

ELIZABETH AND MARY TUDOR

ANNE LAKE PRESCOTT

The Early Modern Englishwoman:
A Facsimile Library of Essential Works

Series I

Printed Writings, 1500–1640: Part 2

Volume 5

Elizabeth and Mary Tudor

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Elizabeth and Mary Tudor



Selected and Introduced by
Anne Lake Prescott

General Editors
Betty S. Travitsky and Patrick Cullen

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[Desiderius Erasmus]

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PREFACE

BY THE GENERAL EDITORS

Until very recently, scholars of the early modern period have assumed that there were no Judith Shakespeares in early modern England. Much of the energy of the current generation of scholars has been devoted to constructing a history of early modern England that takes into account what women actually wrote, what women actually read, and what women actually did. In so doing the masculinist representation of early modern women, both in their own time and ours, is deconstructed. The study of early modern women has thus become one of the most important—indeed perhaps the most important—means for the rewriting of early modern history.

The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works is one of the developments of this energetic reappraisal of the period. As the names on our advisory board and our list of editors testify, it has been the beneficiary of scholarship in the field, and we hope it will also be an essential part of that scholarship's continuing momentum.

The Early Modern Englishwoman is designed to make available a comprehensive and focused collection of writings in English from 1500 to 1750, both by women and for and about them. The three series of *Printed Writings* (1500–1640, 1641–1700, and 1701–1750) provide a comprehensive if not entirely complete collection of the separately published writings by women. In reprinting these writings we intend to remedy one of the major obstacles to the advancement of feminist criticism of the early modern period, namely the limited availability of the very texts upon which the field is based. The volumes in the facsimile library reproduce carefully chosen copies of these texts, incorporating significant variants (usually in appendices). Each text is preceded by a short introduction providing an overview of the life and work of a writer along with a survey of important scholarship. These works, we strongly believe, deserve a large readership—of historians, literary critics, feminist critics, and non-specialist readers.

The Early Modern Englishwoman also includes separate facsimile series of *Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women* and of *Manuscript Writings*. These facsimile series are complemented by *The Early Modern Englishwoman 1500–1750: Contemporary Editions*. Also under our general editorship, this series will include both old-spelling and modernized editions of works by and about women and gender in early modern England.

New York City
2001

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The two translators whose printed works are contained in this volume were half-sisters, daughters of the capricious Henry VIII of England; both became ruling queens. The older, Mary Tudor (1516–1558), daughter of Henry and his repudiated first wife, the Roman Catholic Catherine of Aragon, ruled England from 1553–1558; her attempts to stamp out heresy and return the country to the Catholic faith earned her the sobriquet ‘Bloody Mary’. The second, Elizabeth (1533–1603), daughter of Henry and his beheaded second queen Anne Boleyn, ruled from 1558–1603. As children, both sisters suffered from their father’s changes of wives and faiths, but after his marriage in 1543 to Katherine Parr (his sixth and surviving queen) both benefited from their new step-mother’s kindness. Through her influence both daughters were brought back to court. In different ways, Katherine was involved in the production of the texts contained in this volume; they appear here according to the order in which they were first printed.

Elizabeth Tudor (1533–1603): *A Godly Medytacyon of the christen sowle*

When Elizabeth was eleven someone – we do not know who, but perhaps one of her teachers or her step-mother Katherine Parr – suggested that she translate *Le Miroir de l’âme pécheresse* (1531), a verse meditation by Marguerite of Angoulême, sister of Francis I, King of France, and wife of Henry, King of Navarre. Elizabeth probably began during the second half of 1544. Working from a 1533 edition or perhaps its 1539 reprint, she printed her letters carefully on ruled paper, inserted neatly written corrections, and embroidered a pretty cover for the finished book (Salminen, 1979; Schell, 1993). She dedicated it to Katherine as a New Year’s present in January, 1545. It is unlikely that so young a princess, whatever her piety or her love for an affectionate step-mother, decided on her own to take on this task, though it is possible she was also exercising her own taste, for she had a life-long interest in foreign languages (Marcus et al., 2000, p. xv). The enterprise, moreover, may have had a diplomatic aim: England was negotiating peace with the French, Marguerite was a leader of a pro-English faction, and there was talk of marrying Elizabeth to a French prince (Prescott, 1985; Vose, 1985).

The *Miroir* had apparently disturbed some conservatives in France. Although Marguerite seems to have thought of herself as Catholic, those who cherished orthodox theology and Church traditions suspected her of being not just reformist and evangelical but Lutheran. Her poem speaks fervently of her nothingness before God and the inadequacy of her will, doing so in terms of family relationships: she is God’s sinful wife, daughter, sister, mother. But the poem also celebrates the Lord’s loving forgiveness as the sinner’s husband, father, brother, and son. To express religious passion through a paradoxical tangle of familial relationships has ample biblical precedent even if treating God as a brother is fairly unusual and, granted the queen’s political and emotional closeness to her own brother, psychologically resonant (Snyder, 1997). The same Lord, for Christians, is Mary’s father and son; Christ is the Bridegroom married to his Church or to the individual – often feminized – human soul. And if we are all siblings, then Jesus must be our brother. Still, it is hard to find another poem that plays so forcefully in such a concentrated way with these relationships. More worrisome to traditionalists was Marguerite’s stress on the Bible: her poem is a web of scriptural quotation with little room for saints, purgatory, or sacraments.

Whatever the impetus for the translation, the gesture was delicately positioned: the *Miroir* was not heretical enough to disturb Francis and his court, where Marguerite was in good favour, but it could be read as evangelical and even anti-papist in its scriptural emphasis and its insistence that only God, not human willpower, has saving force. Indeed, in the fall of 1533 the Sorbonne’s theological faculty was trying to have

Miroir censored until Francis, who had been out of town, put a stop to such efforts (Salminen, 1985, pp. 21–30). Some in England, moreover, still hoped against hope that Francis would lead the French Church out of Rome's orbit. In its small way, the translation may have been meant to promote such a move. At any rate, news of it might please Francis I. It would also, of course, please Katherine, whose attitudes in many ways would prove to parallel Marguerite's. Whether it would have pleased Henry VIII is another matter. Marguerite tells God gratefully that he forgives his unfaithful 'wife', whereas human kings would send them to be executed. Such a thought might well upset the King who had Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, and step-mother, Katherine Howard, beheaded for adultery. The translation was printed only after Henry's death.

