month with the Mores: The Meeting of Juan Luis Vives and Margaret More Roper,” *English Studies* 88, no.4 (2007): 397. If so, Vives may have been motivated for both political and scholarly reasons.

41. Erasmus, *Collected Works*, 10:417.

42. Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 12, *Correspondence of Erasmus*, ed. Charles G. Nauert Jr., trans. Alexander Dalzell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 165.

43. *Ibid.*, 12:167.

44. *Ibid.*, 12:171.

45. *Ibid.*, 12:403.

46. James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 71–72. The *Precatio dominica* also had a dubious reputation in France, as Jonathan Goldberg notes (*Desiring Women Writing*, 109).

47. Gentian Hervet also emphasizes the scholarly supremacy of Erasmus in the dedicatory epistle of his translation: “He is the man/to whom in lernynge no lyvynge man may hym selfe compare.” Gentian Hervet, preface to *A Sermon of the Excedynge Great Mercy of God*, by Desiderius Erasmus, trans. Gentian Hervet (1526; STC 10474), A2v.

48. John Fisher, *A Sermon Had at Paulis* (1526; STC 10892), E1r.

49. Bainton discusses *De immensa (Erasmus of Christendom, 184)*. For the *Precatio*, see Hilmar Pabel, *Conversing with God: Prayer in Erasmus' Pastoral Writings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 109–54.

50. Erasmus, *Collected Works*, 10:205.

51. Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 9, *Correspondence of Erasmus*, trans. R. A. B. Mynors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 440.

52. Erasmus, *Sermon of the Excedynge Great Mercy of God*, M1r.

53. Pabel, *Conversing with God*, 123.

54. A. W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama: Medwall, the Rastells, Heywood, and the More Circle* (London: Methuen, 1926), 165–66.

55. *Ibid.*, 170.

56. McConica, *English Humanists*, 73–74.

57. This woodcut probably indicates that the 1526 printing was the second, licensed version of this text, as Verbrugge has observed (“Roper’s Personal Expression,” 37).

58. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, 164.

59. Thomas More, *The Confutacyon of Tyndales Answere* (1532; STC 18079), cxxvii–cxxviii.

60. John A. Guy, *The Public Career of Sir Thomas More* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980), 21. Richard Marius notes that More’s polemical writings during this period originated in his official duties: *Thomas More: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 276–91, 325–26.

61. For the official nature of this text, see John M. Headley, introduction to *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 5, pt. 2, *Responsio ad Lutherum*, by Thomas More, ed. John M. Headley (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1969), 775–803.

62. Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 73–79.

63. Lamb, “Margaret Roper,” 84–85.

64. Sarah Gwyneth Ross, *The Birth of Feminism: Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 66–79; Lisa Jardine, “Cultural Confusion and Shakespeare’s Learned Heroines: ‘These Are Old Paradoxes,’” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (1987): 1–18; Beilin, *Redeeming Eve*, 3–28. For the link between masculinity and Latin, see Walter J. Ong, “Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite,” *Studies in Philology* 56, no. 2 (1959): 103–24.

65. Erasmus, *Collected Works*, 10:134.

66. Martin Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, trans. A. T. W. Steinhäuser, in *Three Treatises* (1948; repr., Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 156.

67. Roper, *Devout Treatise*, D4v (as previously established, hereafter cited in text as *DT*); Desiderius Erasmus, *Precatio dominica*, trans. Margaret More Roper, in *Opera omnia*, vol. 5, ed. Joannis Clericus (1703–1706; London: Gregg Press, 1962), 1224A (hereafter cited in text as *Pd*). I have added italics throughout to mark alterations of the source text.

68. This particular translation appears to be a deliberate choice on Roper's part, for she does not always translate "voluntas" as "mynde & pleasure." For example, later on she renders this word with its more common meaning of "will" (DT, E1r).

69. Patricia Demers has also noted that Roper's translation "reinforce[s] the scriptural foundations of Erasmus's commentary," but she does not place this emphasis within the anti-Lutheran campaign (*Women's Writing in English*, 72).

70. More, *Selected Letters*, 100.

71. Stapleton, *Life of More*, 91–92.

72. For Greek scholarship at the university level as well as Cheke's and Ascham's translations, see J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Melksham, UK: Francis Cairns, 1990), 216–18, 222–24, 227.

73. John Christopherson, preface to *Philonis Judaei scriptoris eloquentissimi libri quattuor jam primum de Graeco in Latinum conversi*, by Philo, trans. John Christopherson (Antwerp, 1555), C1r, my translation. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Latin are mine.

74. *Ibid.*, B4r.

75. See *ibid.*, C1v. For Christopherson and Eusebius, see Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, 218–22.

76. John Christopherson, preface to *Historiae ecclesiasticae scriptores graeci*, by Eusebius, trans. John Christopherson (Cologne, 1581), †††1v.

77. Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 439.

78. British Library Royal MS 13 B x, 4v–5r.

79. *Ibid.*, 12r.

80. British Library Harley MS 1860, 4v.

81. For discussions of the political significance of Basset's Eusebius, see Hosington, "Translation in Politics and Religion"; Jaime Goodrich, "The Dedicatory Preface to Mary Roper Clarke Basset's Translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*," *English Literary Renaissance* 40, no. 3 (2010): 301–28; and Eugenio M. Olivares-Merino, "Some Notes about Mary Roper Clar(c)ke Basset and her Translation of Eusebius," *Moreana* 46, nos. 177–78 (2009): 146–80.

82. British Library Harley MS 1860, 6v–7r.

83. John Guy, *Thomas More* (London: Arnold, 2000), 166–85; and Maria Dowling, *Fisher of Men: A Life of John Fisher, 1469–1535* (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 159–76.

84. Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553; STC 25799), 79v.

85. John Fisher, *A Sermon Very Notable, Fruicteful, and Godlie, Made at Paules Crosse, in London* (1554; STC 10896), A1r.

86. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1563; STC 11222), 1499. For other contemporary sources on Cole's sermon, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), 600–601.

87. Miles Huggarde, *The Displaying of the Protestantess & Sondry Their Practises* (1556; STC 13558), 69r.

88. James Cancellor, *The Pathe of Obedience* (1556; STC 4565), B7r.

89. For Huggarde and Bonner, see Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009), 175.

90. Guy, *Thomas More*, 8; Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 179–86.

91. William Rastell, preface to *The Workes of Sir Thomas More*, by Thomas More (1557; STC 18076), ¶2r-2v.

92. *Ibid.*, ¶2v. Nicholas Harpsfield concludes his *Life* with a similar description of More’s “devout intercession.” Nicholas Harpsfield, *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore*, ed. Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock (London: Early English Text Society, 1932), 217–18.

93. William Thynne’s *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer* was printed in folio format in 1532 (STC 5068), 1542 (STC 5070), and 1550 (STC 5071).

94. Rastell, preface to *Workes*, ¶3v.

95. Rastell also includes two untranslated Latin pieces: Latin verses to a pageant written by More in his youth and “A Devout Prayer in Latin, Collected out of the Psalmes of David” (More, *Workes*, C4r, 1406–16). I follow the Yale edition’s view that *De tristitia* is a separate work: *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 14, pt. 2, *De tristitia Christi*, ed. Clarence Miller (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976), 740–43 (hereafter cited in text as YE).

96. More, *Workes*, 1421. For a modern translation, see More, *Selected Letters*, 182.

97. For a useful introduction to this work, see Katherine Gardiner Rodgers, “The Lessons of Gethsemane: *De tristitia Christi*,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas More*, ed. George M. Logan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 239–62.

98. Here “nece” is used in the archaic sense of “granddaughter”: *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “niece, I.1.c.,” accessed November 24, 2012, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/126872>.

99. Rastell, preface to *Workes*, ¶2v.

100. *Le premier divorce de Henry VIII et la schisme d’Angleterre: Fragment d’une chronique anonyme en Latin*, ed. Charles Bémont (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1917), 68. The title page of the More’s *Workes* does mention the financial contributions of three men: “Printed at London at the costes and charges of John Cawood, John Waly, and Richarde Tottell.”

101. As questions prepared for the interrogation of Geoffrey Pole indicate, Henrician authorities showed a special interest in Roper’s preservation and circulation of More’s writings: National Archives, Kew, State Papers 1/138, 10r–23v.

102. More, *De tristitia Christi*, 307 (in YE, hereafter cited in text as DtC to distinguish Latin quotations from English ones in that edition).

103. See, for example, More, *Selected Letters*, 149. Ross has characterized this marginal note as evidence that Basset viewed translation “a form of intellectual bravura” (*Birth of Feminism*, 165).

104. I have added italics throughout to mark alterations of the source text.



105. A repeated marginal note in More's *History of Richard III* comes the closest to Basset's in function and tone: "This that is here betwene thys mark ± & this mark \* was not written by M[aster] More in this history written by him in englishe, but is translated out of this history which he wrote in laten" (*Workes*, 52, 66–67). Yet even these notes do not contain the insistent editorial "I" of Basset's marginalia.

