NOTES

Introduction


8. Ibid., 124.


13. See Maria Tymoczko, Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators (Manchester, UK: St. Jerome Publishing, 2007); André Lefevere, Translation,


41. John Calvin, *Psalmes of David and Others* (1571; STC 4395); Augustin Marlorat, *A Catholike Exposition upon the Revelation of Saint John* (1574; STC 17408); John Calvin, *Sermons of M. John Calvine upon the Epistle of*
Saincte Paule to the Galathians (1574; STC 4449); John Calvin, Sermons of M. John Calvin upon . . . Deuteronomie (1583; STC 4442); Sermons of Master John Calvin upon the Booke of Job (1584; STC 4447.5).


44. The latest publications of the mid-Tudor theologians are Philipp Melanchthon et al., Whether It Be Mortall Sinne to Transgresse Civil Lawes (1570; STC 10391.5); Philipp Melanchthon, A Godly and Learned Assertion in Defence of the True Church, trans. Richard Robinson (1580; STC 17790); Peter Martyr Vermigli, The Common Places of the Most Famous and Renowned Divine Doctor Peter Martyr (1583; STC 24669); Heinrich Bullinger, Fiftie Godlie and Learned Sermons (1587; STC 4058).


46. Preface to Martin Luther, Here After Ensuethe a Propre Treatise of Good Worke (1535; STC 16988), A2r.

47. J. B., preface to Father Cotton a Jesuite, the Kings Confessour, His Two and Thirtie Demands, by Pierre du Moulin, trans. J. B. (1614; STC 5857), A2r–A2v.


54. Nicholas Orme, Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 111–18.

55. Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster (1570; STC 832), 1v.

56. See, for example, G. D. L. M. N., preface to The French Alphabeth (1592; STC 6545.5), 5v–6r.

57. See, for example, Thomas Elyot, The Boke Named the Governour (1537; STC 7636), 32r.

59. Thomas Drant, preface to *A Medicinable Morall*, by Horace, trans. Thomas Drant (1566; STC 13805), A3v.

60. Myles Smith, preface to *The Holy Bible Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New* (1611; STC 2216), A6v.


64. Preface to *The Bible and Holy Scriptures* (Geneva, 1560; STC 2093), ***4r.


66. Myles Coverdale, preface to *Biblia the Byble* (STC 2063), †4r.


71. *A Wawaying and Considering of the Interim*, trans. John Rogers (1548; STC 17799); *A Neue Worck Concernynge Both Partes of the Sacrament* (1548; STC 17796); *The Epistle of the Famous and Great Clerke Philip Melancton* (Antwerp, 1547; STC 17789).


73. Francis Meres, preface to *The Sinners Guyde*, by Luis de Granada, trans. Francis Meres (1598; STC 16918), A3r.

74. *A Pretious Booke of Heavenlie Meditations* (1581; STC 944); *A Right Christian Treatise* (1581; STC 950).


76. Thomas Rogers, preface to *Soliloquium animae*, by Thomas à Kempis, trans. Thomas Rogers (1592; STC 23995), A3v.

77. Nicholas Breton, *An Olde Mans Lesson* (1605; STC 3674), E4r–E4v.
78. See, for example, Jane Stevenson, Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, & Authority from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 258.


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


82. British Library Royal MS 17 B xviii, 2r.

83. Francis Bell, preface to A Short Relation, of the Life, Virtues, and Miracles, of S. Elizabeth, by François Paludanus, trans. Catherine Greenbury (Brussels, 1628; STC 19167), A2v.

84. Matthew Parker, preface to An Apologie or Answere in Defence of the Churche of Englande, by John Jewel, trans. Anne Bacon (1564; STC 14591), no sig.

85. Elizabeth Cary, preface to The Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinall of Perron, by Jacques Davy Du Perron, trans. Elizabeth Cary (Douai, 1630; STC 6385), a2v.


88. Anne Lock, preface to Sermons of John Calvin, by John Calvin, trans. Anne Lock (1560; STC 4450), A8r.

89. British Library Harley MS 1860, 3v–4r.

90. Lock, preface to Sermons of John Calvin, A3r.


Chapter One


9. Thomas Elyot, The Boke Named the Governour (1531; STC 7635), 95r.

10. Thomas Élyot, preface to The Education or Bringinge up of Children, by Plutarch, trans. Thomas Elyot (1532; STC 20057), A2r.

11. Thomas Phaer, preface to The Seven First Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill, by Virgil, trans. Thomas Phaer (1558; STC 24799), A2r.


13. Habermas, Structural Transformation, 7, his emphasis.


15. Thomas Hoby, preface to The Courtier, by Baldassare Castiglione, trans. Thomas Hoby (1561; STC 4778), B1v; Thomas Hoby, preface to The Gratulation of the Mooste Famous Clerke M. Martin Bucer, by Martin Bucer, trans. Thomas Hoby (1549; STC 3963), A2v.


29. More, Selected Letters, 100, his emphasis.


35. Ibid., 12v–15r.
43. Ibid., 12:167.
44. Ibid., 12:171.
45. Ibid., 12:403.
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 lyvyng 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.