In April 1548, John Bale, once a monk but converted into an eager Protestant hoping to return to England now that Edward VI was king, published Elizabeth's translation as *A Godly Medytacyon of the christen sowle*. It is Bale's edition that is reprinted in this volume from the copy of The Huntington Library with the last page supplemented by the title page of the copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library. (On editions, see Hughey, 1935.) Whether Bale worked from Elizabeth's holograph (which long remained in the Parr family's possession before being acquired by Oxford's Bodleian Library) or whether he had someone else's copy is unknown. The text has been revised, if not thoroughly, with a few corrections, paragraphing, and a somewhat different set of marginal citations of Scripture. Bale says that Elizabeth also sent along, in her own hand, some verses from Ecclesiasticus and some 'sentences' based on Psalm 13 ('The fool hath said in his heart there is no God') translated into several languages. He includes these in the printed text. Perhaps, then, the princess was involved in this publishing venture, at least indirectly. The full metrical translation of Psalm 13, though, is probably Bale's own; at least he does not credit it to Elizabeth. His opening epistle scourges Catholic corruption in a style typical of Reformation polemic, while his Conclusion once more praises the translator's wisdom and anticipates yet greater things when her 'dyscrepyon and years shall be more rype and auntyent'. That Bale thinks she made her translation when she was fourteen, though, shows ignorance of her work's history.

Bale, and whoever sent him his manuscript, had an agenda in publishing this work: keeping England on a Reformed path. Bale celebrates not only Edward VI, that young idol-smasher and new Josiah (righteous son of the idol-worshipping Judean king, Amon, who had been slain by his servants [2 Kings 21, 23, 30]) but also female rulers and female experts on religious matters (Kesselring, 1998). Such praise implicitly supports such Protestant leaders as the dowager Queen, Katherine Parr, who despite her sex would have influence over her step-son, the boy king (Bale could not have known that she was soon to die). The *Medytacyon* is a work of contemplative piety, but printing it in 1548 had political meaning: a Protestant princess had translated a work disliked by the ultra-Catholic and presented it to a Protestant king's Reform-minded step-mother now more than ever in a position to help guide the religious direction of the realm. Perhaps Bale wanted also to help ensure that Elizabeth, not her Catholic sister, Mary, would be next in line for the throne should Edward leave no heir. Bale's roll calls of impressive women, whatever doubts he possibly harboured in his male heart, are generally relevant to early modern pro-feminist discourse; they also had an immediate political point and should be read in light of circumstances at the English court: the King's illness-ridden youth, the fragility of the Reformation in England, the role of Katherine and other great Protestant ladies.

Bale's comments kept their pertinence in 1558 when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne and some said openly what many whispered: God never intended women to govern. (In theory, Bale's arguments would also support the dead Mary Tudor's rights, but as a Catholic she was not the sort of godly queen he had in mind.) The next time the *Medytacyon* saw print (*STC* 17320.5, probably 1568), however, it had shed Bale's apparatus. Why? Anti-Catholic polemics like his were still being written, although his praise of Edward VI would have looked dated. Perhaps the printer, H. Denham, simply lacked legal rights to Bale's version. In any case, a new preface, the omission of the humble dedication to Katherine Parr and epistle to the reader, a set of prayers by James Cancellar designed to be said by Elizabeth, and the passing of twenty years or so all make this a very different text. The translation itself is basically the same, although the phrasing can vary a little. For example, whereas the opening paragraph of Bale's edition (*STC* 17320) says of the speaker's sins 'I perfyghtly fele that their roote is in me', *STC* 17320.5 has 'I perfiteley feele also, that the roote of sinne is so graffed in me'. More striking, though, are a splendid image of the royal coat of arms and an acrostic on 'Elizabeth Regina' spelling

out imperatives ('Embrace Vertue, Love perfectlye, Imitate Christ', etc.) that could be taken as an admonition to the Queen or as her own rules for herself; the typography stresses that the prayers' first letters also spell ELIZABETH REGINA. This is no devout girl's present but a queen's performance – although it is unclear who is stage-manager and whether Elizabeth helped with the production.

The one extant copy, now in The British Library and reprinted here with their permission, lacks a title-page and date. Since Denham entered it in the Stationers' Register in 1567/8, scholars assign it to 1568, which makes sense. Yet Cancellor's prayers, imagining for the Queen a scripture-citing humility in fact characteristic of her, yet perhaps irritating as a mere subject's implied admonitions, would gain resonance if the true date were several years later. One prayer, for example, reminds God that 'Thou didst promise unto Abraham, a Sonne when he was aged: thou fulfilledst thy promise in olde and barren Sara' (Genesis 15), a reference all too relevant to a queen at least thirty-five years old and childless, and then quotes Psalm 131 on how God promised David an heir: 'of the fruite of thy body, will I set upon thy regall throne' (sig. F3^v). There are also several allusions to health, such as the prayer to be released from bodily oppressions (sig. F6^v). In 1568 such petitions and reminders would be reasonable. In the early 1570s, when Elizabeth was conducting marriage negotiations and had been severely ill, they would have had (or taken on) added weight – whatever the force with which Elizabeth had told Parliament that any decision to marry was hers alone.