## Chapter Two

1. Udall, "Dedicatory Preface," in Prescott, *Elizabeth and Mary Tudor*, 2r.
2. John Bale, conclusion to *A Godly Medytacyon of the Christen Soule*, by Marguerite de Navarre, trans. Elizabeth Tudor, in Prescott, *Elizabeth and Mary Tudor*, 40v.
3. James Cancellor, preface to *A Godly Meditation of the Soule*, by Marguerite de Navarre, trans. Elizabeth Tudor (1580; STC 17321), A3r. For Cancellor's conservatism, see Maureen Quilligan, *Incest and Agency in Elizabeth's England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 56–65.
4. Thomas Bentley, *The Monument of Matrones* (1582; STC 1892), B1r.
5. *Catechismus . . . A Short Instruction into Christian Religion* (1548; STC 5993), [?]3r.
6. *Ibid.*, A1r. For discussion of the text's translation and aims, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), 386–92.
7. D. G. Selwyn, introduction to *A Catechism Set Forth by Thomas Cranmer* (Abingdon, UK: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978), 60–64.
8. Carl I. Hovland, Irving L. Janis, and Harold H. Kelley, *Communication and Persuasion: Psychological Studies of Opinion Change* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953), 13.
9. *Ibid.*, 21.
10. For the role of translation in the mid-Tudor period, see Edward J. Baskerville, *A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic Published in English between 1553 and 1558* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1979), 9; W. K. Jordan, *Edward VI: Young King, The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 141–42.
11. A. S., preface to *Oppositions of the Word of God*, by Pierre du Moulin, trans. A. S. (1610; STC 7333), A3r.
12. Edward Seymour, preface to *An Epistle Both of Godly Consolacion and Also of Advertisement*, by John Calvin, trans. Edward Seymour (1550; STC 4407), A2r.
13. Augustine, *Two Bokes of the Noble Docter . . . Augustine* (Emden, 1556; STC 921); Cyprian, *Certaine Workes of Blessed Cipriane the Martyr* (Emden, 1556; STC 6152).
14. Preface to *The Mirroure of Golde for the Synfull Soule*, trans. Margaret Beaufort (1506; STC 6894.5), A2r.
15. Philippe de Mornay, *A Discourse of Life and Death*, trans. Mary Sidney Herbert (1592; STC 18138).

16. John Ponet, *A Way of Reconciliation*, trans. Elizabeth Russell (1605; STC 21456). For Russell's self-fashioning, see Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell, *Our English Sappho: The Writings of Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell*, ed. Patricia Phillippy (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011), 319–20.

17. John Field, preface to *A Notable and Comfortable Exposition of M. John Knoxes*, by John Knox (1583; STC 15068), no sig.

18. White, "Renaissance Englishwomen and Religious Translation," 375–400.

19. Micheline White, "A Biographical Sketch of Dorcas Martin: Elizabethan Translator, Stationer, and Godly Matron," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 3 (1999): 775–92.

20. Aysa Pollnitz has already situated Mary's translation within the context of translations by Margaret Beaufort and Katherine Parr: "Religion and Translation at the Court of Henry VIII: Princess Mary, Katherine Parr and the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus," in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 129–32.

21. British Library Cotton MS Vitellius C i, 24v. Mary's schooling has attracted growing scholarly interest: Andrew W. Taylor, "'Ad omne virtutum genus'? Mary between Piety, Pedagogy, and Praise in Early Tudor Humanism," in Doran and Freeman, *Mary Tudor*, 103–22; Aysa Pollnitz, "Christian Women or Sovereign Queens? The Schooling of Mary and Elizabeth," in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 127–42; Timothy G. Elston, "Transformation or Continuity? Sixteenth-Century Education and the Legacy of Catherine of Aragon, Mary I, and Juan Luis Vives," in *High and Mighty Queens of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. Carole Levin, Debra Barrett-Graves, and Jo Eldridge Carney (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 11–26; and Kathi Vosevich, "The Education of a Prince(ss): Tutoring the Tudors," in *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, ed. Mary E. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 61–76.

22. Juan Luis Vives, "Plan of Girls' Studies," in *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, ed. Foster Watson (New York: Longmans, 1912), 144.

23. Giles Du Wés, *An Introductory for to Lerne to Rede, to Pronounce, and to Speake Frenche* (1533; STC 7377), DD2r–EE1r.

24. British Library Arundel MS 151, 195r.

25. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. 16, 1540–1541, ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (1898; Institute for Historical Research), no. 1253, accessed March 2, 2013, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=76261>.

26. Beaufort's influence on religious publications has been traced by Lotte Hellinga in *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: British Library, 2010), 156–68. For considerations of Beaufort's translations, see

Hosington, “Beaufort’s Translations,” 185–203; Demers, *Women’s Writing in English*, 65–69; and Rebecca L. Krug, *Reading Families: Women’s Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002), 106–11.

27. Hervet, preface to *A Sermon of the Excedynge Great Mercy of God*, A2r.

28. Jaime Goodrich, “Mary Tudor, Lord Morley, and St. Thomas Aquinas: The Politics of Pious Translation at the Henrician Court,” *ANQ* 24, nos.1–2 (2011): 11–20.

29. Janel Mueller, introduction to *Prayers or Meditations*, in *Complete Works & Correspondence*, by Katherine Parr (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 369–86; Andrew Hiscock, “‘A supernal liuely fayth’: Katherine Parr and the Authoring of Devotion,” *Women’s Writing* 9, no. 2 (2002): 177–98; Janel Mueller, “Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr’s ‘Prayer or Meditations’ (1545),” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (1990): 171–97.

30. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 329–30.

31. Pollnitz, “Religion and Translation,” 131–32.

32. Vives, “Plan of Girls’ Studies,” 147; British Library Royal MS 17 A xlvi. For Morley’s gifts to Mary, see James P. Carley, “The Writings of Henry Parker, Lord Morley: A Bibliographical Survey,” in *Triumphs of English”: Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Translator to the Tudor Court*, ed. Marie Axton and James P. Carley (London: British Library, 2000), 27–68.

33. On the English *Paraphrases*, see Gregory D. Dodds, *Exploiting Erasmus: The Erasmusian Legacy and Religious Change in Early Modern England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); John Craig, “Forming a Protestant Consciousness? Erasmus’ *Paraphrases* in English Parishes, 1547–1666,” in *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus’ “Paraphrases on the New Testament,”* ed. Hilmar M. Pabel and Mark Vessey (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2002), 313–59; John N. Wall, “Godly and Fruitful Lessons: The English Bible, Erasmus’ *Paraphrases*, and the Book of Homilies,” in *The Godly Kingdom of Tudor England: Great Books of the English Reformation*, ed. John E. Booty (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse-Barlow, 1981), 47–135; and E. J. Devereux, “The Publication of the English *Paraphrases of Erasmus*,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51 (1968–1969): 348–67. For Katherine Parr’s role in the *Paraphrases*, see Susan E. James, *Kateryn Parr: The Making of a Queen* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999), 227–34.

34. *Injuncions Geven by the Moste Excellent Prince, Edward the Sixte* (1547; STC 10089), A4v–B1r, B4r.

35. *Certayne Sermons or Homelies Appoynted by the Kynges Majestie* (1547; STC 13640), A4r.

36. *Articles to be Inquired of in Visitacions to Bee Had within the Diocesse of Cantorbury* (1548; STC 10148), A3r–3v, A4v.

37. For their ties to the Edwardian regime, see John N. King, “Freedom of the Press, Protestant Propaganda, and Protector Somerset,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1976): 7–8.

38. Katherine Parr, *The Lamentacion of a Sinner* (London, 1547; STC 4827), no sig.

39. For Katherine's declining influence and reputation during her final months, see Parr, *Complete Works*, 25, 29. For the reformist nature of her *Prayers* and *Lamentation*, see Parr, *Complete Works*, 372–84, 425–42; Hiscock, “‘A Supernal Liuely Fayth,’” 177–97; Frank Howson, “Queen Kateryn Parr's *Lamentacion of a Synner* and the Formularies,” *Cahiers Elisabéthains* 57 (2000): 1–30; and William P. Haugaard, “Katherine Parr: The Religious Convictions of a Renaissance Queene,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1969): 346–59.

40. Stephen Gardiner, *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. James Arthur Muller (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 396.

41. Parr, *Complete Works*, 88. Mueller dates this letter either to September 1545 or 1547, preferring 1545, but Parr's letter requests that Mary give her a finished version of the translation so “that it may be given to the press in its time,” which suggests the later date.

42. Pollnitz, “Religion and Translation,” 123–37.

43. George Joye, *A Present Consolation for the Sufferers of Persecucion for Ryghtwysenes* (Antwerp, 1544; STC 14828), B1r; John Bale, *The Image of Bothe Churches* (Antwerp, 1545; STC 1296.5), 138v.