55. Ibid., 170.


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).


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.
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.
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.
82. British Library Harley MS 1860, 6v-7r.
84. Thomas Wilson, The Arte of Rhetorique (1553; STC 25799), 79v.
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 Protestantes & 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.
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.
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.
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.
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 Master 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

4. Thomas Bentley, *The Monument of Matrones* (1582; STC 1892), B1r.
5. *Catechismus . . . A Short Instruction into Christian Religion* (1548; STC 5993), [?]3r.
9. Ibid., 21.


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

24. British Library Arundel MS 151, 195r.


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

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


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

35. Certayne Sermons or Homelies Appoyynted 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.


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.


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


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.


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


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


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

58. Erasmus, “Sainct 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.


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


73. Ascham, Scholemaster, 35r.

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


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. 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.


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

84. 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.


86. Ibid., 293.

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.


100. Quilligan, Incest and Agency, 54.


102. Navarre, Le miroir de l’âme pécheresse, 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.


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


107. Ibid., 77–78.

108. Ibid., 71–82.


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

Chapter Three


2. British Library, Royal MS 7 D x.


6. Ibid., 217.

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


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


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.


18. Ibid., 303.


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


27. Philippe de Mornay, *De veritate religionis Christianae* (Antwerp, 1583), *1v.*
29. For the definitive introduction to Sidney’s psalms and their sources, see Sidney, Poems, 500–509.
34. Also see Margaret P. Hannay, “‘Princes You as Men Must Dy’: Geneva Advice to Monarchs in the Psalms of Mary Sidney,” English Literary Renaissance 19, no. 1 (1989): 22–41, esp. 28–30; and Philip’s Phoenix, 86–88.
36. Mornay, Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse, *4r.
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.


43. Robert Devereux, *An Apologie of the Earle of Essex* (1600; STC 6787.7), C.3r.


46. Ibid., 29.


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.


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


57. Robert Crowley, *The Psalter of David Newely Translated into Englysh 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).


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


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 δ 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, *Psalms 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 δ tradition consists of MSS C, D, E, F (Psalms 1–26), G, H, I, L, N, K, O, P, and Q. In general the δ 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 δ tradition supplies an intermediary revision that differs from the finalized rendition in A, J, and B. Sidney Herbert must have revised Psalm 16 in χ, a lost working copy, as it is omitted in K, F, and I but not the remainder of the δ 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, Psalms of David, 358.


73. Clement Marot and Théodore de Bèze, Les CL pseaumes 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 Psalms 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.


79. Bèze, Psalmorum Davidis, 89.

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


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.


86. Sidney, Poems, 301, lines 19–27.

87. Bible and Holy Scriptures, 239v; Bèze, Psalms, 42.
88. MS A, 18r; Sidney, Poems, 301n.
89. Bèze, Psalms, 42; Bèze, Psalmorum Davidis, 78.
92. Edmund Plowden, The Commentaries, or Reports of Edmund Plowden, of the Middle-Temple, Esq. (1779; ESTC T183788), 221.
94. Levin, Heart and Stomach, 146–47.
95. Ascham, Scholemaster, B2r.
96. Fumerton usefully analyzes Elizabeth’s manipulation of privacy (Cultural Aesthetics, 67–110).
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).
100. Elizabeth I, Collected Works, 87, 88. As Shenk points out, this may not be a correct attribution (“Learned Authority,” 83).
102. Frye, Elizabeth I, 5.

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.


111. William Camden, Annals or the Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse 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.


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.


118. Wernham, After the Armada, 506.


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.

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).


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.


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.
4. See, for example, Toby Matthew, The Life of Lady Lucy Knatchbull (London: Sheed and Ward, 1931), 43.
6. Ibid., 91.
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.


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


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.


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).


20. Cary, preface to Reply of the Most Illustrious Cardinall of Perron, a2v, a2r.


22. Elizabeth Evelinge, preface to History of the Angelicall Virgin Glorious S. Clare, a3v.


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


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


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.


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.


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.


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


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


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


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 dis-
cretion, 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

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

60. See Heather Wolfe, “Reading Bells and Loose Papers: Reading and Writ-
ing 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: Ash-
gate, 2004), 135–56.

61. Augustine Baker, The Cloud of Unknowing and Other Treatises, ed. Justin


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

64. Baker, Life and Death, 38.


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

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

68. Archives Départementales du Nord Lille, MS 20 H 10, 905; Dorothy L.
Latz, “Glow-Worm Light”: Writings of Seventeenth-Century English Recus-
ant Women from Original Manuscripts (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und
dictine 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.


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.


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.


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.


86. Ibid., 10.


88. Ibid, 366.

89. Baker, Life and Death, 265–70.


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 purgation 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.


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, A2r and 1; François de Sales, Les vrays entretiens spirituels du bien-heureux (Lyon, 1629), 1 (hereafter cited in text as Lve).

101. Ibid., 373.
102. Ibid., 377.
103. Ibid., 373.

Conclusion
1. Taffin, Of the Markes, A3v–A4r.
3. Parr, Lamentacion, F3r.
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.
13. See, for example, Russell, English Sappho, 208.


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


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


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


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