There were to be three more editions of the *Medytacyon*: one, STC 17321, likewise by Denham, was reprinted in Thomas Bentley's sumptuous collection of women's writings, *The Monument of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892), as its second 'lamp' (a term alluding to Jesus' parable about the wise virgins who keep their lamps trimmed while waiting for the divine Bridegroom). Bentley adds a dedicatory preface noting the Queen's 'owne Honourable works', 'perpetuall virginitie', and example to other women, praying that she have a 'heroicall spirit' and guard her realm's peace so well that 'manie thousand virgins in England and elsewhere' may joyfully sing 'the sweet songs of Sion in their owne land'. Now Elizabeth, not Edward VI, is 'our good Josias'. Bentley's exhortation to the reader explains that the work was originally by 'the vertuous Ladie Margaret Queene of Navar' and 'verie exactlie and faithfullie translated by our most gracious sovereigne', who has won 'great renowme' by it. Now hard to come by, he says, it deserves to be made available. Bentley retains Cancellor's prayers, separating them from the translation by some pages, empties the margins of scriptural citations, and adds prayers he says Elizabeth wrote while imprisoned in the Tower and after her coronation. And, like Cancellor, he admonishes his queen under cover of religious rhetoric, constructing a prayer and soliloquy for her made of phrases from David's psalms as interpreted by the Huguenot scholar Theodore Beza.

Last came a reprint of Bale by R. Ward (1590, STC 17322.5). It includes Bale's preface and conclusion but not Cancellor's prayers, which presumably were Denham's property. The unimpressive volume looks like a printer's business venture built on hopes that even an older version of the Queen's work might sell. Unlike Denham's and Bentley's productions, it does not radiate royal glory. Nor do we know what the Queen thought of this revival of her childhood piety in its nearly original form. There were no more editions during her reign. At some point after 1603, however, Thomas Blunville carefully copied out Bentley's version for Katherine Paget; the manuscript is at the Houghton Library, Harvard University (MS Eng 942).

Mary Tudor (1516–1558): *The paraphrase ... upon the gossell of saint John*

About the same time that Elizabeth translated Marguerite of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, her older half-sister, Mary (1516–1558), was likewise helping her step-mother, Katherine Parr, reform Tudor devotional life through scripture-based scholarship, literature, and translation (King, 1985; McConica, 1965). Since the Queen was trying to give her new family an atmosphere of warmth and harmony, it must have seemed doubly right to ask the Princess to join a group, headed by the scholar Nicholas Udall, involved in translating the influential *Paraphrases in Novum Testamentum* (1517–1524) by the great humanist Desiderius Erasmus, a set of paraphrases of the New Testament excluding Revelation. Or so many have assumed, although a letter asking that the finished manuscript be delivered soon, while certainly by Katherine, is in Elizabeth's careful

script, a fact that complicates the question of the translation's authorship (Mueller). If the texts of the paraphrases of the Gospels and Acts were ready by the fall of 1545, on the other hand, it would seem more likely that Mary, not her much younger sister, was indeed the translator of this long Latin text (Devereux, p. 147). And one could postulate that Elizabeth wrote out a letter to Mary on Katherine's behalf for any of a variety of reasons. Again according to tradition, and indeed according to the prefatory letter to this portion of the publication addressed to Katherine by Nicholas Udall, Mary was only part way through the section on the Gospel of John when illness required her to turn the rest over to her chaplain, Francis Malet.

Intelligent and educated, Mary was well-equipped for the task, and it is probably not merely affection, flattery, or hope of patronage that led some to praise her capacities (Loades, 1989). In his prologue to two texts on the Virgin Mary, for example, the learned Henry Parker, Lord Morley, referred glowingly to the accuracy of a translation she did of a Latin prayer by Thomas Aquinas (cited by McConica, pp. 156–57, from Royal MS. 17 C.xvi). Her translation of Erasmus, too, is fairly close by Renaissance standards. That is to say, Mary does not merely paraphrase Erasmus' line of thought but follows him with some fidelity. On the other hand, her syntax, whatever her individual phrases' sinewy strength, shows a typical mid-Tudor looseness quite unlike the original's taut Latin. Her longer sentences, even when they incorporate subordinations and lexical clues that suggest a tight logical structure, can meander, so modern readers might want to keep handy the recent translation by Jane E. Phillips (1991).

The translations, including Mary's contribution, began to see print under the general editorship of Richard Grafton in 1548, by which time Edward VI was king and the project's noble patronage was about to pass from Katherine Parr to Anne Seymour, Duchess of Suffolk (Devereux, 1983). The Government enjoined all parishes to acquire copies, so that together with various English Bibles and the Book of Common Prayer (first published in 1549) the *Paraphrases* long helped shape England's religious life, bringing what Erasmus thought the best of patristic and modern learning to bear on scripture. The next year the remainder was printed. Because the work was so important, requiring huge press runs and occasional revisions, the bibliographical situation is very tangled. We reprint the entire section on John's gospel from a copy of the 1548 edition at The Huntington Library (STC 2854), including Erasmus' preface to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and the epistle by Nicholas Udall to Katherine Parr, who was soon to die. The letter, which credits the translation to Mary, is significant for its praise of such admirable women as the learned Cornelia (mother of the Gracchi) or Cicero's eloquent daughter Hortensia, and for its account – doubtless idealized – of scholarly and pious young women in aristocratic Tudor households. Some of what Udall says needs to be taken with a grain of salt. His exclamation that Mary, that 'pierlesse floure of virginitee', prefers her 'maydenlye studies' to 'Courtly delices' (sig. Aaa2), for example, does not square with the evidence (although it admirably suits the persona Elizabeth adopted during those years). As Mary's unhappy reign was to show, she could be deadly serious about religious matters, but she was capable of secular pleasure and as a princess had been faulted by the sobersided for gambling, dancing, and love of fancy clothes and jewels (Loades, p. 119).