44. William Turner, *The Rescuynge of the Romishe Fox* (Bonn, 1545; STC 24355), L5r–L5v, M2r; George Joye, *The Refutation of the Byshop of Winchester's Derke Declaration of His False Articles* (1546; STC 14828.5), 52r–52v, 88v–89r.

45. Gardiner, *Letters*, 383.

46. Craig, “Forming a Protestant Consciousness?” 313–59. Also see Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 170; Jordan, *Edward VI*, 165, 185–86, 220, 324, 342. Erika Rummel has discussed Noël Bédá's earlier critiques of the *Paraphrases*: “Why Noël Bédá Did Not Like Erasmus' *Paraphrases*,” in Pabel and Vessey, *Holy Scripture Speaks*, 265–78.

47. Nicholas Udall, “Dedicatory Preface to Katherine Parr,” in Desiderius Erasmus, *The First Tome or Volume of the Paraphrases* (1548; STC 2854.4), 16v–17r.

48. Devereux, “Publication of the *Paraphrases*,” 363.

49. The haste in printing noted by Devereux may explain why Parr's arms are reversed: *ibid.*, 356–57.

50. Nicholas Udall, “Dedicatory Preface to Edward VI,” in Erasmus, *Paraphrases*, 6r (hereafter cited in text as “DPE”).

51. For further discussion of how Udall repositions Erasmus, see Dodds, *Exploiting Erasmus*, 9, 18–22, and James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 242.

52. Udall, “Dedicatory Preface,” 2r (hereafter cited in text as “DP,” *Para*).

53. McConica also dates Mallett's work to after the *Injunctions* (*English Humanists*, 241–42).

54. John N. King, “Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr,” in Hannay, *Silent But for the Word*, 48. Pollnitz disagrees with this idea, claiming that Mary enthusiastically participated in a tradition of learned courtly women (“Religion and Translation,” 124, 128–32).

55. D. M. Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 146, 152.

56. David Loades, “Introduction: The Personal Religion of Mary I,” in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 15.

57. For a consideration of doublets within this translation, see Pollnitz, “Religion and Translation,” 132–36.

58. Erasmus, “Saint John,” in *The First Tome or Volume of the Paraphrases*, 3v (hereafter cited in text as “SJ”); Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Evangelium secundum Ioannem* (Basel, 1534), 5 (hereafter cited in text as *PE*). I have added italics throughout to mark alterations of the source text. All translations of Latin or French are mine.

59. See, for example, Loades, “Personal Religion,” 11.

60. Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 46, *Paraphrase on John*, trans. Jane E. Phillips (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 249–50 n. 7.

61. For Mary and papal primacy, see Loades, “Personal Religion,” 12–13, 18.

62. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “vicar, 1b,” accessed November 24, 2012, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/223087>.

63. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “repentance, 3a,” accessed November 24, 2012, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/162745>; William Tyndale, *An Answere unto Sir Thomas Mores Dialogue* (1531; STC 24437), 12r. For More’s attack, see *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 6, part 1, *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, ed. Thomas C. Lawler, Germain Marc’hadour, and Richard C. Marius (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981), 284–90.

64. Glyn Redworth, “A Study in the Formulation of Policy: The Genesis and Evolution of the Act of Six Articles,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37, no. 1 (1986): 42–67.

65. Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 119; Loades, “Personal Religion,” 14–17, 28–29.

66. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Francis Mallett” by C. S. Knighton, accessed November 24, 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17891>.

67. Gardiner, *Letters*, 385.

68. Haigh, *English Reformations*, 173.

69. Scholars disagree on whether Mary or her bishops banned the *Paraphrases*. Nicholas Harpsfield oversaw the removal of the *Paraphrases* from Canterbury parishes, but Craig has found no evidence of nationwide action: Craig, “Forming a Protestant Consciousness?” 327–28; Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, vol. 2, *Religio depopulata* (New York: Macmillan, 1954), 243.

70. For Elizabeth's education, see Pollnitz, "Christian Women or Sovereign Queens?" 127–42; Vosevich, "Education of a Prince(ss)," 61–76; and T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, vol. 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1944), 257–84. Linda Shenk provides a helpful consideration of the ways that Elizabeth used this education as queen: *Learned Queen: The Image of Elizabeth I in Politics and Poetry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

71. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Jean Belmaine," by Gordon Kipling, accessed November 24, 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2041>.

72. David Loades, *Elizabeth I* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), 49.

73. Ascham, *Scholemaster*, 35r.

74. For a skeptical take on Ascham's claims, see Baldwin, *Small Latine*, 1:258–59.

75. Roger Ascham, *Letters of Roger Ascham*, ed. Alvin Vos, trans. Maurice Hatch and Alvin Vos (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 167.

76. The translation sent to Seton is now at Cambridge: MS L 3. For Ascham's letters regarding these translations, see Ascham, *Letters of Roger Ascham*, 34–38.

77. British Library Royal MS 20 A xiv, 1r–1v.

78. McConica, *English Humanists*, 231.

79. For a similar consideration of the differences between the texts intended for Henry and Katherine, see Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2010), 32–33.

80. Elizabeth I, *Translations, 1544–1589*, 40.

81. David Scott Kastan, "'Holy Wurdes' and 'Slypper Wit': John Bale's *King Johan* and the Poetics of Propaganda," in *Rethinking the Henrician Era: Essays on Early Tudor Texts and Contexts*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 267–82; Jesse W. Harris, *John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1940), 27–28.

82. Useful treatments of Bale's polemical writings include Peter Happé, *John Bale* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1996), 26–56; and Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1976).

83. Happé, *John Bale*, 13, 30–33.

84. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, vol. 1, 1542–1547 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1890), 409.

85. *A Proclamation . . . to Avoide and Abolish Suche Englishe Bookes as Conteine Pernicious and Detestable Errours* (1546; STC 7809).

86. *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1:509; Harris, *John Bale*, 34. Harris estimates that Bale's books made up at least a third of those destroyed at this bonfire.

87. Gardiner, *Letters*, 277.

88. *Ibid.*, 293.



89. For this campaign, see John N. King, “Freedom of the Press, Protestant Propaganda, and Protector Somerset,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 40, no.1 (1976): 1–9.

90. Honor McCusker provides a useful overview of these publications: *John Bale: Dramatist and Antiquary* (Bryn Mawr, Penn.: Bryn Mawr College, 1942).

91. John Bale, *Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum* (Wesel, 1548; STC 1295), A4v.

92. *Ibid.*, A3v.

93. *Ibid.*, A4v.

94. *Ibid.*, A4r.

95. Marguerite de Navarre, *A Godly Medytacyon of the Christen Sowle*, in Prescott, *Elizabeth and Mary Tudor*, 41r (hereafter cited in text as *M*). King has proposed that Bale received the text from his later patron Mary Fitzroy, Duchess of Richmond (“Patronage and Piety,” 51). Scholarly consensus, however, favors Katherine Parr as the likely source: Marc Shell, preface to *Elizabeth’s Glass*, by Elizabeth I, edited by Marc Shell (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 3; Quilligan, *Incest and Agency*, 51.

96. McConica, *English Humanists*, 224. For connections between Bale’s editions of Askew and Elizabeth, see Quilligan, *Incest and Agency*, 51–54; and Jennifer Summit, *Lost Property: The Woman Writer and English Literary History, 1380–1589* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 138–51.

97. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, vol. 1 (1583; STC 11225), 1238–39.

98. Parr, *Complete Works*, 425–26.

99. For Elizabeth’s early translations, see Roger Ellis, “The Juvenile Translations of Elizabeth Tudor,” *Translation and Literature* 18, no. 2 (2009): 157–80. Marguerite’s text did stir up religious controversy in France: Anne Lake Prescott, “The Pearl of the Valois and Elizabeth I: Marguerite de Navarre’s *Miroir* and Tudor England,” in Hannay, *Silent but for the Word*, 62–63; Marguerite de Navarre, *Le miroir de l’âme pécheresse*, ed. Renja Salminen (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979), 21–30. Susan Snyder makes an argument for its reformist orientation: “Guilty Sisters: Marguerite de Navarre, Elizabeth of England, and the *Miroir de l’âme pécheresse*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1997): 443–58.

100. Quilligan, *Incest and Agency*, 54.

101. Elizabeth I, *Translations, 1544–1589*, 29–31.

102. Navarre, *Le miroir de l’âme pecheresse*, 176, l. 291 (hereafter cited in text as *Ma*); Elizabeth I, *Translations, 1544–1589*, 62 (presentation copy in which hereafter cited in text as *G*); Navarre, *Godly Medytacyon*, 16r (as previously established, cited in text as *M*). I have added italics throughout to mark alterations of the source text.