No one knows how much of the translation is Mary's and how much her chaplain's. Nor can we be quite sure that illness was the only reason she stopped work. She was, after all, a steadfast Catholic, and by the mid-1540s more than old enough to know that some Catholics thought Erasmus no sound guide to religious life or the Bible. Doubtless he thought himself a good enough Catholic, and his refusal to join the Reformation saddened the more militant Protestants. Still, many believed the saying: 'Erasmus laid the egg that Luther hatched', and Mary may have become uneasy at participating in an enterprise expanding his influence. For example, when Jesus thrice tells Peter to 'Feed my sheep' (John 21.15–17), Erasmus stresses that the apostle's *love* for his master is the source of his elevation (McConica, p. 244). Some might hear in this a rebuke, typical of Erasmus, directed at popes he thought more power-hungry than charitable. Mary's devoutly Catholic mother, Katherine of Aragon, had encouraged humanist studies, but Henry VIII's break with Rome involved a divorce that had brought both women misery, including the bastardization of Mary and, at times, Henry's requirement that mother and daughter not see each other. Even if she experienced no particular theological scruples, Mary may have felt that translating Erasmus was in some way a betrayal of her mother and her supporters, whatever Erasmus' prowess as a scholar and whatever her own chaplain's willingness to carry on; John King (1985, p. 48) says that Mary stopped 'possibly out of disagreement with her step-mother's

Reformist sympathies'. This must remain speculation, of course. Stephen Gardiner, a future leader of 'Bloody' Mary's campaign against 'heresy', denounced the project, but it is unclear if during her reign the *Paraphrases* were removed from English churches (Devereux p. 150). As translation of the *Paraphrases* had neared completion under Edward VI's government, it had become a more obviously Protestant enterprise; on the other hand, Mary may have taken pleasure in the thought of her own learning so widely distributed throughout the kingdom.

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ANNE LAKE PRESCOTT

A Godly Medytacyon of the christen sowle (STC 17320) reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (RB 219031). The text block of the original is 60 × 115 mm.

The missing last page of this copy has been supplied by the copy at The Folger Shakespeare Library.

A Godly Medytary

on of the christen soule, concerninge a loue towardes God and
hys Christe, compyled in frenche by lady
Margarete quene of Nauerre, and after
ly translated into Englysh by the
ryght vertuouse lady Elizabeth
doughter to our late souerayne
Kynge Henri the. viij.



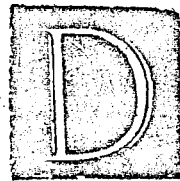
Inclita filia, serenissimi olim Anglorum
Regis Henrici octavi Elizabetha, tam Gra-
ce quam latine foeliciter in Christo
erudita.

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To the ryght vercu-

ouse and christenly lerned yong
 lady Elizabeth, the noble doughter of
 our late souerayne kynge Henry the.

viii. Johan Bale wyssheth helth
 with dayly increace of Godly
 knowledge.



Diuerse and many (most
 graciously lady) haue the
 opynions bene amonge
 the prophane philoso-
 phers and christen dyu-
 nes, concernynge ryght
 Nobylte, and no fewar stryues and con-
 tencyons for the same. Some antours ha
 ue raynely boasted it to take orygynall of
 the olde Goddes of the Gentyles, as eu-
 ry lade hath had hyspeculyar Saturne,
 Jupiter, & Hercules. yea our Englade
 here and all. Some hath satt it from
 the foure generall monarchyes of the As-
 syrianes, Perseanes, Grekes, and Roma-
 nes. Some haue attributed it, to the pol-
 debattayles and bloudshedynge, in Vi-
 nus of Babylon the first inuētour of poly-
 cyes in warre, in our great Albion the
 Chamefene, whych first in thys region
 supres

The Epistle dedycatory.

Latte.

suppressed the posterite of Japhet, & so
pynged therein the first monarchy, in
that more than six hundred yeares after
defaced of hym the tyrannouse yssue, in
Ebraick and Sunwallo. in Bienné and
Belyne, in great Constantyne, Artoure,
Cadwalader, Engist, Egbert, Alfrede
wyllyam coquerour & soch other, forlyke
requestes of the Romanes, Grekes, Gala
les, pyctes, Brytaynes, Saxons, Scon
Iryshens and Englyshens.

Romani.

Latte.

Swalli.

The haughty Romanes set not yet a
lytle by themselves, that they haue ryse
of Aeneas & Romulus, of whom the one
most shamefully betrayed hys owne ne
tyue hundred and contraye, and the other
most vnnaturally slewe hys owne brother
for worldly domynyō. Lyke as our walshe
men herein Englande, aduancynge their
successyon or progeny aboue the Englysh
wyllynges come of Gardanus & Bute, a
foundacyō not all vnylike to the other. These
gloryouse champions for thys farre fati
ged ground of their Nobyltye, accoste all
other nacyons and peoples, ignoble, pros
fane, and barbarouse, as is to be seene in
the monumētes of their writers. But in
the meane season, they are not aware that
they

The Epistle dedycatory. To 3.

Wherbyndyscretely prefarre cursed Cham
to blessed Japhet, by whose posterite the
Iles of the Gentyles were first sortcd out
in to speeches, kyndredes, and nacjons. Ge-
ne 10. and not by Chams offsprynge, of
whome the Troianes and Romanes had
their noble begynnyng. That the Chame-
fences had in those Iles, was by cruell sur-
pacyon & tyrāny, as testifyeth Berosus
the Caldeane and therfor that grōnde
of Nobyltye is not all the best.ouer and
besydes all this, some haue applyed it to
renomed byrth or successyon of bloude, so-
me to the habūdānce of pleasures worldly kyndes of
some to the mayntenaūce of great famy-
lies, some to the sūptuousnesse of notable
buyldynges, some to the hygh stomake &
statūre of persone, some to valeatnesse
in marcyall feates, some to semely maners
of courtesye, some to lyberalyte of rewar-
des and gystes, some to the auncyentnesse
of longe coutynuaunce, some to wysdome
lernynge & stody for a cōmē welth with
scholyte. And these are not all to be dysa-
lowed, for we fynde them in Abraham, &
Dauid with other iust fathers.

But now foloweth, a monition, or
exhortacyon, to all, a prestygyous nobyltye

The Epistle dedycatory.