103. For a discussion of the differences between the presentation copy and Bale’s edition, see Elizabeth I, *Translations, 1544–1589*, 34–38. For Bale’s possible editing of Askew, see Thomas S. Freeman and Sarah Elizabeth Wall, “Racking the Body, Shaping the Text: The Account of Anne Askew in Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs,’” *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2001): 1169–70.

104. For psychological readings of the translation, see Quilligan, *Incest and Agency*, 33–75; Georgia E. Brown, “Translation and the Definition of Sovereignty: The Case of Elizabeth Tudor,” in *Travels and Translations in the Sixteenth Century: Selected Papers from the Second International Conference of the Tudor Symposium (2000)*, ed. Mike Pincombe (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 88–103; Shell, preface to *Elizabeth’s Glass*, 3–73; Prescott, “Pearl of the Valois,” 61–76.

105. Mueller and Scodel speculate that Elizabeth omitted Marguerite’s name due to her reformist reputation: Elizabeth I, *Translations, 1544–1589*, 29.

106. Salminen, introduction to *Miroir*, 83–84.

107. *Ibid.*, 77–78.

108. *Ibid.*, 71–82.

109. E.g., “of little account”: *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “simple, II.7a,” accessed November 24, 2012, <http://www.oed.com./view/Entry/179955>.

110. For a consideration of these reprints, see Quilligan, *Incest and Agency*, 51–75.

### Chapter Three

1. Critics have traditionally attributed the embroidered bindings to Elizabeth: Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 31–41; Lisa M. Klein, “Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1997): 459–93; and Margaret H. Swain, “A New Year’s Gift from the Princess Elizabeth,” *Connoisseur* 183 (1973): 258–66.

2. British Library, Royal MS 7 D x.

3. Klein, “Humble Handmaid,” 477.

4. For Elizabeth’s education, see Pollnitz, “Christian Women or Sovereign Queens?,” 127–42; Vosevich, “Education of a Prince(ss),” 61–76; and Baldwin, *Small Latine*, 260, 263, 266–67. For the connotations of Elizabeth’s italic, see Frances Teague, “Princess Elizabeth’s Hand in *The Glass of the Sinful Soul*,” *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, 9 (2000): 40.

5. Elizabeth I, *Translations: 1544–1589*, 137.

6. *Ibid.*, 217.

7. See, for example, Margaret P. Hannay, “‘Wisdom the Wordes’; Psalm Translation and Elizabethan Women’s Spirituality,” *Religion & Literature* 23, no. 3 (1991): 65.

8. Discussions of gift exchange in early modern England and France include: Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991), 29–66; and Barbara J. Harris, “Women and Politics in Early Tudor England,” *The Historical Journal* 33, no. 2 (1990): 259–81.

9. British Library Royal MS 5 E xvii, 2r–2v.

10. Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (1970), trans. Richard Nice (London: Sage, 1977), 30. Also see Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” trans. Richard Nice, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John

G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241–58. For a helpful consideration of the link between education and capital, see Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991).

11. Bourdieu, “Forms of Capital,” 247.

12. National Archives, State Papers, 6/12, 15r, 16r.

13. Henry Parker, Lord Morley, “Preface to His Translation of Paolo Gioivo,” in *Forty-Six Lives*, trans. Henry Parker, Lord Morley, ed. Herbert G. Wright (1943; repr., New York: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1970), 161.

14. British Library Royal MS 15 A iii, 4r, 1v–2r, my translation. Unless otherwise noted, all translations of Latin and French are mine.

15. Prescott, “Pearl of the Valois,” 64.

16. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel, introduction to *John Calvin’s Institution*, in Elizabeth I, *Translations: 1544–1589*, 204–5.

17. Elizabeth I, *Translations: 1544–1589*, 219.

18. *Ibid.*, 303.

19. For the development of the figure of the pious woman within England, see Kimberly Anne Coles, *Religion, Reform, and Women’s Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

20. Jessica L. Malay, “Jane Seager’s Sibylline Poems: Maidenly Negotiations Through Elizabethan Gift Exchange,” *English Literary Renaissance* 36, no. 2 (2006): 189.

21. British Library Harley MS 1860, 6r.

22. British Library Royal MS 17 B xviii, 2r–2v.

23. For discussions of Sidney Herbert’s poetic development, see Krontiris, *Oppositional Voices*; Gary F. Waller, “The Countess of Pembroke and Gendered Reading,” in *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon*, ed. Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1990), 327–35; and G. F. Waller, *Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke: A Critical Study of her Writings and Literary Milieu* (Salzburg: Institut für anglistik und amerikanistik, 1979).

24. For Sidney’s political career, see Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2001), and James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572–1577* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Elizabethan Club, 1972). Other useful sources include Robert E. Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008); Edward Berry, “Hubert Languet and the ‘Making’ of Philip Sidney,” *Studies in Philology* 85, no. 3 (1988): 305–20; and Jan A. Van Dorsten, “Sidney and Languet,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (1966): 215–22.

25. For Sidney’s Du Bartas, see Philip Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 339.

26. Alan Sinfield, “Sidney and Du Bartas,” *Comparative Literature* 27, no. 1 (1975): 8–20.

27. Philippe de Mornay, *De veritate religionis Christianae* (Antwerp, 1583), \*1v.

28. Alan Sinfield, "Sidney, De Plessis-Mornay and the Pagans," *Philological Quarterly* 58 (1979): 26–39.

29. For the definitive introduction to Sidney's psalms and their sources, see Sidney, *Poems*, 500–509.

30. Mary Sidney Herbert, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, *The Psalmes of David*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Michael G. Brennan (1998; repr., Oxford: Clarendon, 2003), 3–6; John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982); W. Stanford Reid, "The Battle Hymns of the Lord: Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century," *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies* 2 (1971): 36–54.

31. James Simpson, "Martyrdom in the Literal Sense: Surrey's Psalm Paraphrases," *Medieval and Early Modern English Studies* 12, no. 1 (2004): 133–65; Elizabeth Heale, *Wyatt, Surrey and Early Tudor Poetry* (London: Longman, 1998), 154–90; Alexandra Halasz, "Wyatt's David," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 30, no. 3 (1988): 320–44; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 115–56.

32. Ruth Hughey, ed., *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*, 2 vols. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960), 2:433–35. Also see Margaret P. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 98.

33. Hughey, *Arundel Harington Manuscript*, 1:338, 340–41.

34. Also see Margaret P. Hannay, "'Princes You as Men Must Dy': Genevan Advice to Monarchs in the *Psalmes* of Mary Sidney," *English Literary Renaissance* 19, no. 1 (1989): 22–41, esp. 28–30; and *Philip's Phoenix*, 86–88.

35. Philippe de Mornay, *A Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse of God*, trans. Arthur Golding (1587; STC 18149), \*3v. Scholars disagree over whether Sidney translated any part of the text published by Golding; Philippe de Mornay, *A Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion*, ed. F. J. Sypher (Delmar, N.Y.: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1976), ix–xv; Philip Sidney, *The Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 155–57; Philip Sidney, *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, vol. 3, *The Defence of Poesie, Political Discourses, Correspondence, Translation*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (1912; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), viii–ix.

36. Mornay, *Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse*, \*4r.

37. National Archives, State Papers 12/195, 51r–51v. I follow the transcription proposed by H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 416.

38. For the earlier critical tradition, see Diane Bornstein, "The Style of the Countess of Pembroke's Translation of Philippe de Mornay's *Discours de la vie et de la mort*," in Hannay, *Silent but for the Word*, 126–34; Waller, *Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke*, 107–51.

39. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, 61–62.

40. Danielle Clarke, “The Politics of Translation and Gender in the Countess of Pembroke’s *Antonie*,” *Translation and Literature* 6, no. 2 (1997): 149–66; Victor Skretkowicz, “Mary Sidney Herbert’s *Antonius*, English Philhellenism and the Protestant Cause,” *Women’s Writing* 6, no. 1 (1999): 7–25.

41. Hannay, Kinnamon, and Brennan place the dating between 1593 and 1599, noting that a first draft was completed by 1594 at the latest: Sidney Herbert, *Psalmes of David*, 340. For the Psalter’s political significance, see Katherine Larson, “From Inward Conversation to Public Praise: Mary Sidney Herbert’s *Psalmes*,” *Sidney Journal* 24, no. 1 (2006): 21–43; Clarke, *Early Modern Women’s Writing*, 138–47; Hannay, “Genevan Advice,” 22–41; and Hannay, “‘Doo what men may sing’: Mary Sidney and the Tradition of Admonitory Dedication,” in Hannay, *Silent but for the Word*, 249–65.

42. For this crisis, see R. B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain, 1595–1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 211–62.

43. Robert Devereux, *An Apologie of the Earle of Essex* (1600; STC 6787.7), C3r.

44. Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 241–42.

45. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. 8, 1598, ed. R. A. Roberts (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1899), 25.

46. *Ibid.*, 29.

47. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. 23, 1562–1605, ed. G. Dyfnallt Owen (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1973), 20.

48. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. 9, 1599, ed. R. A. Roberts (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1902), 142.

49. *Ibid.*, 188.

50. For a discussion of the physical characteristics that led Ringler to this identification, see Sidney Herbert, *Psalmes of David*, 310–13. I am very grateful to the present Viscount De L’Isle, MBE, DL, for kindly allowing me to examine and cite MS A.

51. Ringler, among others, suggests that John Aubrey’s reference to a manuscript bound in crimson velvet was MS A: Sidney, *Poems*, 547.

52. “Even now that care,” Mary Sidney Herbert, *Collected Works*, vol. 1, *Poems, Translations, and Correspondence*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Michael G. Brennan (1998; repr., Oxford: Clarendon, 2008), 103, line 53 (hereafter cited in text and notes as *PTC*). For a useful discussion of early modern views about the appropriateness of psalms to kings and queens as well as Sidney Herbert’s possible reference to a rendering of Psalm 13 that accompanied John Bale’s publication of Elizabeth’s translation of Marguerite de Navarre, see *PTC*, 92–100.

53. I am very grateful to David Vaisey, literary executor for Dr. Bent Juul-Jensen, for kindly allowing me to examine MS J.

54. J. C. A. Rathmell's pioneering edition of the complete Sidney Psalter defines the collection as "poems (for they are more than translations)": *The Psalms of Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke* (New York: New York University Press, 1963), xi. Also see Patricia Demers, "'Warpe' and 'Webb' in the Sidney Psalms: The 'Coupled Worke' of the Countess of Pembroke and Sir Philip Sidney," in *Literary Couplings: Writing Couples, Collaborators, and the Construction of Authorship*, ed. Marjorie Stone and Judith Thompson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 45; Margaret P. Hannay, "Re-Revealing the Psalms: The Countess of Pembroke and Her Early Modern Readers," *Sidney Journal* 23, nos. 1–2 (2005): 22–24; and Sidney Herbert, *PTC*, 99. For a discussion of the common metaphor of translation as clothing, see Morini, *Tudor Translation*, 36–42.

55. For Sidney Herbert's knowledge of Hebrew, see Sidney Herbert, *Psalmes of David*, 16–19; and Theodore L. Steinberg, "The Sidneys and the Psalms," *Studies in Philology* 92, no. 1 (1995): 1–17.

56. Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 6–13.

57. Robert Crowley, *The Psalter of David Newly Translated into English Metre* (1549; STC 2725); Francis Bacon, *The Translation of Certain Psalmes into English Verse* (1625; STC 1174); *The Psalmes of King David Translated by King James* (Oxford, 1631; STC 2732).

58. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "metaphrase, 1," accessed November 24, 2012, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/117340>; MSS C (Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 24) and F (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.1.51) use the term "translated" while MSS G (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.16) and M (Huntington Library, MS HM 117) employ "metaphrased." For the psalms' titles, see Sidney Herbert, *Psalmes of David*, 308–36.

59. John Donne, *The Divine Poems*, ed. Helen Gardner (1952; repr., Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 35, line 53; John Harington, *The Epigrams of Sir John Harington*, ed. Gerard Kilroy (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 227.

60. Hannay has noted that contemporary identifications of David as Elizabeth and his enemies as Catholics made more pointed parallels superfluous ("Genevan Advice," 30).

61. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, 89–90.

62. Noel Kinnamon, "The Sidney Psalms: The Penshurst and Tixall Manuscripts," *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700* 2 (1990): 140–43.

63. Two additional psalms lack final ruling and gilding (Psalms 132 and 144), but MS A's versions of Psalms 132 and 144 are present in the first round of revisions preserved in the  $\delta$  tradition. Perhaps the foul copy of these psalms was too complex for Davies to transcribe with confidence: Sidney, *Poems*, 503, 547.

64. For identification of this hand, see Sidney Herbert, *Psalmes of David*, 312, 341, 347.

65. This reconstruction is based on the extremely helpful information in *ibid.*, 309–10, 337–57. MS F is currently at Trinity College, Cambridge (MS O.1.51) and contains copies of Psalms 27–150 from MS A.



66. The  $\delta$  tradition consists of MSS C, D, E, F (Psalms 1–26), G, H, I, L, N, K, O, P, and Q. In general the  $\delta$  tradition preserves preliminary versions of Psalms 1 and 23 and omits the conclusion to Psalm 22; for more details, see Sidney, *Poems*, 502. K, F, and I offer Sidney's version of Psalm 26, while the rest of the  $\delta$  tradition supplies an intermediary revision that differs from the finalized rendition in A, J, and B. Sidney Herbert must have revised Psalm 16 in  $\chi$ , a lost working copy, as it is omitted in K, F, and I but not the remainder of the  $\delta$  tradition.

67. MS B is housed in the Bodleian Library: MS Rawl. poet. 25.

68. Sidney, *Poems*, 289n, 300–301n, 306n.

69. Sidney, *Poems*, 270n, 503.

70. Sidney Herbert, *Psalmes of David*, 358.

71. See, for example, G. F. Waller, "The Text and Manuscript Variants of the Countess of Pembroke's Psalmes," *Review of English Studies* 26, no. 101 (1975):1–18. For discussions of Sidney Herbert's revisions, see Sidney Herbert, *Psalmes of David*, 358–61; and Beth Wynne Fischen, "Mary Sidney's *Psalmes*: Education and Wisdom," in Hannay, *Silent but for the Word*, 166–83.

72. Sidney, *Poems*, 270, lines 13–22.

73. Clement Marot and Théodore de Bèze, *Les CL pseumes de David* (Orleans, 1566), 6v; *The Booke of Common Prayer* (1566; STC 16297), A2r; Théodore de Bèze, *Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum prophetarum* (London, 1580; STC 2032), 2.

74. Sidney, *Poems*, 270n. Sidney Herbert's revisions of Sidney's psalms were not included in *Psalmes of David*, but may be found in footnotes to Sidney, *Poems*. I cite both these footnotes and MS A itself, which does not contain Psalm 1.

75. *Bible and Holy Scriptures*, 235r.

76. Sidney, *Poems*, 270, lines 1–2.

77. Sidney, *Poems*, 305, lines 13–15.

78. Sidney, *Poems*, 306, lines 31–39.

79. Bèze, *Psalmorum Davidis*, 89.

80. MS A, 20v. For the version in MS B, see Sidney, *Poems*, 306n.

81. Théodore de Bèze, *The Psalmes of David*, trans. Anthony Gilby (1580; STC 2033), 49.

82. Bèze, *Psalmes*, 47–48.

83. Bèze, *Psalmorum Davidis*, 88. For commentary on the political applications of this proverb, see Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 31, *Adages Ii1 to Iv100*, trans. Margaret Mann Phillips, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 133–36.

84. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "stain, 3a, 5a," accessed November 24, 2012, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/188732>.

85. Margaret P. Hannay, "'House-confined maids': The Presentation of Woman's Role in the *Psalmes* of the Countess of Pembroke," *English Literary Renaissance* 24, no. 1 (1994): 48–49.

86. Sidney, *Poems*, 301, lines 19–27.

87. *Bible and Holy Scriptures*, 239v; Bèze, *Psalmes*, 42.

88. MS A, 18r; Sidney, *Poems*, 301n.

89. Bèze, *Psalmes*, 42; Bèze, *Psalmorum Davidis*, 78.

90. Shenk, *Learned Queen*; Linda Shenk, “Turning Learned Authority into Royal Supremacy: Elizabeth I’s Learned Persona and Her University Orations,” in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Free Own Woman*, ed. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barret-Graves (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 78–96; Lysbeth Benkert, “Translation as Image-Making: Elizabeth I’s Translation of Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 6, no. 3 (January 2001): 2.1–20, <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/06-3/benkboet.htm>; Mary Thomas Crane, “‘Video et Taceo’: Elizabeth I and the Rhetoric of Counsel,” *SEL* 28, no. 1 (1988), 1–15. T. W. Baldwin presents a more pessimistic view of Elizabeth’s learning (*Small Latine*, 1:280–83).

91. Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 121–48; Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1–16; Marie Axton, *The Queen’s Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 11–25.

92. Edmund Plowden, *The Commentaries, or Reports of Edmund Plowden, of the Middle-Temple, Esq.* (1779; ESTC T183788), 221.

93. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 326.

94. Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, 146–47.

95. Ascham, *Scholemaster*, B2r.

96. Fumerton usefully analyzes Elizabeth’s manipulation of privacy (*Cultural Aesthetics*, 67–110).

97. Baldwin, *Small Latine*, 1:284.

98. Shenk notes a similar dynamic in Elizabeth’s early university orations, in which Elizabeth places herself as a student rather than a counselor (“Learned Authority,” 81).

99. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel, introduction to *Elizabeth’s Sententiae* in Elizabeth I, *Translations: 1544–1589*, 332.

100. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 87, 88. As Shenk points out, this may not be a correct attribution (“Learned Authority,” 83).