Clergy. The Romyshe clergy ymagynynge to exalte themselves aboue the lewde layte (as they shame not yet to call the worldly powers) haue geuen it in a farre other kynde, to mytars, masses, Cardynall hat-tes, crofers, cappes, shauen crownes, oyled thombea, syde gownes, furred amysse, mo-kes cowles, and fryres lovesy coates, be-comingetherby pōtyfycall lordes, spiry- tuall sirs, and ghostly fathcers. Thys kyn- de of Nobyltye dygged out of the donges hyll, haue I seane gorgeously garnyshe-
Stabery with the retoyckes of Porphyry, Aristot- le, Duns, and Raymundus decretals, in the boke of Johan Stanbery byshopp of herforde, *De superioritate ecclesiastica,* *De discrimine iurisdictionum,* and *De potestate pontificia.* In the boke also of
Sunte. Walter hūte an ordynary reader sūrime in Oxforde, *De precellētia Petri,* & *De autoritate ecclesie.* yea, and amōge thes- selues they haue moch contended both by disputacyon & writyngea, whych of thes- sectes myght other excell in the nobyl- nesse of Christen perfection. The monkes in publyque scoles, by a dystynccyon of the actyue and contemplatyue lyfe, haue aduanced their ydell mānery aboue the

The Epistle of the 4 fryres.

of a byshoppe, and the fryres their
scalde crauynge beggery. aboute the de-
grees of the Both. As is largely seane in
the brawlyng woikes of Rycharde May-
deston, Thomas walden, Wyllyam Byn-
tre & other whych haue written Contra
wicleuistas, & Pro medicatione fratru.

In the dayes of kynge Edward the 4. there
fourth, Johan Mylucron prouyncyall of the
the Carmelytes, was full thre yeares, a
prysoner in the castell of Angell at Rome
at the sure of the byshoppes of Englands
for the same, and lost so the byshopryck of
saynt Sauids, wherunto he was a lytle
afore elected. Thys matter haue I heard
de, vnder the tytle of Euangelick per-
secucion, most depely reasoned in their or-
dynary dysputacions at their concourse
cōuocacyons, and chapters (as they than
called them) yea by those whome I knewe
we most corrupt lyuers; Hereto for fourthe, order
nyshynge out the same, the graye fryres
added. S. frances paynted woundes, the,
blacke fryres. S. Domynyckes bolde dy-
sputyng with heretykes, the whyte fry-
res our ladyes fraternyte, and the Augu-
stine fryres the great doctryne of their
patrone. In the vniuersyteses after moche

The Epistle dedycatory.

Prestes

to and fro, hath it bene concluded, that the order of a prest haue farre excelled in dygnyte the order of a byshopp. And thys haue they left behynde them for a most graue and depe reason therupon. Make their more than lucyferyne presumption therein. Soch power hath a prest (saye they) as hath neyther Angell nor yet Man, be he of neuer so great autoryte

Devils

scyſce, or vertu. For a prest by worde may incarnate ye make hym agayne, that by worde made heauen & earth. A prest maye euery daye both byget hym and beare hym, where as hys mother Marye bygate hym (beare hym they wolde saye) but ones. These are their very wordes in a boke entyted. De origine Nobilitatis, ca. 5. with moche more circumstance of matter. O blasphemouse bellybeastes, & most ydell wytted forcerers. How ydolatrously exalte they themselves aboue the eternall lyuyngs God & hys Christ?

Nobylite

Johan Chrysostome a man taught and brought vp in the Christen philosophy, denyeth the true Nobylite after a farre other sort, than ded the prophane writers. He calleth it not with Aristotle, a worthynesse of progeny, neyther yet with

Varro

The Epistle Dedicatorie Jo. 41

Watto a pulcerry of ryches, but a famousse
renome obtayned by lōge exercysed vertu
Be is pusaunt, hygh, ad valeant (sayth
he) and hath Nobyltye in right course,
that dysdayneth to geue place to vyces
and abhorreth to be ouercomen of them
Doctryne greatly adourneth a mā hygh
ly borne, but a godly endeuoure of Christy-
anyte bewtyfyeth hym most of all. By no
other wayes haue the Apostles and Mar-
tyrs obtayned a noble report, than by the
valcaunt foice of pure doctryne and sayth
A gētyll hart (sayth Seneca) or a stomas-
ke that ys noble, moueth, prouoketh, and
sturreth, only to thynges honest. No man
whyche hath a noble wytte, delyteth in
thynges of small value, much lesse in mat-
ters of fylthyngesse or superstycon. Che-
fely apperteyneth it to men and women
of sincere Nobyltye, to regarde the pure
doctryne and saythe, vnto soch hath God saythe
promysed in the scriptures, habundaunce
of tēporall thynges, longe lyfe, fortunate
chyl dren, a kynnedome durable, with soch
other, Deut. 28.

A most worthy conquerour is Gedeon Gedeon
noted in the scriptures, for destroyenge
false relygyō & renuyng the kyngedome
of sayth

The Epistle dedycatory.

- Isa. rex.** of saythe. Judi. vi. So is kynge Isa, for remouynge the male stues from the prelates abhorrynge marryage, & for puttyng downe ydolles whych hys foresathers maynteyned. 3. Reg. 15 So is kynge Josaphat phat, for beyng couragouse in the wayes of God, and for puttyng downe the hyll aulters & their sacrifices. 2. parali 17. So is kynge Jehu, for sleynge the ydolatrouse Prestes, and for breakeynge and burnynge their great God Baal, and for makynge, a Iakes of their holy churche 4. Reg. 10 So is kynge Ezechias for cleasynge the house of the lorde from all fylthynesse, afore hys tyme therin occupied 2. Parali. 29. and for breakeynge downe the brasen serpent and ydolatrouse ymagines with their aulters and sanctuaries. 4. Reg. 18 So is kynge Josias, for suppressynge relygyouse persones and aulter prestes, for cōsumynge their iewels & ornaments, & for overthrowng their buggery chambers in the howse of the lorde 4. Reg. 23. Thys noble kige also destroyed all theyr carued ymages, he strewed the dust of the vpon their graues that had offered to them, and brent the prestes bones vpon their aulters, restoryng agayne the lorde.

The Epistle dedycatorye To o
belawes of the lorde. 2. paral. 34. Iesuo:
Syrach reporteth of hym synally, that he
whollye dyrected hys hart to the lorde, &
toke awaye all abhomynacions of the vn
godly. Eccle. 49. Besydes that is spoken Ecclesi
of kynge Dauid and kynge Salemon.