101. Elizabeth I, *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. G. B. Harrison (1935; repr., New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), 159.

102. Frye, *Elizabeth I*, 5.

103. Janet M. Green, “Queen Elizabeth I’s Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31, no. 4 (2000): 987–1008.

104. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel, introduction to *Cicero’s Pro Marcello*, in Elizabeth I, *Translations: 1592–1598*, ed. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 3; Leah S. Marcus, “Queen Elizabeth I as Public and Private Poet: Notes toward a New Edition,” in *Reading Monarch’s Writing: The Poetry of Henry VIII, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth I, and James VI/I*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 142.

105. Henry Savile, preface to *The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba: Fower Bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus*, by Tacitus, trans. Henry Savile (1591; STC 23642), ¶2r–¶2v.

106. Windebank's fair copies of the Plutarch and part of the Boethius survive, respectively, in British Library Royal MS 17 A xlv and National Archives, State Papers 12/289, 100r–102v.

107. Robert Devereux to Francis Bacon, 24 August 1593, in *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, vol. 1, ed. James Spedding (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 254–55.

108. Marcus, "Public and Private Poet," 143.

109. For an alternate take on Elizabeth's motivation, see Quan Manh Ha, introduction to *The Consolation of Queen Elizabeth I: The Queen's Translation of Boethius' "De Consolatione Philosophiae"*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor Jr. and Philip Edward Phillips (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 16–20.

110. Anthony Grafton, "Epilogue: Boethius in the Renaissance," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 411–15.

111. William Camden, *Annals or the Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, trans. R. N. (1635; STC 4501), 422.

112. National Archives, State Papers 12/289, 7r–9v. For a transcription of these calculations, see Kaylor and Phillips, *Consolation of Queen Elizabeth*, 41, 149–54.

113. While Shenk does note that Elizabeth should not be associated with the character of Boethius alone, she does not see Lady Philosophy as self-referential but rather as a mouthpiece for positions parallel to Elizabeth's stance regarding Henry: Shenk, *Learned Queen*, 142.

114. For Henry's conversion and its politics, see R. B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe 1588–1595* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 488–513. For useful summaries of primary documents, see *List and Analysis of State Papers Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, vol. 5, *July 1593–December 1594*, ed. Richard Bruce Wernham (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1989).

115. Wernham, *After the Armada*, 491–94. Indeed, in October 1592 Elizabeth and Burghley had respectively warned Henry and the Duc de Bouillon against the possibility: Wernham, *After the Armada*, 492. For Burghley's letter, see Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), 481–82.

116. National Archives, State Papers 78/31, 223r.

117. National Archives, State Papers, 78/32, 287v.

118. Wernham, *After the Armada*, 506.

119. Elizabeth I, *Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals*, ed. Janel Mueller and Leah S. Marcus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 165. For the translation, see Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 370–71.

120. National Archives, State Papers, 78/31, 310r; italics in my translation denote Elizabeth's use of Latin.

121. National Archives, State Papers, 78/32, 74r.

122. National Archives, State Papers, 78/32, 205r.

123. Elizabeth I, *Translations: 1592–1598*, 80 (hereafter cited in text as *T*); Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy* in *The Theological Tractates* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), book 1, meter 2.24–26 (hereafter cited in text as *CP*). I have added italics throughout to mark alterations of the source text. The following analysis of Elizabeth’s translation choices is deeply indebted to Mueller and Scodel’s extensive annotations to their edition of this translation (*T*).

124. Elizabeth continues this trend by translating “angeret” (tormented) as “greevid” (*T*, 186). As Mueller and Scodel point out, Elizabeth’s edition of Boethius utilized “angeret” rather than the “confudit” of modern editions (*T*, 186n57; *CP*, book 3, prose 3.17). When Lady Philosophy begins to question Boethius, Elizabeth omits another reference to his inability to respond to her addresses: “I should like to think that you were ashamed, but I can see that you are quite stupefied” (*CP*, book 1, prose 2.9–8, translation in *CP*).

125. Elizabeth translates “magistra” as “pedagogue” a second time (*T*, 93; *CP*, book 1, prose 4.76).

126. Elizabeth I, *Autograph Compositions*, 165. For the translation, see Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 370–71.

127. National Archives, State Papers, 71/31, 248v. As Shenk notes, Burghley wrote these instructions, but his minutes of July 10 reveal that Wilkes’s instructions are a revision of Burghley’s earlier memoranda and were probably approved by the queen: Shenk, *Learned Queen*, 153.

128. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel, introduction to *Boethius’ De consolatione philosophiae* (*T*, 51–52, 270n58).

#### Chapter Four

1. *The Rule of the Most Blissed Father Saint Benedict* (Ghent, 1632; STC 1860), 55.

2. Archives Départementales du Nord Lille, MS 20 H 1, 30.

3. For the practical emphasis of seventeenth-century Ignatian prayer, see Joseph De Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, trans. William J. Young (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit Sources with Loyola, 1964), 282.

4. See, for example, Toby Matthew, *The Life of Lady Lucy Knatchbull* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1931), 43.

5. Augustine Baker, *The Life and Death of Dame Gertrude More*, ed. Ben Wekking (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2002), 66.

6. *Ibid.*, 91.

7. A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558–1640* (Bognor Regis, UK: Arundel Press, 1956), 63, no. 337.

8. Augustine Baker, *Catalogue of Such English Bookes as Are in This House, Most Helping toward Contemplation*, Beinecke Library, Osborn MS b 268, 245.

9. Frans Blom and Jos Blom, “Introductory Note,” in *Pudentiana Deacon*, ed. Frans Blom and Jos Blom (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002), x–xi. Deacon was given the name of Pudentiana, but she always signed her name with the alternative spelling Potentiana; I have followed Deacon’s preferred spelling throughout this chapter. The house’s nineteenth-century MS *Annals* identify her baptismal name as Elizabeth: Downside Abbey Archives, Haslemere MS 1876, 45.

10. Janet Wright Starner and Barbara Howard Traister, eds. *Anonymity in Early Modern England: What’s in a Name?* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011); Marcy L. North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

11. Preface to *The Bible and Holy Scriptures*, \*\*2r.

12. John Calvin, *Letters of John Calvin*, vol. 4, ed. Jules Bonnet, trans. Marcus Robert Gilchrist (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Education, 1858), 46.

13. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Scattered Speculations on the Subaltern and the Popular,” *Postcolonial Studies* 8, no. 4 (2005): 480.

14. *Ibid.*, 481.

15. Preface to *The Holie Bible*, †2r. For Catholic translation in Europe, see Carlos M. N. Eire, “Early Modern Catholic Piety in Translation,” in Burke and Hsia, *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, 83–100.

16. Antonio de Molina, *Spiritual Exercises*, trans. Abraham Ellis (Mechelen, 1621; STC 17998); Bartolomeo Campi, *The Seaven Trumpets of Brother Bartholomew Saluthius*, trans. George Porret (Saint Omer, 1626; STC 4469).

17. Robert Bellarmino, *The Art of Dying Well* (Saint Omer, 1621; STC 1838.5); Vincenzo Bruno, *An Abridgment of the Meditations of the Life . . . of Jesus Christ* (Saint Omer, 1614; STC 3941); Ignatius of Loyola, *A Manuall of Devout Meditations* (Saint Omer, 1618; STC 16877); Teresa of Avila, *The Lyf of the Mother Teresa of Jesus* (Mechelen, 1611; STC 23948.5).

18. Albertus Magnus, *The Paradise of the Soule* (Saint Omer, 1617; STC 269); Antonio de Molina, *A Treatise of Mental Prayer* (Saint Omer, 1617; STC 18000); Luca Pinelli, *The Mirrour of Religious Perfection* (Saint Omer, 1618; STC 19938); Francisco de Borja, *The Practise of Christian Workes* (Saint Omer, 1620; STC 11315).

19. Lock, preface to Calvin, *Sermons of John Calvin*, A3v.

20. Cary, preface to *Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinall of Perron*, ã2v, ã2r.

21. Jaime Goodrich, “‘Ensigne-Bearers of Saint Clare’: Elizabeth Evelinge’s Translations and the Restoration of English Franciscanism,” in White, *English Women*, 83–100.

22. Elizabeth Evelinge, preface to *History of the Angelicall Virgin Glorious S. Clare*, ã3v.

23. John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, Green, 1951), 39–40.

24. John Gerard, preface to *The Spiritual Conflict*, by Lorenzo Scupoli, trans. John Gerard (1598; STC 22126.3), 3v.

25. This secret press may have been run by Jesuits, as it published works by Henry Garnet, Robert Persons, and Robert Southwell. See the information on press number twelve in A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation Between 1558 and 1640*, vol. 2, *Works in English* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1994), 225.

26. *Chronicles of the First Monastery Founded for Benedictine Nuns* (Berg-holt, UK: Saint Mary's Abbey, 1898), 24.

27. Jerome, Count of Portia, preface to *The Virgin Maries Life*, by Luca Pinelli, trans. Richard Gibbons (Douai, 1604; STC 19940), †2r.

28. Anthony Hoskins, preface to *The Apologies of the Most Christian Kings of France and Navar, Henry III and Lewis XIII*, trans. Anthony Hoskins (Saint Omer, 1611; STC 13122.5), 3. For these allegations, see Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590–1615)* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 147–208.

29. Anthony Hoskins, preface to *A Brieve and Cleare Declaration of Sundry Pointes*, by Leonardus Lessius, trans. Anthony Hoskins (Saint Omer, 1611; STC 13840), 4. Allison and Rogers identify the source text as Lessius's *Defensio potestatis summi pontificis* (*Contemporary Printed Literature*, no. 447).

30. Anthony Hoskins, preface to *The Following of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis, trans. Anthony Hoskins (Saint Omer, 1613; STC 23987), \*4r.

31. Robert Chambers, preface to *Miracles Lately Wrought by the Intercession of the Glorious Virgin Marie, at Mont-Aigu*, by Philippe Numan, trans. Robert Chambers (Antwerp, 1606; STC 18746), C6v.

32. For Holt's role, see M. J. Rumsey, ed., "Abbess Neville's Annals of Five Communities of English Benedictine Nuns in Flanders 1598–1687," in *Miscellanea V* (London: Catholic Record Society 6, 1909), 2. For an overview of the convent's history, see Paul Arblaster, "The Monastery of Our Lady of the Assumption in Brussels (1599–1794)," *English Benedictine History* 25 (1999): 1–36, accessed March 9, 2013, <http://www.monlib.org.uk/papers/ebch/1999arblaster.pdf>.

33. Rumsey, "Neville's Annals," 5; *Annals*, Downside Abbey Archives, Haslemere MS 1876, 28.

34. This prohibition did not prevent Jesuits from actively assisting convents: De Guibert, *Jesuits*, 308–9.

35. National Archives, State Papers, 77/9.1, 113v.

36. National Archives, State Papers, 77/9.2, 33r–33v.

37. Joanna Berkeley to Mathias Hovius, 31 March 1609, Archdiocesan Archives of Mechelen-Brussels (hereafter AAM), Engelse benedictinessen Brussel/2, my translation. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Latin and French are my own.

38. Matthew, *Life of Knatchbull*, 30.

39. *Ibid.*, 32. By August 2, 1609, Edmondes reported that Lovell had returned to set up a house in Brussels: National Archives, State Papers, 77/9.2, 64v.

40. *Annals*, 52–53. For a redacted version, see *Chronicles*, 67.

41. Rumsey, "Neville's Annals," 5.



42. *Annals*, 63. I have retained parenthetical glosses inserted by the nineteenth-century composer of the *Annals* for the sake of clarity. For published excerpts of this letter and a discussion of the building projects, see *Chronicles*, 62, 72–73.

43. Joanna Berkeley to Mathias Hovius, 13 December 1611, AAM, Engelse benedictijnen Brussel/12.4.

44. Mary Percy to Mutio Vitelleschi, 4 May 1618, AAM, Fonds Amatus Coriache, Reg 15, 182r–182v.

45. Augustine Baker, *An Enquiry about the Author of the Treatise of the Abridgement and Ladder of Perfection*, Downside Abbey Library, MS 26561, 8–9. While Jos Blom and Frans Blom contend that Hoskins translated “To the Reader,” it is more likely that he translated D. C. M.’s preface since “To the Reader” has no analogue in the French text and refers directly to Percy’s preface: “Introductory Note,” in *Catherine Greenbury and Mary Percy*, ed. Jos Blom and Frans Blom (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), xviii. For further discussion of Hoskins’s role in this translation, see Jaime Goodrich, “Translating Lady Mary Percy: Authorship and Authority among the Brussels Benedictines,” in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture and Identity*, ed. Caroline Bowden and James Kelly (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 109–22.

46. See Marcel Viller, “La abregé de la perfection de la dame milanaise,” *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique* 12 (1931): 44–89; André Derville, introduction to *Commentaire des exercices spirituels d’Ignace de Loyola (1590), suivi de abrégé de la perfection chrétienne (1588)*, by Achille Gagliardi (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1996), 19.

47. Isabella Berinzaga and Achille Gagliardi, *An Abridgment of Christian Perfection*, trans. Mary Percy, in *Greenbury and Percy*, 21–22 (hereafter cited in text as ACP). The “First Principle and Foundation” states, “we must make ourselves indifferent to all created things,” while the “Introduction to Making a Choice of a Way of Life” instructs exercitants that their “first aim should be to seek to serve God”: Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. Louis J. Puhl (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1951), 12, 71.

48. Derville, introduction to *Commentaire*, 22.

49. Gerard, *Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, 40.

50. *The Life of the Blessed Virgin, Saint Catharine of Siena*, trans. John Fen (Douai, 1609; STC 4830), 183.

51. *Abregé de la perfection chrestienne* (Arras, 1599), 154 (hereafter cited in text as APC). As Blom and Blom note, the 1598 edition of the *Abregé* is no longer extant (“Introductory Note,” *Greenbury and Percy*, xviii).

52. *The New Testament of Jesus Christ*, trans. Gregory Martin (Rheims: John Fogny, 1582; STC 2884), 182.

53. *Ibid.*, 705–6.

54. Gagliardi, *Commentaire*, 218 n.1.

55. In a 1621 letter to Boonen that describes her ongoing problems with the house’s confessor Robert Chambers, Percy mentions her own spiritual trials: “Je scais bien, qu’en temps de desolation, c’est un homme le plus discomfortable,

que se puisse trouver” (I know well that in times of distress, he is the most com-fortless man that can be found): Mary Percy to Jacobus Boonen, 8 September 1621, AAM, Engelse benedictinessen Brussel/12.2. Hoskins’s experiences with Knatchbull’s despair after her profession suggest that he was also well aware of the debilitating results of desolation: Matthew, *Life of Knatchbull*, 35.

56. Bonaventure, *The Life of the Holie Father S. Francis*, trans. A. Browne (Douai, 1610; STC 3271).

57. Ignatius of Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, 147, no. 329.1. For Ignatian discretion, see Francesca Bugliani Knox, *The Eye of the Eagle: John Donne and the Legacy of Ignatius Loyola* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011); and Charles J. Healey, *The Ignatian Way: Key Aspects of Jesuit Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 2009).

58. For the bibliographical history of Percy’s work, see A. F. Allison, “New Light on the Early History of the *Breve Compendio*: The Background to the English Translation of 1612,” *Biographical Studies* 4 (1957): 7–8.

59. Achille Gagliardi and Isabella Berinzaga, *Abridgment of Christian Perfection*, trans. Mary Percy (Saint Omer, 1625; STC 11539), 208–14.

60. See Heather Wolfe, “Reading Bells and Loose Papers: Reading and Writing Practices of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and Paris,” in *Early Modern Women’s Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, ed. Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 135–56.

61. Augustine Baker, *The Cloud of Unknowing and Other Treatises*, ed. Justin McCann (1924; repr., Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1952), 154.

62. Baker, *Catalogue of English Bookes*, 237–57.

63. British Library Cotton MS, Julius C III, 12r.

64. Baker, *Life and Death*, 38.

65. Baker, *Cloud of Unknowing*, 152.

66. *A Collection of Some Familiar Answers*, Downside Abbey Library, MS 68812, n. p.

67. Jeanne de Cambry, *The Building of Divine Love*, trans. Agnes More, Archives Départementales du Nord Lille, MS 20 H 18, 1. For a modernized edition, see Jeanne de Cambry, *The Building of Divine Love as Translated by Dame Agnes More*, ed. Dorothy L. Latz (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1992).

68. Archives Départementales du Nord Lille, MS 20 H 10, 905; Dorothy L. Latz, “Glow-Worm Light”: *Writings of Seventeenth-Century English Recusant Women from Original Manuscripts* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1989), 65–66; and Joseph S. Hansom, ed., “The English Benedictine Nuns of Our Blessed Lady of Good Hope in Paris,” in *Miscellanea VII* (London: Catholic Record Society 9, 1911), 340. Excerpts of these translations may be included in Antoine Civoré’s *Les secrets de la science des saints* (1651). Baker’s works also reached English Carmelite and Poor Clare convents: Justin McCann and Hugh Connolly, eds, *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker* (London: Catholic Record Society 33, 1933), 139; Durham University, Special Collections, PCD MS 66.

69. See Heather Wolfe, “Dame Barbara Constable: Catholic Antiquarian, Advisor, and Closet Missionary,” in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Ronald Corthell et al. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 158–88.