Not Jonly, but many thousandes more 49.
whych myll not from hens fourth howe
any more to Baal, are in full & persyght
hope, that all these most hyghly notable
and pryncely actes, myll reuynue & lynely
florysh in your most noble and worthy Edwarde
brother kynge Edwarde the sixt. Most v. re
excellent & godly are hys begynnynge
reported of the very foren nacyds callinge
hym for hys vertuouse, lerned, and godly
prudent yowthes sake, the seconde Josias
Those hys wonderfull pryncples in the
eyes of the worlde, and no lesse gloryouse
afore God thus beyng to hys honoure,
that eternall lyuynge God contynue and
prosper to the ende, that he maye haue
of them, as had these vorthynges afore
rehearsed, a ryght noble and famous re
poir. Nobyltye sought by wycked enter- Ignoble
pryses and obtayned by the same (as in
many afore our dayes, and in some now
of late) is not els but a publyque and
notable

The Epistle dedycatory.

notable infamy, and in the ende eternall
dāpnacyon. Nobylite wonne by the earnest
sekyng of Gods hygh honour, is sodi a
precyouse crowne of glory as wyll neuer
peryshe here nor yet in the worlde to come

Tyrantes

Cain after a worldly maner, or amōge
the vngcracyouse sort, is holden noble for
slayng his brother Judas of the prelates
(for he receyued of the, a nobler reward)
for betrayenge Christ, Herode of the Jewes
for murtheryng the innocētes. And
what is there more worthy reproche, dys
shonour, and shame, than are these execrable
factes. The nature of true Nobylite

Nobylite

(as I haue sayd afore) is not to ryse
of vyce but of vertu, though many men
there seke it. Of the most excellēt kinde of
Nobylite is he sure (most vertuose and
lerned lady) whych truly beleueth and se
keth to do the wyll of the eternall father,
for therby is he brought forewarde, and
promoted into that heauenly kyndred

O Noble

kyndred.

Joā. 1. By that meanes becometh he the
deare brother, syster, & mother of Christ
Math. 12. a cytizen of heauen with the
Apostles and Prophetes, Ephe. 2. yea the
chylde of adopcyon and heyre togyther
with Christ in the heauenly inherytaunce

The Epistle dedycatory. 36. 9

Roma. & No soch chyldren left. Socrates
behynde hym, neyther yet Demosthenes
Plato, nor Cicero, with all their plesant
wysdome and eloquence. No soch heretage
coude great Alexander the Macedonea
ne, byqueth to hys posterite neyther yet no
ble Charles, Artoure, nor Dauid. Alexander

Of this Nobylite, haue I no daubs
(lady most saythfully studyouse) but that
you are, with many other noble women &
maydes more in this blessed age. If que-
styon were apt me, how I knowe it : my
answere wolde be this. By your godly frutes
frute, as the fertile tre is non other wyse
than therby knowne. luce. vj. I receyued
your noble boke, ryght frutesfully of you
translated out of the frenche tunge into
Englysh. I receyued also your golden sen-
tences out of the sacred scriptures, with
nolesse grace than lernynge in foure no-
ble languages, Latyne, Greke, frenche, &
Italyane, most ornatelly, fynely, & purely
writte with your owne hande. Wonder
fully ioyouse were the lerned men of our
cyrre, Mursus, Buscoducius, Bomelius
Lithodius & Imānus, as I shewed vnto
them the seyde sentences, in beholdynge
(as they than reported) so much vertu.
Men low
ned.
saythe

The Epistle dedycatory.

saythe, science, & experyence of language
& letters, specially in noble youth & fe-
mynte. Through whych occasyon there
be of the (I knowe) that cannot withola-
de their lerned handes fro the publyshyn-
ge therof, to the hygh prayse of God the
geuer, neyther yet from wrytynge to your
worthy grace for studyouse continuaunce
Serēces. in the same. Your seyde serēces, (they saye
farre passeth the Apothegmes of Plu-
tarchus, the Aphorismes of Theognis, the
Stratagemes of Isocrates, the graue gol-
den counsels of Cato & the manyfolde mo-
rals of Johan Goldeston the great allego-
ryser, with soche other lyke.

Your first written clausen in. iij. spech-
es latyne, frenche & Italyane, out of the
first. Psalme of noble Dauid, mēcyoneth
The first that the vnfaithfull reckeneth folyshly in
clause. their hartes, there is no God. Wherupō
so corrupt they are in their vayne coniec-
tures, and so abhomynable in their dayly
doynge, that not one of their generacyō
is godly. By this do your grace vnto vs
Hypocry sygnifye, that the baren doctryne & good
tes. workes without fayth of the hypocrytes,
whyche in their vncōmaunded latyne cere-
monyes serue their bellyes & not Christ,
in cred-

The Epistle dedycatory.

So.

In greedily deuourynge the patrymony of
poor wydowes & orphanes, are both crea-
trable in themselves, and abhomynable
afore God for though those paynted se-
pulchres haue the name of the lorde in
their mouthes, & greatly boast the good
workes of the lawe, yet knowe they not
what belongeth to hys true honoure, but hate.
hate in their wycted hartes both hys
gloryouse name and worde. The true do-
ctryne of saythe, and the feare of God,
wyl that wycted sort (whome thys psal-
me wryngeth) not heare, but styll torment
the consciences of myserable wretched
ydyotes for aduantage of Masses and
momblynge. Happy are they of thys lat-
ter age, that in the Gospell haue receyued
the sauynge helth out of Syon (as your
grace hath done) beyng cleere from the
stynge of those vyperouse wormes. Bles-
sed be those saythfull tutors & teachers
whyche by their most godly instruccyons
haue thus fashyoned your tender youth
into the ryght ymage of Christ and not
Antichrist. Yea most blessed be those god-
ly gouernours and magistrates, whyche
haue traueled and yet laboriously tra-
uaile with worthy Moyses, to brynge
Gods

Happy

Tutors

Rulers

The Epistle dedycatory.