70. Baker, *Enquiry*, 8.

71. Baker, *Catalogue of English Bookes*, 250, 254.

72. Baker, *Enquiry*, 58.

73. Toby Matthew, preface to *A Treatise of Mentall Prayer with Another of the Presence of God*, by Alfonso Rodriguez, trans. Toby Matthew (Saint Omer, 1627; STC 21148), \*2r–\*2v.

74. Toby Matthew, preface to *Two Treatises: Of Mentall Prayer and Of the Presence of God*, by Alfonso Rodriguez, trans. Toby Matthew (Saint Omer, 1627; STC 21149), \*3v.

75. For this conflict, see Claire Walker, “Securing Souls or Telling Tales? The Politics of Cloistered Life in an English Convent,” in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 227–44.

76. Potentiana Deacon to Jacobus Boonen, circa 1622, AAM, Engelse benedictinessen Brussel/12.2.

77. Frances Gawen to Jacobus Boonen, circa 1622, AAM, Engelse benedictinessen Brussel/12.4.

78. House tradition identifies Yaxley as the first novice mistress, perhaps due to her stint in 1650 as novice mistress at Cambrai and then Brussels: *In a Great Tradition: Tribute to Dame Laurentia McLachlan, Abbess of Stanbrook by the Benedictines of Stanbrook* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), 9; Rumsey, “Neville’s Annals,” 9. Deacon’s obituary, however, states that she acted as “the cellarier which office, as also Mistress of the novices shee laudably performed for divers years together after the beginning of this monastery”: Joseph Gillow, ed., “Records of the English Benedictine Nuns at Cambrai (now Stanbrook), 1620–1793,” in *Miscellanea VIII* (London: Catholic Record Society 13, 1913), 78.

79. Potentiana Deacon to Jacobus Boonen, 26 August 1623, AAM, Engelse benedictinessen Brussel/12.2.

80. Helpful introductions to Baker’s method include Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 143–47; James Gaffney, *Augustine Baker’s Inner Light: A Study in English Recusant Spirituality* (Scranton, Penn.: University of Scranton Press, 1989); and Anthony Low, *Augustine Baker* (New York: Twayne, 1970), 53–74. Baker’s own most thorough explanation of his method occurs in his biography of Dame Gertrude More: Baker, *Life and Death*, 61–85.

81. When Yaxley requested to be transferred to Brussels on doctor’s orders in 1650, she emphasized her happiness at Cambrai: “I have found much content & comfort . . . in the progress & advancement of this Convent”: *Annals*, 12. Yaxley’s return to Brussels was part of an ill-fated attempt to place the house under the jurisdiction of the English Benedictine

Congregation, which caused pro-Jesuit nuns at Brussels to complain about her partisanship on behalf of the Benedictine monks: Aurea James et al. to Jacobus Boonen, 26 September 1650, AAM, Engelse benedictinessen Brussel/12.3.

82. Serenus Cressy, “Life of Father Baker,” in *The Life of Father Augustine Baker, OSB (1575–1641)*, ed. Dom Justin McCann (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1933), 107.

83. Gertrude More, “The Devout Souls Advertisement to the Reader,” in *The Spiritual Exercises of the Most Vertuous and Religious D. Gertrude More* (Paris, 1658; Wing M2632), 91.

84. Archives Départementales du Nord Lille, MS 20 H 10, 903; Latz, “Glow-Worm Light,” 62.

85. More, “Devout Souls Advertisement,” 30–31.

86. *Ibid.*, 10.

87. Augustine Baker, “Selections from Augustine Baker’s *Vindication*,” in Baker, *Life and Death*, 373.

88. *Ibid.*, 366.

89. Baker, *Life and Death*, 265–70.

90. Potentiana Deacon, preface to *Delicious Entertainments of the Soule* (1632), by François de Sales, trans. Potentiana Deacon, in *Pudentiana Deacon*, Å2v (hereafter cited in text and notes as *DE*).

91. Baker, *Catalogue of English Bookes*, 245. The latest printed book in Baker’s *Catalogue* is the 1630 translation of de Sales, and the *Catalogue* predates Baker’s 1632 departure.

92. François de Sales, *A Treatise of the Love of God*, trans. Miles Carr (Douai, 1630; STC 11323), C1r.

93. *Ibid.*, 320.

94. De Sales refers to material on humility (*Introduction* 3.5) and purification of the soul (*Introduction* 1.5 and 1.22): *DE*, 72, 137; François de Sales, *The Spiritual Conferences of St. Francis de Sales* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1962), 80, 156.

95. François de Sales, *An Introduction to a Devoute Life*, trans. John Yaxley (Douai, 1613; STC 11316.5), 13.

96. See, for example, *ibid.*, 64–67, 138–40. For de Sales and the Jesuits, see F. Charmot, *Ignatius Loyola and Francis de Sales: Two Masters—One Spirituality*, trans. M. Renelle (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1966), 239–47.

97. Baker, *Catalogue of English Bookes*, 246.

98. Prior to 1630, Pinchon’s English publications had no overt connection with the Jesuit order: STC 14914 and 20594. After this point, Pinchon regularly uses a woodcut border with the Jesuit insignia: STC 4833, 19910.5, 17130, and 11323. This woodcut appears several times in Deacon’s *Delicious Entertainments*, perhaps mimicking a similar woodcut border in her French source text: *DE*, Å2r and 1; François de Sales, *Les vrais entretiens spirituels du bien-heureux* (Lyon, 1629), 1 (hereafter cited in text as *Lve*).

99. Wendy M. Wright, *Bond of Perfection: Jeanne de Chantal & François de Sales* (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 134.

100. Baker, “Baker’s *Vindication*,” 374. Also see Baker, *Life and Death*, 104–15.

101. *Ibid.*, 373.

102. *Ibid.*, 377.

103. *Ibid.*, 373.

### Conclusion

1. Taffin, *Of the Markes*, A3v–A4r.

2. Retha Warnicke, “Women and Humanism in England,” in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, vol. 2, *Humanism Beyond Italy*, ed. Albert Rabil Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 39–54.

3. Parr, *Lamentacion*, F3r.

4. Hugh de Quehen, ed., *Lucy Hutchinson’s Translation of Lucretius: “De Rerum Natura”* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); Pierre Corneille, *Pompey: A Tragedy*, trans. Katherine Philips (1663; Wing C6317); Paul Tallemant, *A Voyage to the Island of Love*, trans. Aphra Behn (1684; Wing B1757). On Behn’s translations, see Uman, *Women as Translators*, 103–37; Elizabeth Spearing, “Aphra Behn: The Politics of Translation,” in *Aphra Behn Studies*, ed. Janet M. Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 154–77.

5. Margaret W. Ferguson, *Dido’s Daughters: Literacy, Gender, and Empire in Early Modern England and France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 8.

6. *A Method to Converse with God*, trans. Catherine Holland, British Library Harley MS 3184.

7. Mary Wroth, *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. Josephine A. Roberts (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 239.

8. M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 324, his emphasis.

9. Syrithe Pugh, *Classical Intertextuality and Politics in Herrick, Fanshawe, and Milton* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010); Michael J. Redmond, *Shakespeare, Politics, and Italy: Intertextuality on the Jacobean Stage* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009); Greene, *The Light in Troy*.

10. Susan M. Felch, “‘Halff a Scripture Woman’: Heteroglossia and Female Authorial Agency in Prayers by Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit, Anne Lock, and Anne Wheathill,” in White, *English Women*, 147–66.

11. George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573; STC 11635).

12. For *sententiae*, see Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth Century England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); and “‘Video et Taceo’: Elizabeth I and the Rhetoric of Counsel,” *Studies in English Literature* 28, no. 1 (1988): 1–15.

13. See, for example, Russell, *English Sappho*, 208.

14. For a recent treatment of women's use of biblical allusions, see Michele Osherow, *Biblical Women's Voices in Early Modern England* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009).

15. Parr, *Lamentacion*, B1v.

16. For example, Barbara Constable, *Considerations for Preests*, Downside Abbey Library, MS 82145.

17. Edith Snook, *Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 83–114.

18. Isabella Whitney, preface to *A Sweet Nosgay* (1573; STC 25440), A4v.

19. George Gascoigne, *The Posies* (1575; STC 11637), 193.

20. Amina Alyal, "Italian Weeds and English Bodies: Translating 'The Adventures of Master F. J.,'" in Pincombe, *Travels and Translations*, 104–19.

21. Anne Dowriche, preface to *The French Historie* (1589; STC 7159), A3v, A4r.

22. Beilin, *Redeeming Eve*, 102.

23. *Songes and Sonettes* (1557; STC 13861).

24. See Laurie Ellinghausen, "Literary Property and the Single Woman in Isabella Whitney's *A Sweet Nosgay*," *Studies in English Literature* 45, no. 1 (2005): 1–22; and Clarke, *Early Modern Women's Writing*, 194–95.

25. For a useful discussion of prefatory poems, see Franklin B. Williams Jr., "Commendatory Verses: The Rise of the Art of Puffing," *Studies in Bibliography* 19 (1966): 1–14.