Gods people clerely out of their mo-
wretched captyvite.

Your latter clause in the Greke, incy-
The late teth vs to the ryght worshypingcs of
ter clause God in spete and veryte Joā. 4. to honor
ringe of our parētes in the semely offyce
of naturall chyldren. Ephe. vi. and to the
reuerent vsynge of our Christen equallet
in the due mynystracyons of loue. 1. pet
Monachi 2. Neyther Benedyct nor Bruno, Domy-
nyet nor Frances (whyche haue of longe
yeares bene boasted for the pryncypall
patrones of relygyon) ever gaue to their
superstycyouse bretherne, so pure precep-
tes of sincere Christyanyte. Neyther yet
Isidardus Peter lombard in hys. iiii. bookes of senti-
ces, with whose smokye dyuynyte, the leu-
sy locustes monkes, chanons, prestes, and
fryres. haue these .iiij. hondred. yeares
darkened the clere sunne, whyche is the vi-
ryte of God, Apoca. 9. If godly wysemen
wolde do nomore but conferre, this let-
nyng of yours and of other noble women
Robert. in these dayes, with the doctryne of Robe-
Bylwar Bylwarby archbyschopp of Canterbur
and Cardynall, whyche the vnyuersyties of
Orfoide & Parys were sworn to, forma-
gynsaunce of that Christyanyte in the
yeare of

The Epistle dedycatory. fo. 9.
yeare of our loide. 1276, by the consent of
all masters regentes & non regentes, I
doubt it not but they shulde synde iust
cause to holde vp both their handes and **A** change
praise their loide God for changynge
that helle into this heauen. An vsaury
gust therof shall they synde, adioyned of
the Paryseanes as necessary dyuynyte, to **The boke**
the foresyd sentēces of Peter lombarde.

In your forenamed boke, cōposed first
of all by the ryght vertuose lady **M**aria
garete, syster sūryme to the frenche kynge
frances, and quene of **N**auerre, And by
your noble grace most dyligently and ex-
actly translated into Englysh, synde I
most precyouse treasure concernynge the
soule. Wherfor I haue added therunto
the tytyle of a Godly medytacyon of the **Elizabet**
soule, concernynge a loue towardes God
and his Christ. Most lyuely in these and
soch other excellent factes, expresse yet the
naturall emphasys of your noble name
Elisabeth in the hebrue, is as moch to
saye in the latyne, as *Dei mei requies*, in
Englysh, the rest of my God. Who can
thynke God not to rest in that harte
whych sendeth forth soch godly frutes?
I thynke nō that hath ryght dyscreffyon
B yours

Epitaphic exortatory.

An hart. Your paine hath here plenteously uttered
the habundance of a Godly occupied hart.
like as ded the vyrgynall lypes of
Christes most blessed mother, whan she
sayd with heauenly reioyce, My soule ma-
gnyfyeth the lorde and my sprete reioys-
eth in God my sauer, luce. 1. Many no-
ble women of fresh literature haue bene
afore tyme in this regyon, whose nomenclature
or rehearsall of names I intende
to shewe in the ende of this booke, but none
of the were euer yet like to those which
are in our age. No, neyther Cambria, Maria,
Constantia, Agasia, Vodicia, Buda-
nica, Claudia, Helena, Ursula, hilda, nor
sodj other lyke. This one coppye of yours
haue I brought into a nombre. to thynke
that many hungry sowles by the inestimable
treasure containyd therein, maye
be sweetely refreshed. The sprete of the
eternall sonne of God Iesus Christ, be
alwayes to your excellent grace assystent
that ye maye sende fourth more sodj whol-
some frutes of soule, and become a nory-
shynge mother to his dere congregacyon
to their confort and his hygh glorie
Amen.

Your bounde orator

Johan Bale

A Godly Ordynary

on of the christen soule, concernyng a loue towardes God and
hys Christe, compyled in frenche by lady
Margarete quene of Nauerre, and apte-
ly translated into Englysh by the
ryght vertuose lady Elizabeth
doughter to our late souerayne
Kynge Henry the. viij.

The p̄face.



If thou do thoroughly reade
thys worke (dere frynde in the
lorde) marke rather the mat-
ter than the homely speache
therof, consyderynge it is the
stodye of a woman, whych hath in her ney-
ther cōnyng nor scyence, but a feruent
desyre: that yche one maye se, what the Math.
giste of God the creatour doth whan it
pleaseth hym to iustysye a hart, for what
is the hart of a Man, concernyng his
owne strēgth, before he hath receyued the
gift of saythe: Therby only hath he know-
ledge of the goodnesse, wysedome, and po-
wer of God. And as sone as he through
that saythe, knoweth pythely the trueth
his hart is anon full of charyte and loue

Hebre. 12

B ij So the

The lappyile dedycatory.

1. Ios. 4. So that by the feruentnesse therof. he excludeth all fleshly feare, & firmly trusteth in God vnsaynedly. for certaynly the gifte, whych God the creatour geueth frely at the begynnynge, doth neuer cease tyll it hath made hym godly, whych putteth hys full trust in God.

Joan. 6. Ohappy and fortunate gifte. whych causeth a Man to possesse a grace so desired Alas noman coulde this vnderstande, onles by soch gyfte God had geuen it hym. And great cause he hath to doubt of it, les God hath made hym to feele it in hys harte. Therfor gētyll reader, with a godly mynde I besyche the pacyently this worke to peruse, whych is but small in quantyte, and taste nothyng but the frute therof. Prayenge to God full of all goodnesse, that in thy harte he wyll plate the lyuely saythe. Amen.

finis præfatio.
liber incipit



Iob. 7.

Here is the helle, full of treuayle, payne, myschese, and torment: Where is the pytte of cursednesse, out of whych doth sprynge all desperacyon: Is there any helle

The Epistle dedycatory. So. 118
 any helle so profounde, that is suffycient
 to pynnysh the tenth part of my synnes.
 whych are so many in nombre, that the in-
 fynyte swarme of them so shaddoweth my
 darkened senses that I can not accompte
 them neyther yet wele se them: I am far
 re entered in amongst them, and (that
 moche worse is) I haue not the power to
 obtayne the true knowledge of the depe
 dangers of them. I perfyghely fele, that
 their roote is in me. And outwardly I se
 non other effecte but all is eyther brañche
 leafe, or els frute that it bryngeth fourth
 all aboute me. If I thynke to loke for bet-
 ter, a brāche cometh and closeth myne
 eyes, and in my mouth doth fall when I
 wolde speake, the frute so bytter to swa-
 lowe downe. If my spere be sturred for
 to harken, than a great multytude of lea-
 ues doth entre in myne eares, and my nose
 is all stopped with flowers. Roma. 7.

Now beholde how in paynes cryenge &
 wepyng, my poore soule, a slaue and pry-
 soner, doth lye without lyghte, hauynge
 her fete bounde throughe her concupyscece
 & also both her armes throughe euyl use. 1. Cor. 13.
 yet the power to remedy it, doth not lye
 in me, neyther haue I power to crye for
 helpe.

Of the Christen sorowle

helpe. Agayne, so far fourth as I can perceyue, I haue no hope of socour, but through the grace of God that I can not deserve, which maye rayse every one from death. By his bryghtnesse he geueth lyght to darkenesse. And his power exalteth mynynge my faulte, doth breake all the

Job . 12 . vayne of ignoraunce, and geueth me clere vnderstandinge, not only that thys cometh of me, but also what thyng abydeth in me. Where I am and wherfor I do labour. Who he is whom I haue offended, to whom I ded obeye so seldome. Therfor it is conuenient that my pryde be suppressyd

And humbly with wepyng harte, I do confesse that I am much lesse than nothyng, before my byrth myer, after a dungeon hyll, a body prompte to all euyl nor wyllynge other stodye, also subiect to care, so

Job . 14 . rowe, and payne. A short lyfe, and thende vncertayne. The which vnder synne by Adam is solde, and by the lawe iudged to be damnyd. For I had neuer the power to obserue one only comāundemente of God, I do fele the strength of synne in me, therfor is my synne no whyt the lesse to be hydden. And the more he is dyssembled outwardly, so muche the more he encreaseth

A Godly medytacyon. For. 2.
 ereaseth within the harte. That whych
 God wyl, I can not will, and what he Sapi. 7.
 wolde not, I ofte tymes desyre to perfour
 me. Whych thyng doth constrayne me
 by importable sorowe, to Wylle thende
 of this miserable bodye through desired
 death, bycause of my werye & ragynge life
 Who shall be he than, that shall dely
 uer and recouer suche good for me? Alas
 it can not be a mortall man, for hys power
 and strength is not suche, but it shall be Roma. 7.
 the only good grace of the almyghty God
 whych is neuer slacke to preient vs with
 hys mercye O what a master is that, with
 our deseruynge any goodnesse of hym? I
 serued hym slouthfully, and without cea
 synge, offended hym euery daye, yet is he
 not slacke in helpynge me. He doth se the
 euill that I haue, what and how moche
 it is, and that of my selfe I can do nothyn Gene. 4.
 ge that good is, but with hart and body
 so enclyned am I to the contrarye, that
 I feele no strength in me onles it be for
 to do euill. He doth not carry tyll I hum
 bly praye hym, or that (seyng my helpe &
 dāpnacyon) I do crye vpo hym. for with
 hys sprete he maketh a waylynge in my
 harte greater than I can declare, whych
 B iij ofter

The Epistle dedycatory.

asketh the gyfte wherof the vertue is vn-
known to my lytele power.

Psal. 37.

And this the same vnknown syghte
doth brynge me a newe desyre, shewyng
the good that I haue lost by my synne, &
gyue me a gayne through his grace & bo-
nitye, that whych hath ouercome all synne
O my lorde what grace and goodnesse is
this, whych doth put out so many synnes
Now maye we se that thou art full of all
godly loue to make me of a synner, thy ser-
uant & chylde. Alas my God, I ded not

Luce. 19.

seke the but I fled & rāne awaye frō the,
And here beneth thou camyst to me whych
am nothyng but a wome of the earthe,
all naked. What do I saye, wome? I do
hym wrōge, that am sonaughtrye, & swar
me so full of pryde, deceyte, malyce & tre-
ason. The promyse whych my fryndes ma-
de whā I was baptyse is such, that I al-
wayes through saythe in thy passyō shuld
fele the mortyfycacyō of my fleshe & dwel
le alwayes with the i the crosse where thou
wert fast nayled (as I beleue) and yeldest
Death dead as I also shuld yelde all synne

Collo. 3.

This haue I often tymes taken downe
agayne, vntyed, and set at large, I haue
broken, denyed, and falsyfied my promyse
and

The Lypylle deuytye. Jo. 12.
 & through pryde, I haue lyfe vp my wyll
 in suche a maner, that through slouth, my
 dewtye towarde the was forgotten. And
 that moche more is, as wele the profyte or
 value of thy promyse, whych I had of the **Mat**
 in the daye of my baptyisme, as also thy. 16.
 sayynge loue and promyses folowynge, I
 haue all alyke neglected. What shall I
 saye more? Albeit that often tymes thou
 perceyuyng me wretched and vnhappye
 hast geue me so many warnynges in sayth
 and in sacramētes, admonyshynge me by
 preachynges, and confortynge me by the
 recayuyng of thy worthye bodye and sac-
 cred bloude, promysynge also to put me in **Joan. 6.**
 the nombre of them that are now adour-
 ned with perfyght innocēcy. Yet haue
 I all these hygh benefyghtes, throwne
 into forgetfullnesse.

Often tymes haue I with the broken
 couenaunte. And partly for that my poore
 soule was to moche fed with euyll breade
 or dāpnable doctryne of hypocrytes. I de-
 spysed such socoure and ghostly physyck
 in Gods worde, as wolde haue holpe me **Siere. 7**
 And if I had bene wyllynge to loke for it
 yet knewe I at that tyme no teacher or co-
 uenyent. For there is neyther man, saynte,